

S O C I A L
G R O U P W O R K
P R A C T I C E

The Creative Use of the Social Process

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"The group process contains the secret of collective life, it is the key to democracy, it is the master lesson for every individual to learn, it is our chief hope for the political, the social, the international life of the future."

MARY P. FOLLETT, *The New State*

**PROBLEMS OF THE
COUNTRYSIDE**

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Editor's Introduction

MODERN SOCIETY is a complex network of groups of which individuals are participant members. The legislative, administrative, and judicial branches of government, labor and management in industry, the church and the school are social institutions, within which groups play a vital part. These same institutions are related to voluntary organizations, such as citizen associations with or without professional leadership, seeking to affect policy and action within the institution itself. It is not inaccurate to say that the effective organization and functioning of groups and the relationship of one group to another will determine the success of the social institutions of the democratic state. For it is only through groups which are representative, whose leaders are democratically chosen, and whose objectives are socially desirable that public policy and social change can be affected in a way that ensures the welfare of the society as a whole.

From the earliest years of his life, an individual is drawn into one or more groups, many of which are of his own choosing. An essential element in achieving social maturity is success in group experiences. A cooperative group experience may help him to develop sound social attitudes; a regimented group experience may have the opposite effect. The quality of interpersonal relationships within a single group and the quality of the functioning of the "group-as-a-whole" have profound influence upon the individuals who are associated together to earn a living or to plan leisure time activities. Thus it is that leaders in industry, schools, church, and government are becoming more and more conscious of the relationships between members of a group and between one group and another as important areas for research and experimentation that will reveal how individuals may be helped to function, both as members and as leaders,

within the activities of these institutions and in the voluntary associations which are clustered about them.

Social welfare activities, as we know them, had their origin in economic and social changes that affected the relationship of the individual to his primary group. Mechanization of industry, the growth of cities, and the population movements of the nineteenth century stimulated social reform efforts to establish ways and means by which individuals, through collective effort, might establish a secure society in the face of these changes. The social settlements and community centers directed attention toward the process of participation in a "group-as-a-whole" as a means of achieving personal growth as well as social goals. But it has remained for the profession of social work to define a skill of "social group work practice" and to devise a method of preparation for its practice within social agencies and social welfare undertakings.

The present volume is the result of rich experience in social group work practice and in the training of practitioners for a wide range of activities within and without social work. Basic is the conviction of the authors that the whole is more than the sum of its parts and that in the "group-as-a-whole" lies a means of achieving personal growth, personal rehabilitation, and social goals. Their analysis includes the content of group life as well as the interpersonal relationships of group members. A distinguishing characteristic is their emphasis upon the use of program material to achieve these objectives.

Miss Wilson and Miss Ryland have utilized many years of participation in leisure time and informal educational activities to test the principles they have applied to their teaching in schools of social work, where their chief interest has been in the preparation of students for the practice of social group work. The result is a book which makes a contribution to professional education for social work, and is an aid to practitioners in the field and to those in general education who are preparing youth for participation in community life.

MARION HATHWAY

Preface

THIS BOOK describes the knowledge and skill that the social worker needs to acquire in order to make creative use of the social process in groups. We hope this material will be valuable to all who work with groups in any capacity. We have, however, written it particularly for the use of teachers and students in schools of social work. We have presented the content of required knowledge and discussed its application in terms of the development of skill in helping people to benefit from group experiences. We have purposely refrained from organizing the material in the form of courses, believing that such courses must be organized on the basis of the particular needs of each group of students. We have assumed that students will be engaged in a sequence of courses providing the breadth and depth of knowledge required of social workers and concurrently will be developing professional skill by applying and testing this knowledge in field instruction assignments.

In the last analysis, the value of any method depends on its effectiveness in accomplishing the purpose for which it is devised. Process records of social work in practice provide the material for testing the effectiveness of its methods. We have therefore drawn liberally from the records of social group work practice. The records have been chosen because they demonstrate (1) the skill of the worker in using the social process creatively with groups and individuals, (2) the practice of social group work with people of all ages, (3) the adaptations necessary because of the special needs and interests of the members, and (4) the effect of the setting upon the methods used. To the social group workers who have written these records and the agencies which sponsored these groups, we express our appreciation of their contribution to the content of this study.

Quantitatively speaking, more social group work is practiced in recreational and informal educational agencies than under any other type of auspice. Hence the larger number of records have been chosen from settlements, Scouts, Y's, and other agencies serving youth and adults, with a smaller

number drawn from hospitals and institutions. Each of these group records reveals members struggling with personal and social problems, the majority of which are the ordinary problems of living, but some of which are aggravated by physical or emotional illness. Most emotional problems stem from the failure of the individual to mature in some area, and people of all ages act at times in an infantile manner; but since it is during childhood that expression of feeling is least reserved, those who wish to understand behavior at any age-period may well study the school-age child. For this reason, we have cited more illustrations from this age-period than from any other.

In preparing this book we have drawn from our experience in the curriculum planning process of the School of Social Work of the University of Pittsburgh. To all who have contributed to this process — members of the faculty, consultants from other professions and special areas of knowledge, and social work practitioners — we owe a debt of gratitude and hereby recognize their contribution. We wish especially to express our appreciation of the co-operative relationship with the field instruction agencies in Pittsburgh through which we have the opportunity to be intimately associated with the day-by-day administration and practice of social group work under various auspices. To the field instructors in these agencies, the graduates of the school and the students, we are indebted for stimulating and co-operative concern in the development of material for this book. We wish particularly to recognize the criticisms and suggestions of our colleagues, Helen Northen and Violet Tennant, who read this manuscript. We also acknowledge the courtesy of various publishers and authors in giving permission to quote copyrighted materials, as indicated in the footnotes throughout the text.

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PROBLEMS OF THE
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Contents

PART ONE · *The Social Group Work Method*

1. Professional Leadership in Social Work	3
2. Understanding the Dynamics of Group Life	36
3. The Social Group Work Method	60
4. Factors of Individual and Group Difference	101
5. Program Planning and Development	153

PART TWO · *Analysis of Program Media*

6. The Values of Play and Leisure Time Activities	197
7. The Values of Games	216
8. The Values of Rhythm, the Dance, and Music	243
9. The Values of Story Telling and Dramatics	280
10. The Values of the Arts and Crafts, the Out-of-Doors, and Trips	303

PART THREE · *Records of Social Group Work Practice*

11. Groups of Preschool and School-Age Children	347
<i>The Toombah Club</i>	
<i>The Fun Club</i>	
<i>Chuck's Boys Club</i>	

PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE	
DRWIN	
B135X422.0h	
12. Groups of Adolescents	394
<i>The Can-Do Club</i>	
<i>Pyke's Pack</i>	
<i>The Glamour Girls</i>	
<i>The Sub-Debs</i>	
13. Young Adult Groups	457
<i>Heights Recreation Club</i>	
<i>A Conversation</i>	
<i>The NAACP Youth Group</i>	
<i>Constructive Griping</i>	
<i>A Social Dancing Class</i>	
<i>The Sufiwi Club</i>	
14. An Adult Group and a Club for the Aged	493
<i>The Elite Women's Club</i>	
<i>The Friendship Club</i>	

PART FOUR · Supervisory and Administrative Processes

15. The Supervisory Process	533
16. Administrative Processes	587

BIBLIOGRAPHY

623

INDEX

677

PART ONE

*The Social
Group Work
Method*

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Professional Leadership in Social Work

LEADERSHIP is a natural phenomenon in group life, a dynamic process which emerges in the interaction of individuals one with another. A group unit may have momentary existence, and the members may be unaware of relationships, or they may be part of a larger and comparatively permanent self-conscious group. Within every group, however, individuals have a functional relation to each other which can be described in terms of various degrees of leadership and followership. The resultant interaction, known as the social process, is the kernel of the structure of the society which human beings have built for themselves. People coalesce into political, economic, cultural, and religious groupings in order to promote their particular interests and beliefs. They unite with others around ideologies such as nationalism, internationalism, imperialism, capitalism, communism, states' rights, and other theoretical concepts which they wish to make practical through the group process. They form groups for mutual assistance and for the promotion of interest in art, music, sports, and other avocational areas. They become identified with those of like occupation through joining labor unions and professional organizations.¹ All these areas of common interest are important factors in the formation of friendship groups whose primary basis is an affectional bond.

Whatever the composite of interests which draw people together in groups, the patterns thus formed may be placed in two classifications: (1) natural groups and (2) formed groups. The former grouping occurs when people are spontaneously drawn together by forces of the environment and mutual

¹ "This corporate spirit 'had become universal amongst all classes of dwellers in cities before the end of the fifteenth century. The clergy, regular and secular, of all grades; the legal, medical, and teaching professions; the merchant, the shop keeper, and the craftsman; the persecuted alien and the despised water-bearer — were all entrenched behind the bulwarks of professional association.'" Quoted by A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson in *The Professions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 289, from G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (1908), p. 172.

attraction; the latter grouping when people are recruited to membership through promotional efforts of individuals or organizations. These basic patterns may be further differentiated by the nature of the responsibility undertaken by the group. Some groups are chiefly concerned with their own group life; they are *primary groupings* (families, gangs, social clubs, fraternities, business and professional organizations, and the like). Others are chiefly concerned with affecting the life of still other groups; they are *representative groupings* (action committees, councils, federations, associations, leagues, and the like). Representative groupings differ in their structure. Some are composed of members delegated by primary groups, and others are chosen by the organizing agent to represent different sections of the community of common interest. The former are described as *delegate* groups and the latter as *cross-section* groups. Every pattern which develops when people engage in the social process provides for the authority and function of leadership.

LEADERSHIP: THE CORE OF PROFESSIONAL FUNCTIONS

Leaders Emerge from the Situation

Leadership is a quality inherent in the group situation. The situation creates the role of the leader;¹ the choice of the leader is dictated by the needs of the group and the competence of its various members. In time of emergency, of danger from without or disintegration from within, individuals previously unsuspected as leaders rise and save the situation. This quality of the human being is ably illustrated by the experience of a platoon of American soldiers on a beachhead in Italy. During the landing operations the top men in command were victims of German strafing. Within a hairsbreadth of utter panic, the platoon was steadied by a corporal in whom the exigency worked a miracle of leadership.² In this circumstance the strength and courage of the leader were communicated to the members and as a result they were able to fulfill their part in the group enterprise.

Situations in groups vary and the role of the leader varies accordingly. For this reason, an analysis of the factors in effective group life reveals that leadership is shared, rather than invested in one person. No one individual

¹ This concept is in opposition to the one described in the oft repeated statement that "leaders are born, not made"; such so-called leaders may be effective "bosses" in meeting some situations, but sound solutions for group situations come from the participation of members through the enabling leadership of one or more who, because of their competence, help others to function in the area of need. See Albert J. Murphy, "Study of Leadership Process," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 6 (October, 1941), pp. 674-687.

² Harry Brown, *A Walk in the Sun* (New York: Knopf, 1944). See also Helen A. Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation — A Study of Personality in Inter-Personal Relations* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1943).

possesses the competence to meet all situations. Some situations call for specialized knowledge, skill, or diplomacy. The leaders, then, should be the persons with the best equipment in the areas indicated. The role of leadership includes some aspects of teaching as well as of advising and implementing. In times of danger and uncertainty when fear dominates, members may respond to a leader with obedient acceptance. This situation creates the dictator. In every group, no matter what the dominant social and political philosophy of the members, the power and functions of the leaders are determined by the natural social processes.

Sanction of Leaders Derived from the Group

The members of groups choose the leaders and determine their functions. No leader has more authority than his group gives him; his role is defined by what the members want him to do *for* and *with* them. This important principle of human relationship is often forgotten and denied, as witnessed in the many groups in which individuals feel helpless and ineffectual.¹ Man, however, has originated all the bonds which tie him to others, and in spite of traditions he is capable of changing them when he becomes aware of the need for such change.

Within an established social order the authority and the functions of the leaders become institutionalized.² In this process the services to be rendered become more important than the persons who render them. For example, the inhabitants of most cities will insist upon having a safe water supply, but they will be little concerned with the identity of the officials who make this possible. The institutionalized social structure becomes so firmly established that the individual loses awareness of the fact that it exists only by permission of himself and his fellows. However, in periods of great change, when new ideas in science, economics, and religion shake the old order, individuals cease to take established institutions for granted and often become fearful and insecure. At such times people tend to look for a leader who will help them out of this state of insecurity to a new order where the "essentials" will have a firm foundation. Some of them, confused and baffled by change, may seek a "savior"—one in whom they can feel strength and on whom they can depend for the answers to their problems.³ This is the environment of dictatorship. On the contrary, the break-up of the old order may arouse in others a sense of the need to assume greater responsibility for exploration

¹ See Chapters 3 and 4 for further discussion of the difficulties individuals encounter in group participation.

² Helen H. Jennings, "Structure of Leadership-Development and Sphere of Influence," *Sociometry*, vol. 1 (July-Oct. 1937), pp. 99-143.

³ See Sigmund Neumann, "Leaders and Followers," in Roy V. Peel and Joseph S. Roucek, ed., *Introduction to Politics* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1941), pp. 250-279.

and experimentation in social discovery. They therefore seek a deeper understanding of the dynamics of human behavior as exhibited in both personal and societal problems.¹ They assume responsibility for the use of this understanding in groups of which they are a part. This is the environment of democracy. In a democracy it is the people in groups, whether large or small, who determine and define the authority, functions, and roles of their leaders.

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that membership in a group, no matter how tenuous, implies individual responsibility for the shared leadership of the group. In practice, however, this responsibility tends to be felt more by some individuals than by others. Members are chosen for special responsibilities, and once chosen they are frequently given not only the specific responsibility but also a greater degree of proprietary right than is appropriate for a few members to exercise. One of the common problems of groups of varying size, purpose, or pattern is the problem of maintaining the responsible participation of each individual. In governmental groupings this is evidenced in the failure of many people to exercise their franchise and to participate in the process of self-government. In other groups it is evidenced in the disproportionate number of inactive members in comparison with those actively carrying responsibilities to further the purposes of the groups.

In frontier society the responsibilities necessary to carrying on the functions of group life were undertaken by leaders indigenous to the group. As the group became larger and industrialism complicated the situation, these responsibilities became too heavy to be carried in conjunction with other occupations. Members of the group were therefore employed to carry special responsibilities on a full-time basis. In order to meet such needs as those of government, barter, worship, education, safety, codes of living, recreation, and others, the group employed leaders recognized as public officials, foremen, managers, supervisors, executives, business agents, stewards, clergymen, teachers, policemen, firemen, doctors, nurses, lawyers, social workers, and others too numerous to mention. It was the responsibility of each specialist not only to possess certain specialized knowledge and skill but also to provide leadership for some kind of group for a specific purpose.

Whatever function the leader accepts, it is important that he understand the dynamics of group life and of the behavior of the individuals whom he

¹ "It is not difficult from the perspective of the armchair to construct a rational world order providing the maximum of security and gratification to each person, but it has become obvious that the realization of such a rational world order of peace is opposed primarily not by a lack of intelligence but by the dominance of irrational impulses over the intellect." Franz Alexander, *Our Age of Unreason* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1942), pp. 22-23.

serves. The purpose of the leader will affect the way in which he uses this understanding; hence methods of leadership vary in different professions because each leader must use those methods which are appropriate to the goals to be achieved. In every situation in which the employed leader is working with a group he has the responsibility of recognizing the function of the indigenous leaders and of working with them in serving the group. He is, however, vested with authority from two sources: (1) the office given him by the group and (2) his skill based on knowledge and competence.¹

Evolution of Service Professions

The history of the service professions is found in a study of the evolution of professional persons from the ranks of the laymen.² Before the professions were developed, persons in need of help and advice were served by their fellows. Economic, social, intellectual, recreational, physical health, and other needs were met through the direct service of fellow group members. As research in the basic knowledge of these needs was developed, the act of helping people with such specific needs was seen to require more knowledge and skill than that possessed by just anyone in the community.³ "Special competence, acquired as the result of intellectual training, is the chief distinguishing feature of the professions."⁴ Another feature is their assurance to the lay public of competence from the professional practitioner through self-imposed standards administered by professional associations. Furthermore, these standards are strengthened by the legal sanction of the state given through such processes as registration, certification, and licensing. Of all professional workers, those engaged as agents of the community in the administration of welfare services, both publicly and privately supported, are the least regulated and controlled. Leadership in social engineering in both governmental and private agencies operates to a large extent under the authority of office rather than that of functional competence guaranteed by associational and legal sanction. A position which requires the greatest technical and scientific knowledge and skill is frequently filled by any member of the

¹ See Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," *Social Forces*, vol. 17, pp. 457-467.

² "Within the ranks of the professions are to be found most of those upon whose special skill the functioning of modern society depends." Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *op. cit.*, Preface.

³ "The outline of the story of the evolution of the professions based on science is not difficult to discern; the moment when application of knowledge becomes possible depends, in the first place upon the progress of research, and in the second place upon the change in social and industrial organization since it is sometimes the case that knowledge cannot be employed because organization has not been sufficiently advanced." Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

group who can get himself elected or appointed. The office gives the member the authority to perform his duties, but it does not supply the knowledge, wisdom, discretion, and skill in human relationships which this professional practice demands.

Functional Authority Changes from "Office" to "Competence"

Social work, like the other professions, has gone through various stages in its movement toward professional status.¹ Prior to the organization of societies, the welfare of the group-as-a-whole was the concern of all its members. With organization came delegation of duties. The chosen representatives of the group soon found the responsibility too heavy, and therefore some of the members were employed to give full time to this work. It was the pressure of time, not an awareness of the complexity of the problems involved, that prompted the first employment of social work practitioners.

Social work began as an occupation deriving its authority from "office" rather than as a profession based on "functional competence." Very early, social workers faced the need of study and research about the problems of the people with whom they were in daily contact. Inadequate housing, sanitation, playgrounds and other recreational facilities; working conditions harmful to the health and morals of the workers; alcoholism, crime, and other aspects of human maladjustment; these became the problems of practitioners who, faced with any one of these specific difficulties, asked themselves, "What shall we do about it in relation to Mr. Smith or to the South Side?" For the practitioner, social problems have a meaning deeper than that which exists for those members of the general public who are not affected by nor in contact with specific problems. The pressure of "doing something" impelled some workers to make additional researches and studies, some to crusade for immediate reforms, and others to concentrate on the particular problems of the particular clients who were being served by a given social agency. From the early days of social work two trends can be seen quite distinctly. On the one hand were those who were convinced that the source of the difficulty was in the organization of the "group-as-a-whole" — society — and that the focal point of social work therefore lay in changing the laws and customs of society; this group tended to work more with groups than with individuals. On the other hand were the social workers who saw the difficulty as within each individual person and maintained that until individuals changed there was not too much hope of changing society.² While

¹ See "Social Work as a Profession" and "The Social Worker," pamphlets published by American Association of Schools of Social Work, 130 East 22nd Street, New York City. See also Edward T. Devine, *When Social Work Was Young* (New York: Macmillan, 1939).

² Albert Deutsch: "American Labor and Social Work," *Science and Society*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 289-304 (1944).

these workers took an active part in promoting legislative reforms and programs of general betterment, they carried on this work separately and apart from the service rendered individuals, with little if any awareness that their clients were a part of society and hence might well be helped to participate in solving their own problems personally and in group activity. This dichotomy is easy to understand when one remembers that many sociologists and psychologists of the same period were regarding the individual and society as separate entities.¹ When society is conceived of not as a static institution but as a relationship between individuals,² then the responsibility of every individual in it becomes apparent. In the early days of social work, however, neither those whose focus was primarily on groups nor those whose chief attention was upon the individual conceived of society as a relational total, dynamic and capable of great change.³ Both schools tended to take different trails in climbing the same mountain, with little awareness of the fact that they were paradoxically on the same trail, for Man and Society are one.

Twentieth-century research and study have brought a great deal of knowledge about man and his relationships to other men, and practitioners using this knowledge have a vastly increased understanding of the relational total so glibly spoken of as society. Since the skill which a social worker uses in any setting depends upon his applied knowledge of the group and of the individual with whom he is working, his methods of practice reflect the changing conceptions of the social, psychological, and biological sciences. And as the social worker develops the skills of this applied knowledge he is operating more and more on the authority of "functional competence" instead of depending upon that of "office."

Development of Specializations

A division of labor has occurred within social work, and specializations have developed concerning whose basis there is considerable confusion, since some groups have identified themselves around method and others around setting. Those who have worked with individuals, one at a time, have come

¹ "Self and Society are twin born; we know one as immediately as we know the other, and the notion of a separate and independent ego is an illustration. This view . . . is not the most commonly held, for psychologists and even sociologists are still much infected with the idea that self-consciousness is in some way primary and antecedent to social consciousness. . . ." Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organisation* (New York: Scribner's, 1909), p. 5.

² "Society in its broadest sense is formed whenever several individuals enter into reciprocal relations." Georg Simmel, "The Problems of Sociology," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, vol. 6 (1895), p. 413.

³ "Society as a concept is acceptable only when it is explicitly stated that it is a completely verbal concept, a happening, a process; there is only *sociation*." Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, adapted and amplified by Howard Becker (New York: Wiley; copyright 1932 by Howard Becker), p. 78.

to be described as social case workers, and to be further differentiated into so-called fields — family, children, medical, and psychiatric. It will be noted that the first two terms describe the people served by social case work, while the latter two give some indication of the need of the individual to be served. Until the early part of this century, those who worked with groups were identified with or characterized by the agency with which they were associated; that is, they were known as settlement workers, secretaries of societies for legislative reforms, "Y" secretaries, Scout executives, and so on. With the establishment of the National Recreation Association in 1906, the titles "playground director" and "recreation worker" came to have recognition. But not until a school of social work established a course offering professional education to those who work with groups was a classification made, in terms of method, to include persons in any agency who used this given method. The course was first described as "Group Service Training Course"; after five years the term "social group work" was used to distinguish it from social case work, the other specialization in the school.¹

Stimulated by the development of a curriculum in social group work by a school of social work, by courses and institutes sponsored by social agencies, and by the formation of an association to study methods and practices,² many workers of recreational and informal educational agencies came to regard themselves as "group workers." This assumption of title without accompanying professional educational qualifications soon made the term "group worker" synonymous with anyone who works with groups. This movement, however, advances the interest and desire of untrained workers to secure more background for their work and motivates many to secure professional social work education. We have distinguished between the untrained and the professionally educated workers by referring to the latter as *social group workers*.

As the method of social group work became better known, other types of agencies became aware of its applicability to their programs. Today social group workers are serving not only recreational and informal educational agencies, but also hospitals, penal institutions, children's homes, homes for the aged, public schools, associations for the blind, institutional churches, and other organizations where the sponsors see the need for skilled work with groups. The demand for social group workers in all fields is great, but the scarcity of workers with professional education prevents the expansion of social group work services in proportion to the demand.

Professional identification has developed in social case work and social group work as social work itself has developed; a real understanding of the process

¹ School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University — 1928.

² American Association for the Study of Group Work, organized in 1936.

is to be found through studying the history of agencies and of the professional associations in social work.

The Founders as the First Workers

Social workers antedate organized social welfare agencies. In fact, a study of the history of early social welfare agencies is almost comparable to a course in biography. As the name of Saint Francis is associated with personal care of the sick and hungry, so that of Saint Vincent de Paul stands for the organization of others in ministering to the needy. The early days of struggle over the purpose and function of the Charity Organization Society of London are inextricably interwoven with the life of Beatrice Webb. The name of Octavia Hill is closely associated with housing legislation, George Williams with the Young Men's Christian Association, Canon Barnett and Jane Addams with settlements, Charles Loring Brace with Children's Aid Societies, Lord Baden-Powell with the Boy Scouts, Juliette Low with the Girl Scouts, Joseph Lee with playgrounds and the public recreation movement, Grace Dodge with the Young Women's Christian Association, and Dr. Luther Gulick with the Camp Fire Girls. These individuals and others like them were conscious parts of the social scene in which they lived. Each was motivated to social action by different circumstances and each saw somewhat different needs in his fellow human beings. Some were primarily concerned with "helping the weak," and others with mutual aid in the sense of reciprocal relationships; but each of them related his work to the values and norms of that segment of society with which he was concerned. It is interesting to note that the Jewish Center Movement does not claim a founder but traces its origin from a "spontaneous Jewish Youth Movement that developed in the early 1840's in the form of Jewish literary societies. Appearing simultaneously in many cities, these literary societies adopted a variety of names but they soon became known as Young Men's Hebrew Literary Associations."¹

The services which the pioneers were instrumental in starting were designed to meet specific needs. Beatrice Webb put her early efforts into an attempt to make the English poor-relief program one of prevention and cure rather than of mere palliation. That is, her primary emphasis was upon changing the conditions that cause poverty. Later she led the development of social insurance programs as methods of accomplishing this purpose. Octavia Hill likewise used her skill in organizing attacks on slum conditions in the city of London, although she was motivated by a quite different philosophy of the rights and privileges of human beings.² George Williams was

¹ National Jewish Welfare Board, "Let's Get to the Center of Things" (New York, 1947), p. 14.

² For evidence of differing philosophies about social welfare even in the early days, read the biographies of the early pioneers, especially those of England and the United States.

deeply concerned with the need for developing Christian character in the young drapers of London. Charles Loring Brace started the first "off the street" programs which removed underprivileged city children from their families and sent them to foster homes in less crowded sections of the country. Canon Barnett was instrumental in establishing the first settlement house in the world where university and working men could meet together to share points of view and engage in common study of social and economic problems. Lord Baden-Powell "felt a pressing concern over the welfare of the character and health of British boys" and successfully launched the Boy Scouts. Also interested in the welfare of girls, he encouraged the organization of the Girl Guides. In this connection he said, "The girls are important people, because when the mothers of a nation are good citizens and women of character they will see to it that their sons are not deficient in these points." Juliette Low was so impressed with the Girl Guide program in England that she returned to the United States and founded a similar organization in her home town of Savannah, Georgia — the beginning of the American Girl Scout movement. Grace Dodge was concerned about the working girls who were leaving their homes in small towns and rural communities and going to work in city factories. She used her organizational skills to bring the various Young Women's Christian Associations in the United States into a centralized organization under the leadership of a national board through which their efforts were strengthened and solidified. Joseph Lee saw in playgrounds a means of preventing juvenile delinquency and of training youth in good work habits. He once said that the "boy without a playground is father to the man without a job." At another time he said, "Give these qualities legitimate means of expression in hard organized play and burglary will be abandoned as an inferior form of sport." Dr. Gulick "wanted everyone to enjoy a rich, full life, to realize his greatest potentialities and to share them with others . . . his life was dedicated to youth's education."

These are some of the needs which the pioneer leaders recognized and which they tried to meet through giving their own services and engaging the interests of others. They focused their attention upon the service to be given and not upon the establishment of agencies or the development of methods of work. The problems of those in need were seen in terms either of external environment or of morals. As an example of the former approach, if the children in the streets were hungry and poorly clothed, the answer was to remove them to another environment where their physical needs could be better satisfied. Little concern was shown with the family and group relationships of these children, because so little was known about the meaning of these relationships. On the other hand, those who saw the plight of the needy as a moral problem, indicating lack of moral strength and of religious conviction, turned to "character building" as the answer.

Many felt that both approaches were necessary, as was indicated by the purposes and programs of the early agencies and organizations. Social welfare agencies of today are no less concerned with helping people to meet their physical and religious needs. However, the findings of research in psychology and the social sciences have given rise to new methods through which individuals are helped to assume responsibility for meeting their own needs and to share in the task of meeting communal needs. As these new methods have emerged, the practice of social work has changed from a program of "doing for" people in need to a highly skilled process of "working with" people to help them more effectively live their own lives. Hence social work has changed from an occupation based on the authority of "office" to a profession based on the authority of "competence." It has therefore become necessary to employ full-time workers who have been prepared through specialized education and internship.

Professional Education in Social Work

The roots of professional education lie in the staff meetings, study groups, conferences and institutes organized by practitioners seeking better to serve clients and members of agencies. First the study of the social situation absorbed the attention of workers, closely followed by analysis of their own methods of helping people to meet the problems inherent in the situation. Trial — error — success, what were the causes? What knowledge did the worker use in the process? What available knowledge would have helped? What had been learned in past experience? From this search for additional knowledge and this analysis of experience, the basic principles of social work practice emerged. From this process, curriculum content for social work education was recognized. The first school of social work¹ was organized as a department of a social agency. As the body of knowledge essential to the practice of social work became more fully recognized, the university became the auspice of professional education for social work as it already had become for medicine, law, and other professions. The needs of the field were translated into course content, and the apprentice system of social work education was replaced by a professional curriculum combining classroom instruction with field experience under the educational direction of schools of social work. There are forty-eight professional schools of social work in the United States and Canada, all of which are part of or affiliated with a recognized institution of higher education. These schools, all of them on the graduate level, are accredited by the American Association of Schools of Social Work.² This organization is the channel through which the schools

¹ The New York School of Social Work, organized in 1898 by the Charity Organization Society of New York (now the Community Service Society).

² For list of accredited schools, see "Education for Social Work," in *Social Work Year Book 1947* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947), pp. 157-166.

establish standards related to curriculum content and other matters pertaining to a qualitative professional educational program. While curriculum content in these schools is by no means standardized, there is an increasing trend toward generic courses, with decreasing emphasis upon the specifics which characterize *training* in contrast to *education*.

Professional education is a process through which an individual develops understanding of social situations and of human beings and thereby acquires the wisdom and discretion to affect them creatively. The basic curriculum content for all social workers is, therefore, organized around areas essential to this objective; namely (1) understanding the behavior of individuals (well and sick persons); (2) understanding the growth and development of institutions (both public ones and those privately organized) and social movements designed to promote human welfare; (3) methods of social work practice related to working with individuals, groups, and interacting groups known as the community (social case work, group work, and intergroup work); (4) methods of administration of social services; and (5) the use of research in the practice of social work. The specialized content is developed from this core, with intensification in one of the methods chosen, and additional knowledge and experience indicated by the requirements of the specialization. The specialization of social group work requires knowledge of and skill in a wide variety of program media used as tools in affecting the content of group life.

Professional education for social work comprises more than the imparting of theoretical knowledge. The professional social worker must *know* but he must know in order to *do*. He must take responsibility for the use of his knowledge and the use of himself in a helping process within the particular function of the social agency he represents. In other words, social work education aims not only to teach specific knowledge and to develop skill in its use in practice but also to help the student become a professional person who develops a conscious and responsible use of a professional self. This education necessitates a combination of class and field instruction. The student's learning is a continuous process from the first day to the last and demands an interweaving of class and field instruction. "Learning begun in the class is continued in the field, developed and tested there, brought back to class, to the library, shared, deepened, and again taken to the field in a continuous development of skill. Class and field instruction, therefore, constitute *one total* in professional education."¹

Conscious Use of Self

The professional educational process increases the student's understanding of himself and his professional role. When the student embarks upon his

¹ Ruth Gartland, *Field Work Manual* (School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, 1945).

professional education he brings with him his own pattern of behavior based on his particular set of values and norms, attitudes, prejudices, and enthusiasms which are rooted in the social class, in the religious, political, and ethnic groups of which he is a part. These he must understand as objectively as possible so that he may make whatever modifications are necessary to accept the values and norms of the social work profession. He must develop insight into his own motivations and problems, for he can assume the responsibilities of the professional role only when he clarifies his understanding of himself. The worker's personal problems have no place in a professional relationship, yet if he were unaware of his problems he would be unable to keep them out of the relationship. In other words, the social worker must handle his own problems (with help, if necessary) outside of his professional role.

Through his professional education the student develops skill in the helping process — a skill that involves the conscious use of self. The student learns to distinguish emotionally, as well as intellectually, the difference between "personally liking" and "professionally regarding." Liking, together with its obverse of disliking, is a human characteristic, and the student of social work is first of all a human being who has a right to his personal reactions. But although no social worker ever "likes" all the clients or group members with whom he works,¹ it is his responsibility to have a professional regard for each of them, to seek to understand each as a unique individual, and to help each to use the service of the agency. If the student is blocked by his own dislikes, he may become punishing in his attitude, or may unconsciously attempt to compensate by becoming overindulgent. If he is unaware of his likes, he may have favorites and thus fail to serve all individuals according to their needs. Recognition of personal feelings in the professional relationship helps him to isolate the factors involved and to concentrate on understanding the individuals as they are, rather than to see them through the curtain of his own feelings.

It is also important for the student to distinguish between personally liking and professionally regarding because of the differing demands which these relationships make on the people involved. When one personally likes, one hopes for a reciprocal feeling from the object of one's affections. The social worker, however, has no right to make personal demands upon the individuals whom he serves. He may perform a useful function when he becomes the object of the love and affection or the hate and hostility of the individual or the group-as-a-whole whom he is serving, and he must be able to accept either extreme of feeling, but in neither situation does he react reciprocally.

It is natural to like others who have similar attitudes, customs, and be-

¹ See Chapter 3, p. 85.

iefs. A social worker, however, cannot accept this license, for he must be able to accommodate himself to the expressions of social interaction in all groups of society. He must recognize that respect for all human beings entails respect for and appreciation of the great variety of relationships which individuals have created in formal and informal institutions. He accepts the concept that other people's manners and customs seem queer to him only because they are different from his. His philosophy of social work clarifies his responsibility to help people to become more truly *themselves*, never to become more like him. The social worker who has developed professional regard for those with whom he works loses his former attitudes of blame, disgust, impatience, and intolerance toward those who differ from him and replaces these attitudes with interest in and appreciation of the factors which are responsible for the difference. He ceases to generalize, without basis, about human behavior and to speak of "this or that kind of people." He has learned, however, that the problems of personal growth and social development are similar in all people, including himself, no matter to which grouping in society they belong. He has learned that some social, economic, religious, political, and ethnic groups have greater opportunities to develop than others. He has learned that any individual, in any situation, whose basic relationships are without love and affection faces a serious block to healthy growth. In other words, he has learned that behavior is symptomatic of ways of life which it is his responsibility to understand, not to judge.¹

SOCIAL WELFARE: PHILOSOPHY AND LEADERSHIP

Social welfare is an organized concern of all people for all people. This philosophy is in sharp contrast to the old concept of the "care of the weak by the strong" which grew out of the still older concept of the "law of the jungle." This last-mentioned concept rationalized the appropriation by some individuals, through strength, of advantages which made them even stronger at the expense of the weak who, lacking those advantages, became still weaker. As social consciousness developed among human beings, some individuals and groups assumed the responsibility of caring for the less fortunate members of society. Thus there grew up a sort of benevolent despotism which, while it gave physical relief to many needy persons, yet did not provide a basis for the self-respect that all men need and that is imparted through a co-operative approach to the problems of humankind.

All people have a right to their weak moments, and no individual is to be considered totally weak because he has difficulty in meeting some of the vicissitudes of life. All people need to have the experience of *taking* and *giving*.

¹ See Chapter 4.

It is a fallacy to conceive of some people as continuously strong and others as continuously weak, with the former responsible for helping the latter. It is a truism that all individuals have weaknesses and that all need the strengths which each individual and each social institution can give them.

Every human being needs an opportunity to grow up free to make choices which will make it possible for him to secure a living, establish a home, raise children, enjoy leisure, and feel at home in the universe.¹ This yearning to be at one with the universe is expressed through overwhelming desires to belong — to things, to men, and to God. Property rights, organizations, and religions are the institutional evidences of man's struggle to meet his basic needs.

Man must be regarded as a whole; and he really has but one need, which is to live wholly and completely. In any culture he will find difficulties to be overcome, but it should be possible for him to achieve, at least partially, his personal goals within this world and in his time. Man needs to make things his own; he needs relationships with people; and he needs a conviction that he is part of a whole that is greater than his immediate world. These three elements are all part of the one need of man to live creatively. However, the history of the world can be told in terms of man's quest for the satisfaction first of one facet of his need and then of another, rather than of his pursuit of the whole need. In spite of the fact that many have amassed great fortunes, have established particularly satisfying relationships with their fellows, or have developed large religious groups, the sum-total world created by man has devoted itself to attacking each of these parts as if each represented the key to happiness. Some have claimed that man's need is economic and that once that need is met the root of his troubles will disappear. Some have worked on the theory that ignorance is the cause of man's difficulties, and therefore they have proposed education as the answer to the fundamental need of man. Others have said that man is his own worst enemy and that the real source of his difficulties lies within himself, that if he can solve his emotional problems he will then be able to handle all others. Still others have attributed the trouble to man's rejection of religion: if he can "get right with God" his problems will be solved. Now, in our estimation, all these factions are partially correct in pointing out the needs of man, but the programs they propose have only partially succeeded because all of them function in terms of the part instead of the whole need of man. Man does not live by bread alone, nor does he live by beauty, love, play, or worship alone; he lives by satisfying his whole self, which demands love, respect, play, work, and so on, in proportions peculiar to his individual personality.

Man does not get to the state of creative living until his survival is assured.

¹ Adapted from Gertrude Wilson, "Human Needs Pertinent to Group Work Service," *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1942*, pp. 338-360.

But creative and survival needs are interdependent, and each must receive attention if he is to make a better world-wide basis of living. Man's needs cannot be dealt with separately because man himself is a whole; he has no emotional problem which does not also have its physical and intellectual components, and similarly each of these aspects of man's being is interrelated with the others. Therefore the point of view of this book is that at any one time it is necessary to consider not one or two but all the needs of man.

An equally important concept to establish is related to the old philosophical argument over whether the whole is something more than the sum of its parts. It is our opinion that society in the abstract represents the "something" which is created by its "parts" (the individuals who compose it). Furthermore, we believe that society has corporate needs whose satisfaction is as important as that of the needs of each individual in society. These corporate needs are not the same as the sum of the needs of the component parts, but are needs which are created because the parts — that is, the individuals — interact with one another. The satisfaction of these needs is necessary to social order; if they go unfulfilled, chaos will result. Corporate needs are expressed in the social norms of society at any given time.

The continuance of society is dependent upon the conformability of the majority or a controlling minority of the individuals who compose it. This does not mean that the *status quo* must be maintained, but it does mean that the life of man is dependent upon a balance in society between keeping the old and adopting the new. Society as a whole needs both the conservative who is "not the first by whom the new are tried, nor yet the last to lay the old aside," and the radical who gives stimulation and leadership to the development of new patterns based on new insights and values. It must be recognized that groups are the media through which society passes on its norms and through which its culture is perpetuated. As norms are transmitted from one generation to another, members of groups have the opportunity and the obligation to evaluate them against new values and to establish new norms in accordance with new situations.

Many of the values to which society adheres at the present time are contrary to the welfare and happiness both of the individual and of society. For example, the value of freedom has been held dear throughout many epochs; it was the cornerstone of the American, French, and Russian revolutions. But this value has been translated in terms of freedom from oppression rather than of freedom to undertake responsibilities. Today it is even more important that we fight *for* freedom to establish a new way of life for all races and cultures of mankind than that we fight *against* the oppression which the symbols of totalitarianism represent. To accomplish this goal it is necessary that we see that freedom for the individual is not possible unless freedom for society is guaranteed.

The problem of meeting individual and societal needs is complex and difficult. We have indicated that man is motivated by a yearning to belong to things, to man, and to God, and that this yearning makes him want to have possessions, both spiritual and material. This same desire makes him want to belong to all kinds of groups for all kinds of purposes. When man discovers that he cannot get what he wants by himself, he allies himself with others to attain his purposes. It is not mere chance that the multiple group life of today is an accompaniment of an industrial system which has steadily reduced man's contribution to a level of importance comparable to the machine's. Within groups man has sought to retain his sense of importance and his place under the sun. Therefore, the group serves as a setting within whose framework man can be helped in his struggle to build a society in which he can achieve for himself a balance between his needs and their satisfaction — a balance that will assure him a reasonably satisfying life and that will provide a dividend to society.

Whenever needs are unmet, as when an individual is deprived of love or the opportunity to do useful work, and consequently of the other concomitants of satisfactory living, there appear problems which require help. Race riots, vice, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, desertion, nonsupport, truancy from school, stealing and other crimes of major and minor importance — all are terms describing problems well known to communities of every size and in every section of the country. These problems are symptoms which indicate the many aspects of man's unmet needs. To ignore such symptoms is dangerous, but to treat the symptoms and to ignore the fundamental cause is in the long run useless. The presence, then, of needy groups in society is a symptom of the breakdown of some of society's institutions; illiteracy in our country is an indication of the breakdown of some aspects of the institution of education; delinquency is primarily a symptom of the breakdown of the family. The fact that four and one half million young men in the prime of life were found unfit for military service during the recent war is an indication of inadequate health and medical services. Figures on unemployment are one of the yardsticks of the well-being of the industrial system. Because of a lack of recreational facilities, children play in hazardous street areas, and adults have little chance to explore hobbies that will bring relaxation and refreshment. The individuals who are the victims of these and other breakdowns need specific help. But it must be recognized that these specialized needs exist because some aspect of the total social welfare program is inadequate. Therefore, in addition to meeting the specific needs of individuals the program must direct attention toward the needs of all — of society-as-a-whole as well as of persons known to be in need.

The philosophy of social welfare — that is, the welfare of all by all —

makes urgent demands on professional leaders capable of harnessing the technological discoveries in all sciences that bear on human welfare and relationships. Concerted and planned efforts must be put forth to accomplish this objective through (1) specific application of the research in psychological and social sciences to practical methods of leadership and followership in group life, (2) more extensive research and experimental projects undertaken to develop new ways of living that will enable human beings to live together creatively.

Social Workers and Social Action

It is the responsibility of social workers to interpret to the public those situations which can be remedied through social action. The social worker also participates in social action leading to the advancement of social welfare, either as a representative of his agency or as a member of the profession.

Social Action, once more commonly called social reform, has always been an integral and often a decisive element in social work practice as a whole. From the early days of the charity organization and settlement movements in England, down to the mental hygiene and public welfare movement of our own time, there has never been a moment when professionally conscious social workers have been content wholly to separate their day-to-day service of particular individuals and groups from some measure of responsibility for controlling or preventing some of the broad social factors that caused, complicated, or intensified the problems with which they dealt.¹

Social workers fulfill an interpretative role when they are given the responsibility of speaking for their agencies in community programs for better local, state, and national government. Thus social agencies serve the corporate whole as well as the individuals who seek their help.

It seems almost self-evident that a social agency has a social responsibility to provide leadership for community efforts to solve community problems whose factors contribute so largely to the problems of the individuals whose needs the agency seeks to serve. However, unless the agency includes work for social improvement as part of its function, the social worker, as *agency representative*, is not in a position to participate. It is not in the province of this book to analyze the hesitation of many present-day social agencies to become vital instruments for the social reform which is their heritage. "There are many of us, not yet hoary with age, who recall the great leaders of social work's pioneer days, challenging the conscience of the country."² These pioneers led boards and committees representing different opinions, political

¹ Kenneth Pray, "Social Work and Social Action," *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1945*, p. 350.

² Natalie W. Linderholm, "The Social Worker's Responsibility for the Reputation of the Profession," *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1945*, p. 213.

identifications, and class strata. To avoid vital social issues because they are controversial is social treason. And for exploring, defining, and coming to grips with issues of social significance, what better environment could be provided than that of the social agency, where staff members bring testimony fresh from the front, where the effects of social breakdown manifest themselves in specific problems that must be grappled with at first hand? In such a setting the specific can become general; and out of the stuff of individual and group problems there evolves the social platform of the agency which seeks to serve the total community.

If agencies provide the setting in which social workers are able to function as social engineers, the workers then have the opportunity to use their social-process skill in the areas of conflict where differences must be made vivid in order that likenesses may emerge and thus to clear the ground for tackling problems which affect all. It is not sufficient for social agencies to be aware of need; awareness which does not lead to activity about need is in the long run socially as well as personally devastating. We live in a democracy where the way of life is affected by legislation and by the administration of laws. Social agencies, by virtue of their specialized knowledge and first-hand contacts, have a responsibility to take corporate action on social problems which can be alleviated by legislation. It is the workers of social agencies who know the ramification of sickness, poverty, poor housing, inadequate recreational facilities, and other conditions that threaten a decent way of life. But until agencies fulfill their responsibility in the area of social reform, individual social workers, *as agency representatives*, cannot function independently in this area.

However, every social worker is first of all a member of the profession, and only secondly an agency employee; and it is to the profession as a whole that the individual owes his first responsibility — that of squaring his professional behavior with his own social philosophy and the philosophy of the profession.

Professional responsibility is individual. It cannot be surrendered or evaded. Within the bounds of one's direct functional service, the professional worker is, of course, the representative of the agency and faithfully applies its policy. . . . Beyond these boundaries, one still carries one's own individual professional responsibility to free oneself for professional performance in accordance with one's own professional standards. It is here that the professional association, as an instrument of professional social action, serves an indispensable purpose. Here the limitations of an individual service responsibility, and the limitations of a particular agency function, are erased; here, as a member of the total professional group, the worker finds an avenue through which to bring to expression his whole professional self, in behalf of the highest professional standards.¹

¹ Pray, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

Social work, as a professional career, involves social conviction and a dedication of self to the service of others individually and collectively. Without these qualities no social worker can achieve the necessary selflessness to enter into a relationship with others which will effectively enable clients and members to release sufficient strength to resolve their problems and achieve satisfactory personal and group experiences. Without these qualities social workers would not have the wisdom to use their knowledge to become "enablers" for community welfare.

The Helping Process as the Generic Element

The profession of social work is one of the institutions which society has developed for the purpose of helping its members better to meet communal and individual interests and needs. All institutions which have as their purpose a service to people use some kind of helping process in carrying out their objectives. Social work is distinguished from other service professions by its common assumptions and principles in its use of the helping process. Let us enumerate some of these basic assumptions and principles underlying practice and then see how social workers in different settings use them to help people with different interests and needs.

The social worker helps individuals and groups through:

His respect for human beings and their social organizations and his belief in their right to manage their own lives.

His acceptance of each individual and group as unique, and of the right of each to be different from every other.

His ability to feel *with* individuals and groups without feeling *like* them.

His ability to accept the hostility and aggression as well as the love and affection of individuals and groups with whom he works as normal reactions of human beings toward one another.

His ability to understand the language of behavior and to use his own behavior to the best interests of the individuals and groups with whom he is working.

His ability to accept the concept that all behavior is purposive and that the activity of individuals and groups is significant to the people involved even if it seems meaningless to the observer.

His ability to accept individuals and groups even if he must disapprove of their behavior.

His ability to accept the role of authority with those individuals and groups who need the security of limitations and narrowed horizons.

His ability to use authority without passing judgment.

His ability to be permissive and to widen horizons where individuals and groups need to be supported in assuming greater personal and collective responsibility.

His ability to support individuals and groups in factoring out the issues in problems facing them, yet to refrain from indicating the solutions.

His ability to support individuals and groups in making and carrying out their own decisions.

His ability to use his understanding of the structure of the particular group with which he is working and to interpret the limitations of the functions provided by the structure on the members of the group. (Particularly important in this connection is the distinction between the structure of the primary and that of the representative group.)

His ability to understand and accept the purpose and function of the agency from which he receives the authority to give service to individuals and groups.

His ability to accept the limitations of agency functions and to encourage the clients or members to use the services of other agencies in the community for help with needs which his agency is not equipped to serve.

His ability to represent his agency effectively in co-operative efforts of the community.

His ability to see the relationship between the interests and needs of the particular clients or members with whom he is working and those of society-as-a-whole and to take responsibility for participating in social action about the unmet needs as an employee of the agency, as a member of the profession of social work, and as a responsible citizen.

These basic assumptions and principles might be worded differently, or they might be contracted into a few generalities. Moreover, there are undoubtedly other assumptions which could well be added. The list is sufficiently inclusive, however, to enable us to make a preliminary test of the hypothesis that the basic skill in social work practice is common to all professionally qualified workers in the so-called specializations.

First of all, it is important to recognize the fact that all social workers deal with individuals and with groups. Case workers work for the most part with individuals, group workers with primary groups, and intergroup workers with representative groups. Each social worker, whether he be a case worker, group worker, or intergroup worker, uses generic skills and those peculiar to his specialization in fulfilling his total responsibilities; in fact, it is the degree to which he uses the specialized skills that determines the worker's classification in social work practice.

Social case workers come in contact not only with individuals, in the face-to-face relationship of the interview, but also with family groups, ward groups in hospitals, and other groups of significance to the individuals whom he seeks to serve. Furthermore, the social case worker, as a part of the agency staff, has a responsibility for contributing to its achievements as a group. Each agency in the community is related to every other through com-

munity councils, federations, and other forms of joint enterprise, and it is through the participation of staff members in the joint activities that these relationships are made real. Participation means more than attendance at meetings. It means sharing the responsibility for leadership in the various kinds of groups. It means contributing to the work of the whole through knowing how to be a helper in the role of both follower and leader. It means making use of the professional social worker's insight into the behavior of the individuals with whom he is working in group situations. And finally it means making use of the professional social worker's understanding of the dynamic of the social process as the movement of the group progresses. When the social case worker is using his knowledge and understanding in these ways, he is not being a *group worker* or an *intergroup worker*, he is being a *case worker using his professional knowledge of social work*. This knowledge and the skill that accompanies it belong to him as a social worker who is carrying out responsibilities inherent in the practice of social case work.

The social group worker, on the other hand, works with individuals as well as with groups-as-a-whole; usually, however, he meets the members of groups first as individuals, through the registration process. In an agency which provides individualized registration, the worker interviews the members and thus discovers their expressed interests and the desires which prompted them to come to the agency. He helps them to decide what activities they wish to join and learns about their background — family relationships, school connections, and other group affiliations. The purpose of these interviews is to engage the members in the agency program in order to help them satisfy their interests and needs through the facilities of the agency. The social group worker has many occasions to work with individuals in a face-to-face relationship. The individual who feels uncomfortable in the group may find his adjustment made easier through a personal interview with the worker. Most individuals, of all ages and background, need some help in filling elective offices in their clubs, and social chairmen need assistance in planning for their committed meetings and in learning how to use the members of their committees effectively. Some members' behavior is such that the life of the group is endangered; these must be helped to adjust their behavior to the norms of the group or prevailed upon to leave the group. Others need individualized help in acquiring a skill important to the life of the group and to themselves. The behavior of others may reveal the need for greater understanding of the home situation and thus necessitate visiting the home, perhaps to establish co-operative relations with the family in regard to a member's participation in the group's activities. In all these situations in which the social group worker comes into a face-to-face relationship with individuals, he is not doing social case work; rather, he is using his skill as a pro-

fessional social worker in serving both the group-as-a-whole and its component individuals through the use of the face-to-face relationships essential to the practice of social group work.¹

Whether the social worker is serving one individual within the structure of the interview or a collection of individuals within the structure of the organized group, he uses the social work process to help individuals and groups to utilize the service of the agency for the satisfaction of their interests and needs. The service of the particular agency and the specific interests and needs of individuals and groups determine *what* the social worker does, but the profession of social work determines *how* it is done. And this knowledge of *how* is the common possession of all professionally qualified social workers. In fact, it is their possession of a common skill derived from their use of knowledge drawn from the social, psychological, and biological sciences that makes it possible to speak of all social workers as members of a common profession.

Equally important to the practice of social work is the nature of the *WHAT* — the substance of the service and the specific function of the agency in providing it. The professional social worker uses his skill of helping individuals and groups in order to provide the services of the agency to its clients and members. The specializations stem from the varieties of human interests and needs which agencies are set up to serve, not from variations in the helping process of the social worker.

The Social Worker's Function in Groups

The professional social worker, then, brings to his assignment a skill common to the profession and to the specialization for which he has prepared. He uses his art of helping people in accordance with the purpose of the agency in which he is employed. If he works with a group, his professional function is determined by the purpose for which the group exists. Each group is organized for some purpose, and the social worker is invited or assigned to the group in order to help it accomplish that purpose. The group may be an agency or a collection of individuals within an agency. If a number of people unrelated to an agency organize themselves into a committee, club, or any other form of association, they then become in a sense an "agency" or an auspice for accomplishing some expressed or implied purpose. If this group secures the services of a worker, volunteer or professional, his functional relationships to the group are determined by its purposes. In this sense, then, the function of the social worker in a professional situation is determined by the purposes of the auspice, whether it be a social agency or some other kind of association.

¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 73-76.

Individuals organize themselves or are organized into groups for such purposes as (1) protection, (2) education, (3) exploration or adventure, (4) treatment, (5) promotion, (6) advisement, (7) administration, (8) co-ordination, (9) integration, (10) planning. Many if not all of these purposes will be inherent in the specific purpose of a group, but that specific purpose will resolve itself into one or a combination of these abstractions. Small intimate social groups — for example, the family — as well as governmental units exist in order to *protect* important rights and privileges of individuals through group relationships. The other purposes in this classification then become means for protecting the individual in his relations with other individuals, with his group, and with other groups.

Classes, clubs, interest groups, committees, associations and other forms of organized effort are developed for purposes of *education*, *exploration*, or *adventure*. Special groups are organized for the purpose of *treatment*: for example, to aid individuals, through guided group experience, in achieving physical, emotional, and intellectual growth, and to offer specialized group experiences to those whose development has been blocked.

Federations, councils, committees, and associations are formed to *promote* or implement measures which some individuals or groups deem important to the established needs of other individuals or groups. Organizations or agencies are established to carry out or *administer* such measures or ideas. When many agencies are operating in similar and related fields of endeavor, committees or councils or federations come into being to *co-ordinate*, *plan*, and occasionally to *integrate* the work of these agencies for the benefit of the larger community.

While the overall function of all social workers in dealing with a group is to help it accomplish its purpose, the nature of that purpose as well as the relationships within the group setting determines the different specific functions of the worker. That is, the worker's particular function and his relations with the members will vary according to the kind of group he is serving. The social worker who serves a family is working with a group, and in serving the *whole family* he recognizes and works with the individuals in it as members of a group. The hospital social worker dealing with individuals in a particular ward is also serving a group, and he is aware of and uses the dynamics of this group to serve the component members. The social worker affiliated with a council or federation is serving a group; but as each of the members is primarily related and loyal to the group which he represents in this council, the worker must not only function within the interacting process of the council but also work with the relationship of each group-as-a-whole to the council. The social worker who is chairman of a staff and deals with boards and committees is similarly working with a group whose purpose is

to get something done. The social worker whose field is recreation or informal education helps the groups not only to achieve their given purposes but also to further the social development of the individuals who compose them. Many specific functions of these social workers differ one from another because they are shaped for differing purposes and executed under differing auspices. And since specific functions differ, various methods are necessary through which social workers may carry out their generalized function of helping groups to achieve their purposes. Each social worker carries out this common, overall function through using, in a variety of ways, his understanding of the dynamics of group life and of the individuals who compose it. Social workers are advisers, expeditors, teachers, and leaders in group situations of which they are a part. The similarities and differences, or the generic and specific functions of social workers in groups, can be more clearly distinguished through examination of some typical group situations in which the function of the social worker is made explicit. Special attention will be given to the function of the social worker in settings where the chief emphasis is upon working with groups as a unit of agency service. We shall examine the functions of the social worker in groups by analyzing the role of the social worker who by specialization is a social group worker. We shall examine his role as adviser to groups, as supervisor of advisers, and as administrator of agency program units. We shall identify basic principles of social group work and their application with the supporting material from records of actual practice.

Areas of Social Group Work

Social group work is practiced in four areas which may be distinguished as (1) basic social group work practice, that is, work with primary groups; (2) supervision of basic workers; (3) administration of departments and agencies which provide social group work service; (4) community planning for and co-ordination of social group work services and agencies. Though social group work practice must include skill applicable to all areas, the basic worker's chief skill is in serving primary groups and the members who compose them. The supervisor must be skilled in helping the basic workers (volunteer as well as professional) to enable primary groups and their members to achieve satisfactory personal and social purposes within their group experience. The administrator must be skilled in working with boards, committees, staff, and other administrative groups concerned with policy-making and program-making. The community co-ordinator and planner likewise works with administrative groups, committees, and councils, usually composed of representatives of community organizations and agencies. The members of these administrative groups, each of them representing the mem-

bership of their primary groups, thus bring to the central unit the concern of a large number of people for the welfare of the community-as-a-whole. Basic social group work is sometimes described as direct service, while the other types of responsibility are spoken of as administrative and community organization services. The distinction between these responsibilities, however, is not clear-cut. Direct leadership is an essential skill in all areas of practice; while ability to administer, co-ordinate, and plan is needed in the practice of basic social group work. The distinction, therefore, is one of degree and emphasis rather than of kind.

The basic social group worker spends most of his time working with clubs or activity groups whose members have joined for the purpose of satisfying a personal-social need. Dealing with the interacting process of members in relation to program content, therefore, consumes the greater part of his time; working with groups in an administrative or co-ordinating relationship takes less of his time, although every social group worker participates to some extent in community projects in which the agency has a co-operative interest. Because basic social group work contains the generic elements of the specializations which develop from it, we shall devote the major portion of this book to the analysis of the skills of basic social group work. In Chapters 15 and 16 we shall discuss the additional knowledge and skill required to perform the supervisory and administrative functions in social group work.

Preview of the Role of the Social Group Worker

The social group worker is not a member of the group in the same way that the other participants are members. The members are free to participate or not to participate in accordance with their own needs and interests. On the other hand, the social group worker's participation is regulated by his professional understanding of the members' need to have his help proffered or withheld; that is, he takes part not as a member of the group but as a person who has a professional service to give to each member individually and to the group-as-a-whole. If he becomes identified with the group *as a member*, or becomes absorbed in the activity *for its own sake*, he will lose the opportunity to provide the service he has been employed to give. This assumption of professional responsibility is a difficult step to take, for it requires a psychological shift from the function of lay member to that of professional social group worker. It involves self-understanding and the handling of the personal impulsive self in such a way that the worker is free to concentrate upon enabling the members of the group to have the satisfactions and achievements which are their right.

To function on a professional level, the social group worker must be sufficiently mature to have found outlets for his personal needs in areas outside

his professional life. Professionally, he finds his only legitimate satisfaction in fulfilling his role of helping members to function in the group and the group-as-a-whole to achieve its purposes. Personal selflessness within the professional role is an important factor in the successful practice of any profession; it is a particularly difficult goal for the social group worker to attain because of the setting in which he usually works. Because the program content of most groups consists of recreational and avocational activities, the group worker is quite naturally tempted to become interested in the program for his own purposes. Furthermore, the relationship between the worker and members is necessarily informal. This very informality is in fact an asset, but unless professionally handled it can prove a hindrance in establishing and maintaining helpful relationships. If the worker is to safeguard these relationships, he must exercise real professional discipline. It is through professional education, reinforced by experience, that the social group worker learns to keep clearly in view his function as the "enabler."

The social group worker carries out his function within the interacting process between the members of the group with which he is working. In a group, every individual affects every other individual in many different ways, not only by overt behavior but also by failure to express any reaction. There will be different degrees of these extremes; every group situation is different from all others because of the variance within the individuals who compose it. Moreover, the circumstances of each session of the same group differ: the weather, the facilities, the current happenings of the day as they affect each individual, and many other factors combine to give the interacting process a constantly changing content. Yet the social group worker must understand this content if he is to develop the skill of affecting the interacting process in such a way that the members individually are helped by his presence and the group-as-a-whole accomplishes something satisfactory to the members and to society.

The social group worker meets with a group within the time limit set for the club or activity meetings, usually one and a half to two hours a session and not more than once or twice a week. His assignment is to understand the needs of the group-as-a-whole and of the individual members so that his own consciously controlled behavior within the group is helpful to each individual according to his personal need and to the group-as-a-whole according to its corporate need. He is not the center of the interacting process in a group. That role is held by the indigenous leader or leaders of the group. For this reason, the often-used comparison of the role of a social group worker with that of the leader of an orchestra is misleading. The worker, like the orchestra leader, is endeavoring to help the members to create a harmonic whole but he does not provide the leadership for that achievement unless

there is no one in the group able to assume that role. His role is that of helper, supporter, and enabler. During a group session, the worker endeavors to be aware of every member all the time, to make significant observations, to analyze their meaning, and to react to them in ways which will be helpful to individuals and to the group-as-a-whole. He must know when to be active and when to be inactive. He must know when to be quiet and when to talk. In a variety of ways, the least of which is talking, he helps the shy person to take part in group discussion or to enter a game or to learn a new skill. In just as great a variety of ways, he limits the aggressive member. It is almost impossible to list all the means by which a worker affects the individuals in the midst of the interacting process, because they include all the means by which human beings communicate with one another, such as facial expression, position of the body, tone of voice, silence, ignoring, attention, and other modes of expression. *What* the worker does is not so important as *how* the worker feels about the member, the subgroup, or the group-as-a-whole. If the worker has knowledge of program content,¹ understanding and acceptance of the members, and ability to use relationships constructively within the interacting process of the group situation there is little question that what he does and how he does it will help the group-as-a-whole to achieve a socially desirable goal.

The following excerpt from a record of a Brownie group, sponsored by the Girl Scouts, will bear analysis in this connection.²

Susie suggested that they give a party for their mothers. There was a chorus of approval in response to this suggestion. The chorus contained a variety of tones. Mary said, "Let's make a great big cake — oh — so — big." She strung out her words for emphasis. She had the attention of all the children. Then she measured a circle as large as her foot would swing and said, "Let's make it bigger than that — and then make our mothers eat every bit of it and then they will all get sick and die." The children gasped; then some of them laughed heartily and looked anxiously at the worker. Phyllis said, "Mary, you ought to be ashamed of yourself, hadn't she, Miss McCarty?" The worker responded, "Mary feels mad at her mother right now, but she will love her in a moment, won't you Mary?" Then the worker turned to Phyllis and said, "Don't you ever feel that way, too, Phyllis?" Mary gave the worker a big grin, walked over to where she was sitting, and nudged her way to sit close to the worker.

¹ The term *program content* is used in this book as a symbol standing for all factors that bear on a particular group session: activities, conversations, horseplay, weather, facilities, social forces outside the group but affecting it, and everything else which enters into the content of the group experience.

² These same factors are present in groups of all ages. Analyze Meeting No. 10 of the Elite Women's Club (Chapter 14), identifying *what* the worker did, *how* the worker seemed to feel about the individual women, the subgroups, and the group-as-a-whole. How did the worker help these adults?

First of all, let us notice that the worker had her ear tuned to the tones of the voices in unison. She was aware from the sound that, although everybody was voicing approval, these children had varying feelings about their mothers. She was not surprised at Mary's negative response and she was therefore prepared to hear what Mary was really saying and not to be fooled by her actual words. The worker knew that little girls eight, nine, and ten years old are in the process of becoming independent of their parents and that they naturally feel a great deal of hostility toward the adult who is nearest them. She also knew that, although they wanted to feel big and grown up, they actually felt very little, and that grown-ups like mothers seem very big and powerful. For these reasons and others, the worker heard Mary expressing her feelings in fantasy, something like this: *We need something very big to struggle against their power — we will bake a big cake* — and here her fantasy is making her big and powerful. Then her feelings of hostility press for expression and she kills off all adults in the person of her mother. The worker recognizes the release which Mary experiences as she dramatizes this fragment of her daydreams before the group. The worker also knows that Mary will need support after this revelation of her inner feelings. The voice of her companion, Phyllis, is also the voice of her own superego built from the values and norms of the society of which she is a part. The worker also caught the tension in the thin little voice of Phyllis who scolded Mary for voicing feelings she herself would never dare to express. Phyllis took advantage of an opportunity to show how "good" she was in comparison with Mary, and showed her need to have adult approval by calling on the worker to agree with her. The worker, knowing that both Phyllis and Mary feel hostile to their mothers and other adults, helped them both by responding to their feelings and not to their words. Her response made the children sense that the worker understood their ambivalent feelings toward mothers and other adults, that it was natural and not "bad" to have such feelings.

It is important that people have an opportunity to carry out in reality the positive aspects of feelings as complex as these. Knowing the importance of action in this connection, the worker helped the children to plan and carry through a party for their mothers. The children were delighted with their roles as hostesses. For a short time, they had succeeded in reversing the dependency factor in their relationships with their mothers. They tasted of being grown up and were helped to play at being grown up through the expression of friendliness and co-operation instead of aggressiveness and hostility.

In this worker we see a professional person who was able to understand the feelings of the members with whom she was working and to act professionally on the basis of their needs, although these needs were unexpressed in words.

Her ability to help these children was based on her knowledge of self, of human behavior, of the particular group's place in the larger social framework, of program content, and of the group process itself. Within a short span of time she used a vast amount of knowledge as she met the situation with the skill of the social group worker. The process of becoming a social group worker is a process of digesting knowledge and practice until the skill is in one's very muscles, so to speak — ever ready for use.

Need for Professional Skill in Crisis Situations

Some workers are frightened by crises in groups and handle them dictatorially or become passive observers. If dictatorial, they resort to giving orders, setting up penalties for "misbehavior" at one time and being over-permissive at another; if passive, they render themselves incapable of being either permissive or prohibitive. Either type of response commands little respect from the members, who are thereby stimulated to devise ways of getting around their worker, of deceiving him, of tantalizing him — in short to use all manner of methods for getting what they want, and to do whatever they think the worker does not want them to do. A simple lack of knowledge and experience may cause some workers to become frightened in crises. It is at this point that a little learning may be a dangerous thing. The worker whose knowledge of organized groups is limited to a schedule of activities feels ineffectual if the group is not doing something all the time. Such a worker will be unaware of the role of the indigenous leader in the group; he will usurp the role and will become the *leader* rather than the *enabler* of the natural leadership. As this happens, the interaction in the group becomes worker-centered instead of member-centered and the worker assumes many of the characteristics of the dictator. On the other hand, a worker may have learned that the essence of the social group work method is the decision-making process. Knowing ends without knowing means is not very helpful; and if he does not have both the knowledge of the psychological and sociological factors involved in the processes of decision-making, and the skill of using them, he cannot help the members to use this process effectively in their groups. Instead he sits back and waits for something to happen. He becomes the observer instead of the participant helper. He is overcautious about making suggestions. When a member makes a suggestion he regards it as it is instead of as the idea it may become through the discussion process which integrates the ideas of all participants, including the worker. Lack of knowledge and experience may account for too much or too little guidance of the interacting process in groups, but not for the failure of the worker to accept the members as persons nor for his failure to use common sense in group situations. When beginning students or inexperienced workers fail

to accept members of groups as persons and fail to meet crises with common sense, their failure is an evidence of basic insecurity as well as of lack of knowledge. Education for professional social work is a process through which students increase their knowledge and acquire skill in using that knowledge, but the student must bring to the educational process the capacities provided him by an ability to accept others.

Crises are welcomed by those who accept the members with whom they work. In the little everyday crises and in the major ones, the social group worker sees opportunities for the members to get experience in meeting the great variety of problems which group association in any setting provides, as well as opportunities for individuals to give expression to their conflicting feelings of hostility and friendliness.

Constructive use of crisis situations can be more fully achieved by the worker if he will try to understand the meaning of the reactions of group members at the time of crisis. A class of students in social group work was asked to list the verbal terms which described the behavior of members in the groups which they were serving. The following list was placed on the black-board and given the title "Every Little Movement Has a Meaning All Its Own."

being snooty	being apologetic	arguing
being silly	being kind	griping
being hyperactive	being holier-than-thou	sulking
being late	unwilling to get dirty	whining
breaking up the activity of the group	being slow	biting
destroying equipment	afraid of other children	teasing
throwing things	always agreeing	denying
sticking pins	playing the underdog	bribing
grabbing	blaming others	spitting
slugging and hitting	saying mean, cutting things	screaming
kicking	laughing	pretending
biting nails	crying	blushing kissing

When the listing was completed, one student remarked that the composite picture of the groups they were serving was a very hostile one. Another student immediately added that the members were not acting in these ways all the time. When the instructor asked how they were acting, several students elaborated the idea that it was hard to describe activity that was friendly and co-operative. One student kept insisting that the members of her groups were friendly (on most occasions), and another declared that his members were fighting most of the time. The majority of the class, however, described the interaction in their groups as a mixture of expressions of hostility

and friendliness, but maintained that sometimes one type of expression predominated.¹

The instructor then asked how a social group worker handles situations where such behavior characterizes the interacting process. Several of the class contributed some generalizations: the worker loves and accepts the members even when their behavior disrupts the movement of the group's activities; the worker introduces a new activity; and similar statements drawn from learned concepts of basic principles. Then one student remarked that to function at all he would need to know who did what and to have some background material about the members. At this point, the instructor directed the discussion to a review of the information on the face sheet of each club record.² One of the class was asked to choose from his record one club member and to tell the class what he knew of him from that record, from his contacts with him in the group, and from outside contacts including visits to his home. Following this description the class was asked to list the verbal terms which described this particular member's behavior. Discussion was directed to the overt behavior of the member in terms of his need to behave as he did.

The original question could now be re-examined. How does the social group worker enable individual members to function in conflict situations caused by the hostile and friendly feelings? It now became clear that the situation, in itself, gives rise to no specific techniques which apply to every similar situation; in short, that there is no neat system by which a worker can learn about different types of behavior and then learn ways of responding to that behavior. It became clear that, while some help may be given by such simple mechanical devices as changing the type of activity or changing the subject, the individual is not really helped unless the change of activity is accompanied by behavior on the part of the worker which reveals understanding and acceptance of the member's need to behave as he does. The worker must be a quick artist in diagnosis, and it is his diagnosis of the needs of each individual in the group and of the group-as-a-whole which determines how he handles the situation at hand.

The list of verbal terms characterizing group members' behavior reveals two types of observation on the part of the students: (1) objective — classification of an overt act; (2) subjective — estimate of an attitude. There is no question about the accuracy of terms that describe specific acts; all observers

¹ The different reactions of students indicate stages of development. Some students are unable to accept the whole meaning of the concept of ambivalence and declare that their group members are "good" children. Others, overwhelmed by the hostile expressions, feel the members are completely hostile. Still others are able to accept the hypothesis that everybody feels both positive and negative and that even seemingly hostile expressions include elements of friendliness.

² See explanation of content of the record, Chapter 3, pp. 76-80.

will agree that the member is spitting, biting, laughing, or otherwise overtly behaving. But characterizations of "being silly," "snooty," "slow," and the like, imply that the observer has evaluated an act. What did the member do that the observer regarded as silly? Against what frame of reference did the observer classify an act as snooty? Against what norm of speed is the member regarded as slow? Analysis along these lines makes one aware of the use of one's own frame of reference and helps one to think also within the frame of reference of the group members. It is at this point that knowledge of the social structure of society takes on significance. The material learned about caste and class and about the particular behavior patterns of different racial and nationality groups should be related to the process of observing behavior in groups. All these factors are of vital significance as the student takes the next step of trying to understand what the observed behavior means to the member himself.

As one student pointed out, few friendly reactions were included in the list of terms describing observed behavior. Friendly, co-operative reactions seldom appear exciting or dramatic. Group records, like the daily newspapers, often place a disproportionate emphasis on aberrations of behavior, to the neglect of the really exciting examples of friendly and co-operative activity. It must be remembered, however, that too much of anything is apt to be harmful — even the expression of friendliness and co-operation. Thus, failure to record positive reactions may be the cause of a group worker's failure to recognize the hostility of the "very good" person. The child, adolescent, or adult who is quiet and always in agreement with others is not apt to obstruct the movement of the group-as-a-whole; yet the sensitive, experienced worker recognizes such behavior as a possible expression of hostility symptomatic of personality maladjustment. As medical and psychological researches indicate, the members whose anxiety and fear about their hostile feelings are so great that they are unable to express any form of disagreement are those who suffer most from the strain of internal conflict and are those who, unless they find some form of expression, may develop a serious mental illness. They are the individuals who frequently succumb to various forms of functional illness or whose mental stress is so great that their bodies receive insufficient nourishment or undergo an extraordinary strain that results in organic illness. Hence the social group worker must be as aware of the quiet individual as of the member whose aggressive and hostile behavior is a disruptive influence in the group; he must be aware of and function in relation to the total interaction and not just the immediate crisis situation.

But understanding the dynamics of the behavior of each individual in the group is not enough; the social worker must also understand the dynamics of the social processes within the group-as-a-whole if he is to achieve success in the use of the helping process.

2

Understanding the Dynamics of Group Life

ALL SOCIAL WORKERS need an understanding of the dynamics of group life. While the case worker most frequently meets with individuals in a face-to-face relationship, he is working in a setting where the social process is the fabric of the relationship of which he is a part. He also has many occasions to function in groups both as a member and as a leader. The social group worker may have his first contact with individuals in a group situation, but through his understanding of the social processes within the group, the personalities and needs of the individuals who compose it become apparent to him. Through use of the knowledge of social processes, then, the social worker is able to understand the social forces at work within groups and to analyze the significance of major and minor social movements.

GROUPS: MEDIA FOR ACHIEVEMENT, CHANGE, AND STABILITY

Groups are the media through which (1) individuals achieve personal and social satisfactions and goals; (2) individual and social norms are changed; (3) controls in society are maintained; and (4) society passes on its customs, norms, and values.

Every social worker who works with groups needs to be aware of such factors as the size of the group; the setting, both agency and community, in which it is meeting; the personality and health of the members, and their cultural, social, and economic backgrounds; and the relationship of this group to other groups in the agency and the community. Factors of likeness and difference — religious, ethnic, political, economic, social class, and generation — play a large role in even those groups that are smallest in numbers and youngest in point of members' ages. Group life, as a conflict between self-interest and corporate interest, often causes conflict — both internally felt and externally manifested — within individuals, within groups, and between groups. All these temporal factors, as well as the more theoretical

concepts of social processes, must be clearly understood by those who assume the responsibility of helping individuals and groups to achieve personal and social obligations in group life.

Human beings can be understood only in relation to other human beings. What a man is, is reflected by the behavior of other men toward him. What a man thinks of himself is his judgment of the reactions of other men to him. The behavior pattern of any individual is a mirror of his total life-experience, most of which is in groups.¹ If one is to understand an individual, one must know the groups to which he belongs. Every individual has a different status in each of the variety of groups to which he belongs. The same individual will exhibit different patterns of behavior in different groups.

Every individual behaves differently from every other, and his behavior has a different meaning for him than similar behavior has for others. Behavior is affected by both the internal and external environment. In a like manner, personal and social pathologies have different meaning for each individual affected by them. Having tuberculosis or living in slums calls forth different reactions from different individuals. The social worker must understand not only the social and economic situation, but also the nature of the maladjustment, and in addition the sum-total meaning to the individual, if he is to understand behavior. He must also have a knowledge of class stratification and its peculiar meaning to the individual.

Conflict in Values and Norms

The ever present conflict situation in groups is caused by the variety of values and norms which the members bring to the group. Each person brings his particular set which he has formulated for himself from the influence of his particular environment. His social and economic status has affected them. His particular racial and national heritage has contributed to his present-day values. The educational atmosphere of the home and neighborhood leaves its imprint upon his ideas and reactions. Relationships within the home have strongly affected each member's concept of himself and his place in his own world. Where each member stands within his primary family group is therefore an important consideration in analyzing the factors in a conflict situation. Status in the family group is not finally determined by the individual's position as an only, oldest, middle, or last child in a small or large family, but it is a factor in such a determination and one worthy of consideration when an attempt is made to understand the atti-

¹ "We find the true man only through group organization. The potentialities of the individual remain potentialities until they are released by group life. Man discovers his true nature, gains his true freedom only through the group." Mary P. Follett, *The New State* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1920), p. 6. See also Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements* (New York: Wiley, 1947).

tudes of the participants in a conflict situation. The values and norms of other associational groups to which members belong will affect the values and norms each individual brings to the group in question.

Corporate action, in some groups, is made impossible by the presence of very dominant and aggressive individuals who insist upon solving conflict situations through subjecting the other members to their will. Corporate action is also impossible when there are members in the group who are overly submissive and unable to participate in the competitive situation which the conflict creates. Except where there is extreme behavior of these types, however, the movement of the group-as-a-whole will be maintained through compromise and other less desirable forms of accommodation. But in guided group experiences, where social work service is provided, it is important that the motivations of the obstructing members be understood and, if necessary, that help to them as individuals be offered either within the group situation or outside of it. Members of a group can be understood only against their own frames of reference for values and consequent norms of behavior.

It is an acknowledged fact that an individual is not born with a sense of value or a set of norms. The human being is born with certain drives which force him to seek satisfaction of elemental needs. However, the manner in which these needs are satisfied is determined by the customs and attitudes of the particular environment into which he is born. He learns what is "good" and what is "bad" by discovering what pleases or displeases his parents and other adults important to him. His social needs grow as his social experiences develop, and these needs are met in accordance with the accepted standards of his particular class groups. His attitudes toward persons in other class groups, with other national or racial heritages, other religious identifications or political affiliations, are reflections of his contacts with concepts already formed. Attitudes on basic issues are not originally acquired from formal instruction in the social studies, even at the grade school level; instead they come out of earlier life experiences.

Sensitive listening to the conversations even of very young children verifies this contention. For example, at nursery school Mary Jane and Patsy were discussing the metropolitan power strike which was the subject of conversation in every home. Mary Jane said, "But the men need the money, they haven't enough to buy milk for their children." To which Patsy replied, "Then the company will go broke." It would be ridiculous to assume that these children had any real understanding of this economic problem which was baffling their elders. They were merely accepting as final the conclusions of the adults who were important to them. But in this process they were forming their own frames of reference for attacking future problems, and these frames of reference will be more significant to them than rational facts and figures.

Betty is the small daughter, aged four, of very intelligent parents. They have provided her with experiences and toys appropriate to her age, which will help her to think, to make decisions for herself, and to become self-reliant. One day friends of her mother's came in for tea. During the course of the conversation, one of the visitors commented on the fact that the property next door had been sold and wondered who had bought it. Betty's mother replied that she and her husband were very much disturbed because the people who had bought it were Jews. As the conversation continued, the visitors commiserated with their hostess. Suddenly a little voice asked, "Mama, what's the matter with people who are Jews?" In spite of the fact that Betty's parents had gone through all of the motions of helping Betty to develop her own thinking, their attitudes were shaping hers.

Countless illustrations of similar situations could be given; they are all important, the more so because they are almost universally regarded as unimportant. Dr. Sherif, in his *Psychology of Social Norms*, says,

... the child does not bring with him at birth social norms or values or any other cultural product. These are standardized in the society into which he is born. He comes to interiorize these social products in himself. Hence he must be subjected to the influence of norms or standards. This is a problem of stimulation, for nothing becomes interiorized in an individual by inspiration. More specifically, this means the genetic study of how certain values or norms become a part of him. Then there is the task of the formulation of norms in a group, and their persistence in the individual even when he is no longer in the group.¹

From the moment the child is born he is sensitive to the feeling tones of those around him and he is influenced by the social attitudes of his companions long before he can understand or use the spoken word. Unless the values and norms which he has thus absorbed are challenged, he will carry them with him for the rest of his life.

The relative uniformity of a culture from one generation to another, the usual slow rate of change, is clear indication that many norms of the culture are uncritically accepted by a large majority of the people. Not only do people acquire certain of the standards the culture provides regarding such characteristics as sizes, shapes, melodies, language, and institutions, but they are likely to accept in large measure the prevailing evaluations which the culture has placed on its material products or its various ways of life.²

However, within the very personality of the human being there is a driving force which challenges the complete acceptance of established values and

¹ Muzafer Sherif, *Psychology of Social Norms* (New York: Harper, 1936), p. 24.

² Hadley Cantril, *The Psychology of Social Movements* (New York: Wiley; copyright 1941 by Hadley Cantril), p. 6.

norms. The child develops a sense of himself, an ego, as he assumes more and more responsibility for conforming to the norms of behavior set for him by his parents. At the same time he is incorporating within himself these ideas of "right" and "wrong"; hence his superego is becoming stronger. Now as he moves from childhood into adulthood, he must break his dependence on parents and their substitutes if he is to develop sufficient strength within himself to meet adult responsibilities. This emancipation from parents, beginning in the latency period and at its height in adolescence, is accomplished not only by resisting parents' authority but also by challenging their thinking and that of the adult world as a whole. The drive to participate in communal life accelerates the process of emancipation, and this process in turn develops in the child a greater need for association with his peers. As he sees about him forms of group life already organized, his urge to affiliate himself with a group is further stimulated. Club participation for the individual whose development has proceeded along the normal course of life's experience begins in pre-adolescence and continues throughout life.

The organized group gradually replaces the parent as the source and testing ground of values and norms. One of the first pieces of business undertaken by members organizing their first club is the setting up of rules of conduct, with fines for swearing, for speaking out of turn, for dressing inappropriately, and for other behavior which violates the members' ideas of "good" conduct. By this act the members take away from their parents some measure of the regulatory function and delegate it to the group. This is less threatening to the individual than to have to carry the burden alone, because all the members share in the revolt. It is a corporate act rather than an individual one. The group therefore fills an emotional need essential to the growing-up process of every individual.¹ Observation of adult group life indicates that group affiliations play supportive roles throughout the total life span.

It is within the group setting that values and norms receive the greatest impetus to change. While individuals of like race, nationality, religion, politics, or geographic origin tend to congregate and form groups because of conscious or unconscious bonds, they nevertheless bring to such a group a variety of values and norms of behavior, even within such a seemingly homogeneous setting.² Participation in the decision-making process of organized groups means that each individual's values are affected by the values of the others in the group, each member develops values and norms characteristic of the group, and the group-as-a-whole takes the responsibility of imple-

¹ Read Chuck's Boys Club, Chapter 11.

² W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Status System of a Modern Community*; Yankee City Series, vol. II (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), Chapter I.

menting these through the behavior required for membership.¹ When groups are organized around a core of common interests, such as learning an objective skill or following an intellectual pursuit, their composition may be more heterogeneous than homogeneous. If groups of this nature are to survive, the interest must be sufficiently strong and the members sufficiently flexible to endure the shifting of values and norms that is inherent in all group life.

Every group has qualifications for membership. The informal group may not have stated the qualifications in words, but the member knows that he belongs and what makes him eligible; he is aware that membership requires of him certain kinds of conduct, attitudes, and responses to situations important to the group-as-a-whole. The group members frequently also adopt various symbols of distinction, such as insignia, uniforms, passwords, and other methods of setting themselves apart as a group entity.²

Every individual belongs to a large number of groups. He is born into a group, his family, and this immediately gives him a rank within the family, the neighborhood, the community at large, and society as a whole. He may keep this rank all his life, or he may move to another social class, above or below that of his birth. His change in social status is accomplished through the groups with which he affiliates.³

As the various groups to which he belongs make conflicting demands upon him, the individual seeks not only to adjust to the demands of each, but also to lessen the conflict between the groups which are meaningful to him. Group life requires continuous adjustment from within the individual, and it also stimulates the individual to work for social change which will result in the greater consistency, from his point of view, of the values and norms of all the groups in which he participates. The mature individual seeks to accommodate himself to the demands of each group up to the point of consistency with the values and norms he has accepted for himself as inviolate (his philosophy of life). The greater the degree of maturity, the clearer becomes the sense of direction. The mature individual is able to agree and to disagree as the occasion demands. Individuals with similar points of view, desires, values, and norms tend to cluster together and thus social movements are born.

¹ Mary P. Follett, *Creative Experience* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1930), p. 60; Sherif and Cantril, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

² Grace L. Coyle, *Social Process in Organized Groups* (New York: Rinehart, 1930), Chapter VII.

³ W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), Chapter IX. The contribution of the Yankee City Series is a very important one to those who seek to understand and to affect the social processes in the life of today. The student worker is advised to read all the books in this series, four of which have already been published.

However, many persons have not developed a philosophy of life. They have little if any frame of reference against which to evaluate conflicting values and norms. Such an individual is able to participate, with little if any sense of conflict, in groups that have diametrically opposed purposes, differing values and norms; for, lacking self-knowledge, he is unaware of the discrepancies. But when issues become sharpened by the exigencies of a given social situation, the individual is caught in a traumatic experience. It is at this point that he may suffer social disorganization and personal deterioration. He may withdraw into the cloister of an exclusive group based on a limited, congenial frame of reference. He may withdraw from society as a whole and live his life out of touch with the reality of group life and its consequent conflicts. In the last analysis, the individual's ability to participate in group life, that is, to be accepted by the members of groups and to accept a variety of groups, is determined by the interplay between his social experience and the physical, intellectual, and emotional forces within himself.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE HUMAN PERSONALITY

The human being is born with three fundamental drives: self-preservation, race preservation, and the drive to participate in communal life.¹ In the first few weeks of life he is dominated by the first drive, and all his instinctive energy is consumed in demanding food, warmth, and comfort. He is completely self-centered. Soon, however, he begins to associate the satisfaction of his needs with other human beings. If he receives affection he can develop the ability to enter into group relationships. Self-preservation is "taking." Race preservation is "giving." Participation in communal life is dependent upon the individual's ability to develop an appropriate balance between "taking" and "giving." Satisfactory growth process is attained when the individual has developed a sufficiently strong personal will to be able to control the demands within himself which are set in motion by his inherited drives for self-preservation and race preservation. At the same time it is important for him not to develop a conscience so strict that he inhibits himself from being creative through personal and social "giving."

The personality grows spontaneously; the dynamic driving force is inherent in the organism itself. As the instinctive energy (the id) of the newborn human being meets the force exerted by the norms of the society into which

¹ See Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* (London: Hogarth Press, 1937); William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Knopf, 1931), section II, "Development Stages," pp. 80-125; Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934); Franz Alexander, "Psychoanalytic Aspect of Mental Hygiene and the Environment," *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 21 (April, 1937), pp. 187-197.

he is born, he develops, through conflict, a sense of direction which he identifies with himself (the ego), and he likewise develops that capacity of censorship which is commonly called a conscience (the superego). He learns to adopt behavior through which he can gain as much satisfaction as possible of his instinctual drives and at the same time avoid the pain of social disapproval. He learns to behave in ways by which he will maintain as much security for himself as possible. Out of the conflict between his own drives and the demands of society, he develops his peculiar personality pattern. Because so many of his instinctual drives meet with the disapproval of society (his parents and others representative of security), he tends to deny them and to repress them from his consciousness. However, the force of his drives remains within him and greatly influences his behavior. Most human beings have little if any awareness of this factor in their lives.¹

Personality development is therefore seen as a combination of processes. The social processes of group life affect the interaction of component forces within the human organism.² The practice of social work is based on understanding the phenomena of these processes as manifested in the content of group life. The art of social work is developed from the use which the practitioner makes of his understanding of the language of behavior in helping individuals and groups to function more adequately in society.

CONCEPTS RELATIVE TO INTERACTING PROCESSES IN GROUPS

While every individual reacts differently to the same social situation³ and while every individual behaves differently in different groups, and while the group situation itself is never twice alike, there is a constancy about the na-

¹ O. Spurgeon English and Gerald H. J. Pearson, *Emotional Problems of Living* (New York: Norton, 1945), Chapters I, II, V, VII, IX, X.

² "Man is by no means only a product of his environment, as often is postulated by social scientists. When he is born, he represents a complicated biological mechanism which is the product of a much older historical development than the culture to which he has to adjust himself after his birth. His body with its instinctive cravings is the product of the phylogenetic development which itself can be considered as a process of adjustment, an adjustment of the race to external physical conditions. The development of an individual in the womb from the moment of impregnation until birth is a brief recapitulation of the long history of this process of adjustment which his predecessors had to accomplish." Franz Alexander, "The Sociological and Biological Orientation of Psychoanalysis," *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 20 (April, 1936), pp. 232-48.

³ "The situation is the set of values and attitudes with which the individual or the group has to deal in a process of activity and with regard to which this activity is planned and its results appreciated. Every concrete activity is the solution of a situation. The situation involves three kinds of data: (1) The objective conditions under which the individual or society has to act, that is, the totality of values — economic, social, religious, intellectual, etc. — which at the given moment affect directly or indirectly the conscious status of the individual or the group. (2) The pre-existing attitudes of the individual or the group which

ture of the interaction process in all groups which lends itself to generalization. Within every group the members are reacting: accepting, rejecting, or ignoring each other; accepting, rejecting, or being indifferent to the group itself, its program, its leadership. This acceptance-rejection process affects both the formation of the group and its structure — its subgroupings, system of leadership, and program. It affects the group's morale or *esprit de corps*. Although these concepts are theoretical in nature, the student of social group work will benefit from full study of the contributions of the sociological approach to an understanding of group life.

An Organized Group Defined

A group, strictly speaking, is composed of two or more persons, and the "more" may be anything from a half dozen to millions. The people of the Far East may be spoken of as a group; two or three children playing in the street may be designated as a group. In fact the word *group* is often used simply to indicate more than one individual. However, we shall use the word in a more restricted sense. We may accept the definition given by an outstanding sociologist: "Two or more persons in a relationship of psychic interaction, whose relationship with one another may be abstracted and distinguished from their relationships with all others so that they must be thought of as an entity."¹ For our purpose, moreover, we shall consider a group to comprise a minimum of five or six individuals and a maximum of infinite numbers limited in practice by the fact that when the group exceeds twenty-five or thirty persons the worker actually deals with divisions of the larger group rather than with the group-as-a-whole.

By definition, then, a group has a number of characteristics peculiar to a constellation of people. First of all, by psychic interaction the members are conscious of one another and of their relationship to one another. They are, for example, more closely related than the same number of people waiting for a street car or sitting in a park. That consciousness of each other is caused by a sense of something held in common, a feeling spoken of by sociologists as the "bond" and frequently described as the "we feeling." The definition also indicates that belonging to the group does something to the individuals; they become known as part of the group, and the group becomes known because each individual has contributed something to the *relational total* which is recognized as the group. In other words, a group is something more than a collection of individuals because each individual has affected at the given moment have an actual influence upon his behavior. (3) The definition of the situation, that is, the more or less clear conception of the conditions and consciousness of the attitudes." William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Knopf, 1927), vol. I, p. 76.

¹ Earl Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1932), p. 163.

every other individual in such a way that their behavior is spoken of as characteristic of the group. Now this group itself does not in fact exist — only the interpersonal relationships of the members of the group have reality; in fact, the group has no substance, it has no mind, it has no interests, it does not think or make decisions.¹ Only the individuals within the group have these capacities. However, the individuals think, feel, and act differently because they are part of a relational total known as a group. Relationships between individuals in groups are not equal. A group is a configuration of individuals, each of whom has a different relationship with every other; one may like one or two other members more than the others, but each likes all well enough to keep the group together. Sometimes an individual's relationship to the other members may be almost negative, but the members get sufficient satisfaction from having him in the group to keep him in the membership.

Ambivalence and the Process of Acceptance

The capacity of individuals to react to one another favorably and unfavorably creates the energy which makes human intercourse possible. To understand the process of acceptance as it operates in group life, one must first understand the ambivalent nature of the human being. Prior to birth the individual lives in a perfect balance between needs and satisfactions. He is warm and comfortable, and is fed consistently and without effort on his part. Birth changes all this. He arrives protesting against his new environment.² From the beginning he demands that his elemental needs be met. His satisfactions come from his first social contact; his dissatisfactions, from lack of social contact. From the beginning, his feeling reactions are a mixture of the favorable and the unfavorable: accepting and rejecting, liking and disliking, loving and hating. The degree of positive or negative feelings which an individual has at any one time is related to the degree to which he feels that his needs are being met.³ However, since human beings always crave more than they receive, a feeling of deprivation always persists, even when needs are being sufficiently met. If this were not true, we should not

¹ "Strictly speaking, a plurality pattern never consists of human beings, but only of the neuropsychic patterns of human beings — habits, attitudes, presentations, concepts, and images which may be traced back to relations . . . All plurality patterns are intangible, incorporeal; they are nothing more than neuropsychic patterns — and nothing less!" [It is a mistake to assume that these aren't real.] "... As Thomas puts it, 'If men define . . . [them] as real, they are real in their consequences.'" Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, adapted and amplified by Howard Becker (New York: Wiley; copyright 1932 by Howard Becker), p. 34.

² Otto Rank, *The Trauma of Birth* (especially the chapter on Infant Anxiety) (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929), pp. 11-29.

³ See Chapter 4, pp. 101-115.

grow and develop, physically, emotionally, and intellectually. Feeling reactions, therefore, have concurrently both positive and negative attributes. From birth throughout life the individual strives to satisfy his need for love and acceptance and to handle his feelings of deprivation and anger at not having all that he craves. Unless he is able to find reasonably satisfactory expressions for his feelings he is caught in a vicious circle. He wants to be loved. When he is not loved he feels deprived and angry. But his contact with society has taught him that being angry is not acceptable behavior. He is fearful of losing what love he has if he behaves in an unacceptable way. He therefore feels guilty about his anger. This complication of feelings rouses still more disturbing feelings of anxiety over the whole situation. It is at this point that the healthy individual, though angry and resentful at being deprived, will resolve his feelings in ways which will not necessarily be harmful to himself or others.

Mechanisms of Defense

Such solutions are frequently spoken of as *mechanisms of defense* and are described in various terms by different schools of thought about the internal psychic processes. In brief, feelings generated by the anxiety and fear caused by the resentment and hostility which every human being feels, when deprived of the love and affection he wants, have to be handled in one or a combination of ways which may be conveniently identified as follows:

- (1) *Suppression*, a conscious attempt to push the painful and unpleasant out of "the mind."
- (2) *Repression*, the protection exercised by the unconscious which retains the content of that which is painful, but without awareness of the self.
- (3) *Sublimation*, conscious control, rationalization and compensation through which unacceptable desires are directed into acceptable outlets providing appropriate satisfactions to the self.
- (4) *Symbolization*, a process by which emotional satisfactions are achieved through representation of the original, less socially acceptable desire, as in painting, clay modeling, dramatics, music, and the dance.
- (5) *Displacement*, the direction of hostility toward another object or person than the source of the original feeling.
- (6) *Projection*, a process through which feelings belonging to the self are ascribed to others.
- (7) *Identification*, a process through which the self internalizes admired qualities of other persons, objects, and ideas. (This is the mechanism through which emotional readiness for learning is achieved.)
- (8) Combinations of some or all of these mechanisms through which the individual strives to adapt himself to his environment. (See pages 56-59 for discussion of the operation of these mechanisms in groups.)

If, however, the individual receives too little love and affection, his search for a solution will take the form of demanding more and more of what he cannot get (such as mother-love or social acceptance), and for human affection he will tend to substitute material self-indulgences such as food, alcohol, and overwork. His increasing demand for "more" causes within him a greater feeling of deprivation, and consequently more resentment and increasing hostility, which in turn generate a sense of guilt, especially if his hostility is directed toward the source from which he craves love and affection. Such a person will find neurotic solutions which may take the form, on the one hand, of self-punishment or punishment of others, or on the other hand, of making restitution by being very, very good. The psychotic individual, finding reality too painful, withdraws from the world-as-it-is and solves his guilt through extreme projection, paranoia, or refusal to share or to rival; and may regress finally to the infantile behavior of dementia praecox. In short, he is unable to make satisfactory group adjustments since his problem is essentially the inability to accept his fellow men or to win acceptance from them.¹

Given the opportunity, the human being tends to develop good physical and emotional health. The human organism is a complex physiological unit, never static, but always reacting to the external and internal environment. These reactions — coming as they do from a great many sources: from the organic system, the emotional system, and the nervous system — affect the chemical processes within the body, and if the individual does not act out his feelings the chemical reaction will attack and injure the organism itself. It is thus essential for the human organism to maintain a dynamic equilibrium within the body, and unless there is some stress put upon it, the human organism is equipped to achieve the required equilibrium. Physical stress causes emotional stress, and emotional stress causes physical stress; hence there is a definite correlation between the physical and emotional stresses and their mechanisms of defense for the health of the organism. Lack of adaptation of the organism constitutes a disease. When the defenses break down, a state of illness or disease exists. That is, illness is not synonymous with an external virus attacking the body, but is rather the failure of the body to make the adjustment that will enable it to attack the virus. An individual whose development is impaired through constitutional defects, disease, or injury, will need more understanding and acceptance from parents and other adults if he is to make satisfactory personal and social adjustments to the demands of society. Social workers, in many situations, function as support-

¹ O. Spurgeon English and Gerald H. J. Pearson, *Common Neuroses of Children and Adults* (New York: Norton, 1945); Anna Freud, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV; Sigmund Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (New York: Liveright, 1935), Chapters 17, 23, 25; Healy and Bronner, *op. cit.*, Section V, "Dynamics and Dynamisms," pp. 192-261.

ing adults; hence they need a knowledge and understanding of the meaning of disease and injury to the total organism. They also need to understand the meaning of a particular disability to the particular individual whom they are helping.¹

The Process of Acceptance: Groups and Subgroups

To each group situation, then, each individual brings a unique combination which is the result of his own internal and external reactions in various environments. Groups form because several individuals accept each other sufficiently to wish to be together. To repeat, this does not mean that every individual reacts only in a positive way to every other. It means that for purposes of this group the individuals are acceptable to each other. A member may be disliked because of his behavior in many situations, but he may have a special talent, or access to certain facilities, something which the group wants, which makes him acceptable as a member but not necessarily as a friend. Acceptance in this meaning, then, is not synonymous with affection. It denotes the bestowal of membership status upon an individual by the other members for one or more of a great variety of reasons. Relationships between individuals in a group are constantly changing; the degree of acceptance enjoyed by one member may be quite different at the beginning, middle, or end of a group session. However, as the process of acceptance operates it is possible to discover some semi-permanent patterns of relationship within any group.²

There are some members who consistently come alone to the group meetings. They are not granted the special privileges conferred by the group upon its members, such as being singled out when "choose-up" games are played, being elected to office or given membership on committees. Sometimes it seems as if the others scarcely notice the presence of these lone members. Yet they continue to come. They are receiving sufficient acceptance to be held in the group. These members might be called isolates or monads.³

¹ Walter B. Cannon, *The Wisdom of the Body* (New York: Norton, 1939); Harry M. Margolis, "The Psychosomatic Approach to Medical Diagnosis," *Journal of Social Case Work*, vol. 28, no. 8 (December, 1946); Henry E. Sigerist, *Man and Medicine* (New York: Norton, 1932).

² J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (New York: Nervous and Mental Diseases Publishing Co., 1934), pp. 23-66; Sherif and Cantril, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-274 and Chapter 10.

³ "The simplest structure [plurality patterns] which may be subsumed under the sociological category is the single individual, however paradoxical and essentially contradictory it may seem." N. J. Spykman, *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 129.

"... the solitary human being is after all a nexus of relationships; most of his humanness would disappear if they were to be suddenly wiped out, ... and thus the term 'monad' is not a misnomer; the solitary person is really a mirror of the social order even when removed from it. It would be entirely possible to begin that part of the systematics of plurality pat-

The individual who accepts such status in a group is usually either very quiet and timid or extremely noisy and aggressive. He needs the help of the social group worker if he is to learn to fulfill his responsibility in group life. The group is not receiving his full contribution as long as he accepts this position; however, he may be fulfilling a role satisfactory to the members even though it is not for their or his best welfare. In order to help the isolate, the worker must understand him as a person and must also understand the personalities of the other members of the group who need help in permitting him to enter into group relationships.

There are also members who always come to meetings with the same person. They are known as "best friends" at school or at work or in the community. They tend to agree with each other when votes are taken. They choose to be on the same committees. Their relationship is such that they are spoken of as a pair or, sociologically speaking, a dyad. Their congeniality is such that there is apparently no systematized basis for their relationship. That is, they operate without formal organization. This combination seems to be the most satisfactory grouping of human relationships.¹

All individuals do not fall naturally into isolates or pairs; consequently a third pattern is discernible, the triangle or triad. Upon analysis this pattern falls into a combination of a pair and an isolate. However, in this constellation the isolate is sufficiently accepted by one of the members of the pair to have a fighting chance of establishing a pair relationship with him. This plurality pattern is the most volatile of all human relationships.²

The process of acceptance is the motor of all the social processes discernible within the group. We have seen that through the process of acceptance individuals are enabled to participate in groups and that this happens in various patterns of groupings. They cluster in ones, pairs, and triangles around a nucleus of some common purpose whose accomplishment demands a group of people. The individual is forced into group life because he wants many things which he cannot attain by himself.³ At one and the same time he wants to become a part of the group and he resists becoming a member of the terms dealing with the group by first analyzing the monad and then following with the dyad, triad, tetrad, and so on. . . . The point is raised only in order to show how closely interwoven the two divisions of our science really are, how necessary it is to abandon the 'individual-society' antitheses." Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, adapted and amplified by Howard Becker (New York: Wiley; copyright 1932 by Howard Becker), p. 142.

¹ The organization of a pair is so personal that it is difficult to recognize its structure. Marriage, the organization of the most consistent pairs of opposite sex, has, however, developed structure which has become a social institution.

² Wiese-Becker; *op. cit.*, Chapters 39 and 40.

³ "Human society is composed of a vast totality of single human beings, each a psycho-physical organism biologically self-sufficient, but endowed with capacity for many desires whose satisfactions are impossible without group-life. Associations with his fellows once established, life for each person within the group is a continuous sequence of activities in

group. The group (relational total of neuropsychic interactions) demands that he give of himself to the group. This he resists. Group membership also requires restraint in taking, for the rights of others must be considered. The individual is faced with the psychological dilemma of giving, while at the same time exercising self-discipline in taking. The insecure deprived individual is fearful of self-devastation if he permits himself to join a group. On the other hand, his growth needs press him on. If he is to achieve personal and social satisfactions he must participate in group life. He can learn social responsibility only by practicing social responsibility. Individual readiness for group life varies according to the nature of earlier family and group relationships, but group participation presents for everyone an emotional as well as an intellectual problem. Emotional readiness for group life plays a very important part in determining the position a member secures in the group, through the degree of acceptance which he is able to give and to command. But while there is some correlation between the acceptance of the individual by the group and the acceptance of the group by the individual, there is also considerable evidence that an individual may have high acceptance in a group for which he himself has low acceptance, and that the opposite is just as true.¹

Characteristics of a Primary Group

A mutual acceptance grows out of common interests and purposes, yet these alone do not create a group. Neither does a group have continuity of life merely because there happens to be a fortunate balance between the members' positive and negative feelings. It is a combination of interest in the content of group life and in each other which creates among individuals a bond sufficiently cohesive to enable them to develop the attributes of a primary group. Wiese-Becker² lists six characteristics of the small self-conscious group: (1) it is of relatively long duration and has relative continuity; (2) it has formal or informal organization which is based on a division of function among its members; (3) the interaction of the members develops

company with others for the fulfillment of these desires. During this time relationships are established among them, the group itself becoming a major factor in shaping his volitions, controlling his actions, and providing the culture in which his life is set and by which it is conditioned." Earl E. Eubank, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

¹ This fact is clearly demonstrated in process group records of clubs of all ages. It was also one of the significant findings of the research project described in *Group Adjustment — A Study in Experimental Sociology* by W. I. Newstetter, Marc J. Feldstein, and Theodore M. Newcomb (Western Reserve University, 1938). See also W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), analysis of associational structure in Chapter XVI, "The Formal and Informal Associations of Yankee City."

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 489-492.

neuropsychic patterns symbolic of the group; (4) as the group grows older it develops traditions and customs peculiar to itself; (5) the group has interaction with other plurality patterns, thus developing intergroup situations of significance to the group itself and to society; (6) the group has a tendency to develop group spirit.

Some groups are formed because the members are conscious of a bond and want to strengthen it by organization; other groups, because the attractiveness of the proposed program content recruits members. Eubank¹ classifies these groups according to the kind of bond, by speaking of the first as "spontaneous" and the second as "predetermined." We shall designate the first as "natural" and the second as "formed" groups. Both are found in large numbers among social work agencies. The natural group is usually thought of as one organized outside of the agency, through association in the neighborhood, school, church, hospital ward, or place of employment. The formed group is one for which the agency takes the responsibility for recruitment and preliminary organization. Social clubs, gang groups, and fraternities are examples of the natural group; classes and interest groups and agency boards and committees, of the formed group. The natural group, even before formal organization, has already achieved to some degree the six characteristics of a group, as listed above. The success of the formed group is dependent upon whether the type of relationships established within it will develop these characteristics. In other words, the agency or any other outside party may set the stage and collect the people for a group, but only the process of acceptance working among them will actually *form* a group. The process of group formation, then, takes place if there is sufficient acceptance among the members to set up either an official or an unofficial structure to maintain the program content.

Group Structure

The word *structure*, as ordinarily used, implies something built or finished. This meaning is far from accurate, however, when the term is used in the sense of group relationships, and a somewhat different meaning must be read into it. For nothing is more dynamic than group life. Everything about the group is constantly changing. The structure of the group is the evidence of the neuropsychic relationships within the group. The structure, therefore, like the relationships, is constantly in the process of change.² "Social Struc-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

² The structure of a group is the pattern of its relationships which "are simply those elements and functions of personality in each which are dependent on the elements and functions of personality in others. Society is therefore not relations, but beings in their relationships. It follows that there is no social function which is outside of the function of personalities. Society is in us, in each of us . . ." R. M. MacIver, *Community: A Sociological Study* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 71-72.

ture," according to Warner and Lunt, "is a system of formal and informal groupings by which the social behavior of individuals is regulated."¹ Some groups express their relationships in the formalized structure of a constitution and by-laws, with the usual officers and their assigned duties. Others are less formal, but every group which can be characterized as such has some sort of structure through which the privileges and responsibilities are executed.

Conflict and Agreement: the Basis of Interaction

Societary action, according to Eubank, can be classified into opposition on the one hand and accommodation on the other. Opposition can be distinguished through expression of conflict and competition. Accommodation or concurrence is seen as a process of combination, or fusion. An adjustment to either interaction is classified into five types: elimination, subjugation, compromise, alliance, and integration. From these reactions develop three forms of collective action: complete disassociation, co-operation, and corporate action.² Although everyone is thrust into group life, such as that afforded by family, school, church, and place of employment, many persons make every effort to avoid association with others wherever possible. These are the individuals whose problems center in an inability to give of themselves or to take from others. Any form of group life makes demands on its participants. People congregate not only to *react* with each other but also to accomplish something through *collective action*.³ The latter is achieved only as each member enters into all the processes inherent in group life — processes which are more demanding in the organized than in the casual group, since the organized group has a stated or implied purpose which motivated formation of the group and which can be realized only through collective action. To achieve collective action members of the group must participate in the decision-making process. This will inevitably disclose the differing values and objectives of the members. Conflicts and their solutions become the central core of any activity of any group operating in any media of human interest. Solutions will be found in a variety of ways. Members of the group will make new alignments and alliances, subgroups shifting in response to various types of accommodation. As indicated above, subgroups or individuals may find solutions in one of the following ways or combinations thereof.

¹ Warner and Lunt, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 14.

² Eubank, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-248, 308-324, and chart on p. 391.

³ Kurt Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics," *Human Relations*, vol. I (1947), no. 1, pp. 5-41 and no. 2, pp. 143-153; Kurt Lewin, "Group Decision and Social Change," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, edited by Theodore Newcomb, Eugene Hartley, and others (New York: Holt, 1947), pp. 330-344.

(1) *Elimination.* They may combat each other, each seeking to win, and if necessary, rid the group of opposing faction or individual.

(2) *Subjugation.* The strongest subgroup or individual may force others to accept its point of view and thus dominate the opposition.

(3) *Compromise.* If the strength of the competing subgroups or individuals is approximately equal, each may give up something to safeguard the activity or the life of the group.

(4) *Alliance.* Subgroups or individuals may maintain their independence but combine to achieve a common goal.

(5) *Integration.* The group-as-a-whole may arrive at a solution that not only satisfies each member but is better than any of the contending suggestions.

Integration represents the height of achievement in group life. It has the potentiality of being personally satisfying and socially useful; such action is the basis of democratic government. Of this type of situation Mary Follett wrote, "The group process contains the secret of collective life, it is the key to democracy, it is the master lesson for every individual to learn, it is our chief hope for the political, the social, the international life of the future."¹

Examples of opposition and accommodation fill the pages of group records. Conflicts of personality, struggles for power, clashes of interest, competition for achievement, desires for prestige, and other expressions of ego are described. Since a group seldom dies, records of complete and final dissolution are comparatively rare.² Open conflict, however, may exist in a group over a long period of time because of the inability of the members to find some kind of solution. In the struggle to find a basis for co-operative action, members of groups experiment with the different forms of accommodation. A discussion of actual group situations, with special attention to these aspects of group interaction, will make clearer the processes of conflict and control in organized groups.³

Within the Lucky Eleven Club (so called because all the members were eleven years old) a struggle had been going on for weeks between Johnny, the indigenous leader, and Dan who challenged his right to "boss me around." All the other members of the club were followers of Johnny. Dan's suggestions were ignored and his antics failed to attract attention. The only satisfaction he gained was to be elected president, but it was an empty honor, for all power rested with Johnny. Dan brought new members to the club, one

¹ Follett, *The New State* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1920), p. 23.

² Some of this material was published in Gertrude Wilson, "Record Keeping in Group Work — A Contribution to Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 2, no. 2 (April, 1937).

³ Apply these concepts to any of the records in Chapters 11-14.

and then another, and finally three at a time, until his following was as large as Johnny's. The group worker's record of the club's reaction is given here:

The next piece of business was to vote on all the new members, Louis, Lefty, and Eddie. They left the room and Dan called for votes. The three boys were accepted unanimously, there having been no criticism of them when the opportunity for it had been offered.

The failure of the members of the club to oppose Dan's friends was probably due to their lack of experience in groups and their inability to challenge the opposition which Dan, with a following equal in size to Johnny's, could offer. The new members were met with silent hostility until a game proposed by the group worker gave opportunity for physical expression. To quote further from the record,

In the game after the second number was called, Dan and Johnny ran out against each other, Johnny with his head bent forward in a big drive for speed. He ran Dan in the stomach and Dan was doubled up on the floor for a few minutes with his wind knocked out. As soon as he could put on his hat and coat he said that he was leaving, but he didn't go. The game started again but Johnny refused to play. Very soon Dan got into the spirit of the game, but Bobbie, Johnny's greatest admirer, refused to play. Pretty soon Johnny got up and said that he was going home.

Two Weeks Later. Dan came into the office and stood hesitatingly before the worker for several seconds looking very sad. Finally he said, "Miss S., I hate to tell you this, but the club is breaking up. There isn't any more Lucky Elevens, not for me." . . . Dan said that the only reason that he had come to the club today was to get his dues back. Johnny paid out the money and then said, "All right. Dismissed." The worker said that she would like to know why all this was happening. Johnny replied that Dan and his friends didn't want to be in the club any longer and that they didn't want them either and that was all.

Here we have opposition which started as competition for power and prestige in the group and finally developed into open conflict. The accommodation took the form of concurrence, which led to an adjustment through elimination, and finally to partial disassociation. This solution was accomplished by means of the corporate action of a part of the group which, fused by the indigenous leader, became sufficiently integrated to carry out the movement against the other subgroup. The result was a greater solidarity on the part of the conquering group.

The record of the Merry Makers Club describes a group of about thirty young women, employed in housework, who have varied interests and uses

for their club. Not all the members were interested in basketball, social dancing, or a program based on discussion of their working conditions. Both conflict and competition existed in the group, stemming from the interests and prestige of the leaders, and from other factors as well. Some members wished to satisfy more than one interest in their club meetings. Some objected to being forced into activity that they really did not want. The accommodation used in this situation was combination and fusion. Subgroups were formed, making possible both choice and variety. The subgroup for discussing working conditions organized itself as a study group in which fusion took place and the efforts of the group were integrated to such an extent that its corporate action — a statement of minimum standards of working conditions — was accepted by the whole club. The Merry Makers sponsored the study project on the level of co-operative action, but the action on the part of the study group was corporate.

It is interesting to note in passing how accommodation of conflicting interests affects the structure of the group itself. Grace Coyle in discussing this point says:

One of the most important interests of every organization is the concern for its own life. The success which it secures will be measured differently according to its purpose, but its standing and survival as a group is of necessity of great significance to any association. . . . The formations of accepted group interests which grow up in the life of any association are further complicated by the existence of active but unavowed purposes, in all or part of the group. Prestige and institutional motives are often of this sort. The discrete aims of a single individual or the common purpose of a small clique, within the whole, often inject into the stream of the organization's life powerful but hidden influences which divert its flow.¹

Conflicts are everyday occurrences in every group. They are essential to the group's existence and their solution is just as essential to its survival. If the values and norms of behavior of the members are too divergent, the group will disintegrate, because the solution of conflicts is too difficult. A collection of individuals which has not developed the characteristics of a group is not capable of handling conflicts. The group itself must have for its members a significant meaning, from which derives the motivation for finding solutions. In the beginning stages of the formed group the worker plays a vital role in this process. He is usually the chief common interest of the members, because he is the representative of the agency and of the common interest which prompted the members to join the group. A somewhat similar

¹ Coyle, *Social Process in Organized Groups* (New York: Rinehart, 1930), pp. 48-50.

situation prevails when the group is composed of immature individuals whose social development has been so blocked that they find it difficult or impossible to participate in a process which necessitates giving up something personally desired for the good of the whole. In the natural group the worker also has a role in the social process of conflict and control, but it is within the framework of a group with structure vital to the members. It is important to note that formed groups frequently develop the characteristics of the natural group and that emotionally immature individuals are helped to develop mature behavior through the support and guidance given by social workers in group situations. A group may be in one of these stages at the time of organization, but it, like the people who compose it, is in the "process of becoming."

NATURE OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN GROUPS

The social forces within any group are caused by the interplay of the positive and negative feelings of the members toward each other, toward the program content, and toward the worker, the agency, and the community. It is significant that individuals form themselves into groups not only because of common positive interests but also because of common enemies. Positive and negative forces are at work at the same time. In fact, it seems as if the bonds which are formed to oppose the enemy from without are stronger than the bonds formed by a common interest within the group. These feelings are expressed blatantly during the school age, when individuals within clubs are continuously "mad at" someone else and an entire club serves as the object of hostility for another club. However, these feelings are just as prevalent in groups of all ages, even if more subtly expressed.¹ In the older groups there is the contributing factor of social distance, with all its social, economic, and cultural components which provide objects for the displacement of collective hostility and thus strengthen the cohesiveness of the "in-group." It is not at all uncommon to find a scapegoat in a group. In this situation, the members have found the enemy among themselves, and upon him they project not only the hostility which they feel toward others but also their own "bad" selves from which they seek release.²

One of the ties that binds an individual to a group is the protection which it affords him in the expression of hostile feelings. People will express feelings in a group which they would not dare to express when alone. A group meeting may become the occasion for the expression of hostile feeling which

¹ Compare the operation of the force of these feelings in the group interaction in Chuck's Boys Club (Chapter 11) and the Friendship Club (Chapter 14).

² Analyze Charles's role in Chuck's Boys Club (Chapter 11).

is in no way related to the agency, the activity, the worker, or any external factor. One member, arriving in a mood to give direct expression to his hostile feelings, may set the others off to such an extent that co-operative activity is made difficult, if not impossible. This contagion results not only from imitation but also from the fact that all the members have a similar need and welcome the chance which the group expression provides. It is more evident among children, but is not in any way limited to them. Committee and board meetings of adults are sometimes rendered useless, as far as the business of the day is concerned, by the so-called "infantile" behavior of a particular member who uses the occasion as a vent for his feelings. Some public hearings, carried on in high governmental places, also provide examples of individuals who use the protection of the group situation for the expression of personal hostility.

Displacement and projection are mechanisms which the human being has developed to relieve the tension caused by his natural ambivalent feelings of love and hate. The superegos of human beings have developed cultural norms which deny the expression of the negative feelings and grant social approval to the expression of the positive feelings. But feelings cannot be completely repressed; they can be temporarily repressed, only to return for expression in a different form.¹ To meet this need, society accepts the validity of national enemies, and for this reason war is a human institution with which this generation is well acquainted. War has certain values to the group-as-a-whole; it provides a common enemy, and by so doing it unifies the group to the extent that the individuals are able to engage in a greater degree of co-operative effort than seems to be possible in peacetime. This same mechanism is at work in intergroup relations on a smaller scale. Society gives its tacit approval to group antagonisms within its own framework. Social distinctions create social classes; economic distinctions divide people into groups known as management and labor; caste lines separate people on a color basis; and all these divisions provide the opportunity for any one group to express group hostility toward another. The mechanisms of displacement and projection are part of the ego-structure of the human being, but how they are used is determined by the particular values and norms held by the society of which the individual is a part. The elimination of war and of group antagonism will be accomplished only when the ambivalent nature of the human being, with its need for expression, is fully understood and accepted for what it is. In this process, society will establish values and norms which will make it possible for most human beings to manage their

¹ From this point of view, study the expressions of hostility of Dorothy (Glamour Girls, Chapter 12), Catherine (Heights Recreation Club, Chapter 13), Mrs. Harold (Elite Women's Club, Chapter 14), and Mr. Shapiro (Friendship Club, Chapter 14).

feelings of love and hate without using other human beings and groups as objects of their natural hostility. It is our belief that this process is now at work in society, and that the increased knowledge and interest on the part of the general public in psychological studies augurs well for the future.

The individual uses the group not only for the expression of hostile feelings but also for the expression of feelings of love and affection. Friendliness largely characterizes the interaction of individuals in most groups. When this is not true, the group tends to disintegrate, for individuals are not capable of enduring long periods of hostility. Members of a small intimate group identify with one another and develop a feeling of relationship that is somewhat comparable to the feeling within a family.¹ They protect one another, and although they may fight among themselves, they tolerate no criticism from outsiders and are quick to repulse any kind of attack from individuals or groups. This feeling, which we have referred to as the "we feeling," can develop a barrier between groups which may isolate one from another and thus deprive the members of a needed stimulus for growth. Such isolation cuts a group off from intergroup experiences which would give it the opportunity to participate with other groups in social action of significance to the members and to the life of the group-as-a-whole. Thus the feeling of belonging, carried to an extreme, develops an attitude of exclusiveness which may be harmful to the members and to the community of which the group is a part.

It is in the social group worker's response to the members that help is given to individuals and to the group. The worker accepts expressions of hostility as naturally as he accepts those of friendliness. He accepts each member with his hostile and friendly feelings, but he is able to do so only if his understanding of the ambivalent nature of the human being outweighs the values and norms of his own personal upbringing. He has a right to his own ideas of "good" and "bad"—acceptable and unacceptable behavior—but, by the same token, so do other people who have been influenced by different sets of values and norms. Dealing with all castes and classes, he not only recognizes this right but also learns to understand people with differing values and norms by using his knowledge of the history, traditions, and customs of the people in the groups with which he is working. He must be able to distinguish between behavior which is caused by different customs and that which is caused by basic feelings of hostility.² It is his responsibility to help the members to express hostility constructively. Thus the organized group provides an excellent vehicle for the process of sublimation. This is the kernel

¹ Most of the records in Chapters 11-14 disclose discussion of who can belong to the group. See especially the Glamour Girls, Sub-Debs, and Elite Women's Club.

² See Chapters 3 and 4.

of personality development in a group situation and of successful social action.¹

Helping members and the group-as-a-whole to express hostility constructively is a very involved process and one which is the end result of all the things that happen in a group and not merely of what the worker does. Not all the behavior exhibited in a group can be considered categorically "good" or "bad" according to standards held by the members' families or the agency or the community. Some behavior is peculiar to the immediate group and it may be good for the members or bad for them. This is something of concern to the worker and the members as they carry out the program content of the group. The worker has a position of prestige in the group. He represents the values and norms of the agency and of the wider community which sanctions it. In the interacting process between the members and the worker, these values and norms affect those of the group; in turn, the values and norms of the group affect those of the agency. Values and norms are changed in this process. Whether the change is beneficial or harmful is dependent upon the needs of the members, the desires of the group, and the purposes of the agency.

¹ Analyze the worker's role in this respect in his work with Hal (Pyke's Pack), "C" (Constructive Griping), Natalie (Can Do Club), and Mrs. Martin (Elite Women's Club), in Chapters 11-14.

3

The Social Group Work Method

ONE CANNOT EXAMINE the life of any group without realizing its potentialities for affecting the attitudes and consequently the values of the members. Group interaction is the social force through which individual growth and development take place. It is also the means through which societal growth and change are accomplished. While group life makes growth possible, it does not necessarily mean that *any* group life develops a happy, well-balanced individual or a democratic society. Achievement of these ends depends upon the set of values which are the dominant ideals of the members and of the society of which they are a part. A worker is assigned to a group in order that he may influence it for some social purpose which is of value to the sponsor of the group. That social purpose may be totalitarian or it may be democratic.¹

SOCIAL GROUP WORK DEFINED

Work with groups is carried on by many different auspices and for many different purposes. There are many different methods, but each of them has this in common: the worker performs his function through participation in the interacting process between individuals in a group. The role he fulfills may be that of dictator, personification of what he wants the members to become, preceptor, manipulator, or enabler. Actual program content does not distinguish these methods. *What* the members do may even be identical under the different methods, but not *how* they do it. In the dictatorial method, the members obey the worker; they do what he tells them to do. In the personification method, the members imitate the worker; instead of developing their own abilities, they try to be like him. In the preceptive method, the members receive instruction. In the manipulative method,

¹ Herbert S. Lewin, "A Comparison of the Aims of the Hitler Youth and the Boy Scouts of America," *Human Relations*, vol. I (1947), no. 2, pp. 206-227.

they are carried through a process of decision-making, but in reality they are cajoled into accepting a prearranged program. In the enabling method, the members are helped to learn new ideas, develop new skills, change attitudes, and deepen their personalities through participation in a social process wherein they make decisions and take the social action necessary to accomplish the purposes of the group.¹ It is the *quality* of the group experience that is the basis for differentiating among the methods. This quality arises out of the relationship among the members and between the members and the worker who affects the interacting process. And the relationship of the worker to the members (and hence the role he fulfills) stems directly from his philosophy and from the philosophy and purposes of the auspice with which he is identified and from which he receives his functional sanction.

Most social agencies serving groups have two purposes in common: (1) to help individuals use groups to further their development into emotionally balanced, intellectually free, and physically fit persons; (2) to help groups achieve ends desirable in an economic, political, and social democracy. Social group work, as developed in this book, is a method of affecting group life with reference to these purposes which are the lifeblood of the social welfare movement. We therefore see social group work as a process and a method through which group life is affected by a worker who consciously directs the interacting process toward the accomplishment of goals which in our country are conceived in a democratic frame of reference.

Our discussion of the social group work method is in terms of its basic principles; these principles may be applied by any auspice whose function it is to use the group as its unit of service. It is recognized that the setting and the specific purposes of sponsoring agents affect the application of the method, but they do not necessarily change the basic principles. The principles discussed are based on the analysis of record material drawn from the social group work experience of settlements; municipal playgrounds; public housing community centers; youth-serving agencies, Boy and Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Jewish centers, boys' clubs; general hospitals; psychiatric hospitals; child guidance clinics; children's boarding homes; convalescent homes; camps; institutions and programs for the aged; and groups sponsored by Family Welfare Organizations and Children's Societies.

It is important to focus upon the generic quality of the principles under discussion. Although the illustration may be drawn from a particular age-group or setting, or from people of certain background or specific need, the basic principle is applicable in many other situations.

The group work method is used by specialists in many professions. However, not everyone recognizes group work as a basic process held in common.

¹ Test this statement against your analysis of the records in Chapters 11-14.

These specializations are variously designated as *group therapy*, *recreational therapy*, *group psychotherapy*, *activity therapy*, *group dynamics*, *psychodrama*, *sociodrama*, *clinical group work*, *social group work*, and many other terms usually originated by a successful practitioner or group of practitioners. Each specialization claims the group itself as the vehicle of service; thus the common base in the group, which the worker serves in different roles. These roles are determined by the needs of the members, the purpose of the agency, and the skill of the worker, drawn from his knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of group life. The psychiatrist, for example, equipped to deal with unconscious feelings and motivations, uses the group work method as a tool in psychotherapy through which the members gain personal insight and understanding which contribute to their personal and social adjustment. The social group worker, on the other hand, equipped with specialized knowledge of interpersonal relations, helps sick people to develop groups in which they use the reality of the social situations they create as means of recovering social health.

The discussion of the social group work method throughout this book is focused primarily upon the groups composed of so-called "normal" individuals, with a secondary focus upon the use of the method in serving persons who are physically and emotionally ill. We recognize that many sick individuals are members of groups sponsored by agencies whose purpose is more educational than rehabilitative. We further recognize that many such members need the service of specialized group work as well as the personal service of social case workers, physicians, and members of allied professions. We have therefore emphasized the need for all social group workers to develop a high sensitivity to the symptomatic aspects of behavior and to use this knowledge (1) in helping the well and sick members within the group where possible and (2) in referring members to other groups or personal services (or both) when members indicate the need for such services and when such services exist in the community.

Skill in the use of the group process in primary groups is the first essential in the practice of social group work. The use of the group process in administration and with representative groups is an adaptation of the social group work process in light of the purpose of the administrative and representative groups. Note that the structure of the primary group is the structure of committees and boards and representative groups. The differentiation between these kinds of groups is made on the basis of the purpose of groups, not on their characteristics as sociological entities. We have, therefore, included committees and councils in our illustrations of the use of the social process in helping groups to carry out their purposes. It is essential that the worker recognize, when engaged with committees, councils, and other community

groups, that he uses his basic skill of working with primary groups plus the additional skill which working with these special-purpose groups entails.¹

Services to Individuals and Groups

The personal needs of some of the members may be quite different from the collective needs of the group-as-a-whole. This situation presents a dilemma which faces every social group worker. While a group is in session, the worker's first responsibility is to help the group-as-a-whole achieve its purposes. He must keep his attention upon the *relation* of the interaction between the members to the collective purposes of the members. It is in the process by which these purposes are achieved that the value of the group experience is rooted. The end is not so important as the means, yet the end is important. When a group session is over, all the members need to feel that each one, as *part* of a group, has accomplished something; that they, *together*, have accomplished something. The quality of this feeling is dependent upon the means, that is, upon the quality of relationships among all the people involved in the social processes which occurred during the time they had together. During the course of one session personal hostilities are expressed; members unite in expressing group hostility against the worker, the agency, or some cause of common grievance either within the club or without — at school, at work, in the hospital, or in any area of society; conflicts are ironed out (not necessarily eliminated) and decisions are made. Not every member "gets his way"; some may be dissatisfied with group decisions and determined to change them at another meeting; but on the whole the members feel that "it's a good club, it does things." This feeling is essential to the life of an organized group, and it is the worker's responsibility to affect the interpersonal relations in such a way that such feeling results. This the worker does by *being aware* of the personal needs of each of the members but *acting* in response to the needs of the group-as-a-whole.

If the growth and development of each member were normal for his age, the problem of serving the group at the expense of the individual would be minimal. However, groups are seldom composed of people who have achieved somewhere near the same degree of physical, intellectual, or emotional maturity for their age. The social group worker recognizes, in the interacting process, excessive expressions of personal hostility which are natural and normal for a particular individual at the stage of development which he has achieved, but which are harmful to the movement of the group-as-a-whole. As a further complication, the worker may know that this individual needs help in feeling that it is "all right" to express negative feeling. For him at his particular stage of emotional development, a continuously

¹ See Chapter 16 for further discussion.

hostile attitude may be a healthy sign. But its expression may be devastating to the group. The worker has a responsibility to help such members, both within the group and outside of it, but his first responsibility during the group session is to protect the group-as-a-whole against the personal hostility of some of its parts. The social group worker must regard the group as something more than a collection of individuals if he is to put the interests of the group-as-a-whole before those of particular individuals. He is unable to do this unless he has a philosophical conviction of the place of groups in the process of social change. He must be able to recognize that many of the difficulties which beset individuals are inherent in social situations which need to be changed and that these social situations are changed through the use of the group process. Therefore, when he is working with a group he is helping the members to learn how to use the group process for socially constructive ends. In such a situation, the social purpose, or the good of the whole, must take precedence over the individual interests and needs of some of the parts.

Society, like the chain in the old adage, is no stronger than its weakest link. Individuals whose personal hostility is so great that it blocks them from being able to participate effectively in groups are the weak links in society. They often belong to groups where the interaction is such that their hostility is increased and the group serves merely to intensify their problems. These individuals need group experience, but neither they nor the group benefit unless they can make some positive contribution. Membership in a group, however, cannot easily be dissolved. The problem of members who neither help the group nor are helped by it is a particularly acute one in community agencies offering social group work services through the medium of recreation and informal education. In these agencies many of the groups are natural ones, and even the formed interest groups have been subjected to a large degree of natural selection in that the members have joined voluntarily and the membership has become somewhat solidified. The groups have a large degree of autonomy and determine their own membership. The individual for whom the group is not a healthy experience may be a person with high acceptance from the other members. He may be the clown, the scapegoat, the person with the most original ideas, the person who is always willing to do the dirty work, or he may simply be accepted for reasons difficult to determine. Some individuals for whom the group is not a good experience make a real contribution to the movement of the group-as-a-whole. The progress of the group-as-a-whole, however, should not be advanced through the exploitation of any of its members. The social group worker may not be able to help members withdraw from groups where the interaction is harmful to them as persons or to the group-as-a-whole. In this case, he uses every

opportunity to affect the interacting process so that these individuals will be protected as much as possible, although his primary object must always be to safeguard the forward movement of the group.

Both of the purposes — that is, (1) to help individuals personally and (2) to help the group achieve socially acceptable corporate ends — for which the social group work method is used are dependent upon the growth and development of the *group*. Since the group is the vehicle through which the members are served, the survival and achievements of the group are essential to the first purpose. The importance of the survival of the group to the attainment of the second purpose is self-evident. Thus it is seen that the two purposes merge; for service to individuals is predicated upon service to the group-as-a-whole, and service to the group-as-a-whole is possible only through helping individuals. Through this process individuals and groups contribute to society, whose development is dependent upon the changes which emerge from socially significant groups.

We shall discuss social group work, then, as a method through which the worker uses his knowledge and understanding of the members of groups as he affects the social processes involved in personal and group situations. We pose three questions summarized as **WHAT?** **WHO?** and **HOW?**

THE "WHAT" OF SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Under this heading we shall discuss (1) the group situation and (2) some of the specific functions of the worker.

The Group Situation

The situation in which members and worker find themselves includes the values and norms of the member, and the attitudes of the members toward one another, toward the worker and the agency; the agency's values and norms as revealed in its purposes, policies, and programs; and the values, norms, and attitudes of the worker as revealed in his professional behavior.

Members join groups for a variety of reasons. Sometimes they come to agencies in groups; and sometimes they come or are sent or even brought as individuals. Sometimes they come because they know that they have problems which may be rooted in family relations or personality conflicts, or in the need to make new friends and have new experiences. Many times they come simply because they are looking for a good time or because they have nothing else to do.

The motivation in a hospital, clinic, or health institution may be voluntary or prescribed. Groups are established in these institutions in order to provide diversion and treatment. Membership in a diversional group may

be motivated either by a desire to escape the boredom of the institutional routine or by a real interest in companionship or in the activities carried on within the group. Membership in treatment groups is accepted as part of the program of the institution and may or may not be in line with the patients' personal desires.

Groups in custodial institutions have even greater significance than those offered as a general community service. They are substitutes for home and community group life. This is particularly true in children's homes, reformatories, institutions for the chronically ill, and homes for the aged. In these settings, individuals have a great need for something to which they can belong and through which they can exercise their capacities for decision-making. Individuals in these settings usually are eager for the opportunity to participate in the semi-autonomous group serviced by social group workers.

The purposes of agencies in providing group service may be quite different from the expressed purposes of the participating members; they are often more closely related to the unexpressed, often unconscious, desires of the membership. This is particularly true of the agencies whose primary purpose is related (1) to the development of personality and of socially significant groups and (2) to the use of the group work method for therapeutic ends. When the objectives of an agency are related to a specific frame of reference of values and norms, there may be a hiatus between its primary purpose and the purposes of many of the members whose motivations, interests, and needs may be quite different from those presupposed by the auspice.¹ In this case, the program of the agency will take on some of the aspects of propaganda, conversion, or reform, and the method of working with groups will take on many aspects of manipulation rather than of enabling, unless the members clearly understand and accept the purposes of the agency and have a well-defined area in which they are free to make decisions related to their own activities.

Since the decision-making process is the central core of the social group work method, it is essential that the structure be such that the members have the privileges and responsibilities of the management of their own corporate affairs. A collection of individuals will not develop the characteristics of a social group unless they have the right and the ability to make decisions significant to their own group life. Nor will they grow and develop unless they experience the discipline which comes from the adjustment of personal claims to the claims of the group-as-a-whole.

All individuals are not physically, intellectually, or emotionally equipped

¹ Note the specific frame of reference of the agencies sponsoring the Toombah Club (Chapter 11) and the Sub-Debs (Chapter 12). How were the purposes, structure and program of these clubs affected?

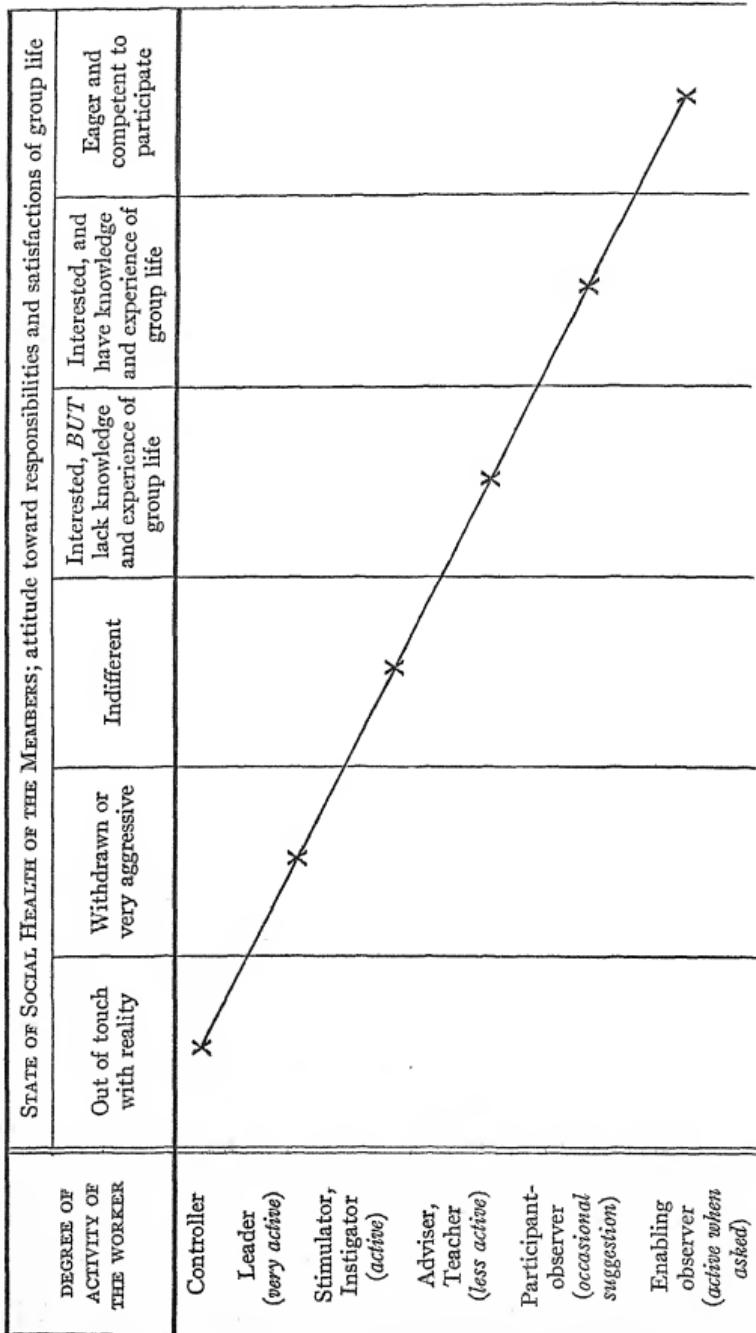
to participate in the decision-making process and are either lost in the group or not enrolled in the agency's program. They are, however, in the community or institution and they need the special attention which they can receive in a protected group situation. Some agencies provide special groups for such individuals; it is acknowledged from the start that there will be very little decision-making until the personalities of the members have developed considerably. In such groups, the social group worker participates very actively in planning the program. In fact, he may have to do all the program planning until the members become less aggressive or more expressive of their individual and collective interests and needs. The latter situation is particularly true of groups sponsored by hospitals, clinics, and institutions.

The worker's aim is to help the members of groups develop the capacity to carry on their own group life; make their plans and decisions and carry them out. Groups vary in their capacity to function on this level, either because of the developmental period of the members, their state of emotional health, or their social knowledge and experience. Accordingly, the extent of the worker's activity varies greatly. When the members are unable to cope with the demands of group life, he must act in a controlling capacity. At the other extreme, where the members are eager and competent to participate in group life, to accept its responsibilities and enjoy its satisfactions, the worker is an enabling observer. In the accompanying chart, we have endeavored to indicate the degree of the worker's activity in this process of making decisions and accepting responsibilities, in relation to the ability of the group to carry on its corporate life. It must be recognized that, while we have indicated the degree of activity expected from the worker in the light of the members' social health, it is seldom that this is constant. Therefore, in some groups the worker may fulfill several roles in the course of one meeting. In other groups, he may need to persist in one role over a longer period of time. The chart gives some indication of the need of the worker to be continuously shifting his activity in relation to the changing needs of the members.

It is not the function of the agency to provide a program for the group. The agency has an overall objective which it accomplishes through the provision of facilities and services to groups whose purposes are related to its objectives.¹ The social group worker helps the members to carry out these purposes through the development of their own program. It should be apparent, therefore, that whatever is defined as the purpose of the agency has a direct bearing on the decision-making process within the agency's constituent groups.

¹ See Chapter 16.

DEGREE OF ACTIVITY OF WORKER AS INDICATED BY SOCIAL HEALTH OF MEMBERS



Specific Functions of the Social Group Worker

Meeting with Groups. When a worker starts to work with a group, he is like a fifth wheel. He is seldom really wanted, even if the members are consciously aware of their need for help. Children accept him into their group without question because they are accustomed to having adults play roles in their lives. They will transfer to him feelings of hostility and friendliness in proportions justified by their previous experience with adults. The same general situation will hold for an adolescent group, although the presence of the worker does not go entirely unquestioned. But even more ambivalent than the attitude of the younger groups is that of an adult group, whom the worker may serve as program consultant or as administrative officer on a committee working for some project, such as some phase of community planning. In fact, the initial attitudes of group members of all ages are almost identical: the social group worker is an outsider. He thus becomes the object of the suspicion and prejudice which members of any group feel toward any outsider. Although his help may be needed badly, his suggestions will be resented if offered before he has clearly established his appropriate relation with the members. Every group puts the worker on trial in the initial stages of their relationship. Consciously or unconsciously, the members — and particularly the indigenous leaders — are concerned to find out whether he is there to help them perform their functions or to take their functions away from them. In meeting this situation, the social group worker uses his understanding of the behavior of individuals in groups. He accepts his role as an outsider. He knows that the outsider is at first disliked simply as an outsider and not as a person. But he also knows that the outsider is eventually accepted by the group if and when it approves of his behavior. If the worker is secure in his feelings of professional competence and in his knowledge of human behavior, he can be a sensitive listener, withholding his suggestions and help until the members of the group are ready to receive them.

The terms in which we have spoken of the reactions of the group toward the social group worker may appear to suggest that all the members have identical feelings toward him. This, however, is not at all the case. Each person in the group reacts according to his particular personality pattern, the feeling he has at the moment toward the other members of the group, and the way in which the social group worker impresses him. Because the social group worker reminds each member of someone else whom he has known, each member's reaction to the worker includes the feelings directed towards that someone else, or toward authority in general. Some of these feelings relate to the members' attitudes toward being helped, and are an admixture of love and hate. Children express these feelings quite frankly in words

and in behavior. For example, in the first meeting of one club the social group worker suggested that the members learn a new game. "We don't wanna learn no new games. We know too many already," said Mary, the indigenous leader, who did not propose to accept help or to have the worker come in and take over her role.¹

When the first meeting is over and the social group worker sits down to write a process record² revealing the interaction which took place in the meeting, he will remember best those individuals whose reactions to program content, to other members, and to the worker were outstandingly positive or negative. As he relives this experience he will also discover that the reactions of few, if any, individuals were completely positive or negative. Some individuals were more positive than negative; others were more negative than positive. The whole situation is an ambivalent one, and in this ambivalence lies the social group worker's opportunity to become a helper to each member and to the group-as-a-whole.

We have indicated that the entrance of the worker into a group situation is only slightly different from that of any outsider. The difference lies in the fact that the worker carries with him the prestige of the agency. The members accept the idea of having a worker when they become a group under the agency's auspice. The worker, in turn, accepts the responsibility of giving service to the group when it is assigned to him. The members then have to go through the process of accepting this particular worker as *their* worker. The worker, for his part, has to go through the process of accepting these club members as *they are*: their hostility and their friendliness; their traditions, values, norms, and customs; their limitations and their abilities; and most important of all, their potentialities. As the process of acceptance develops between worker and members, each member assigns to the worker a role that corresponds to his particular need — parent, teacher, brother or sister, friend or enemy, or personification of authority, to whom he reacts by loving and hating, agreeing and arguing, placating and teasing, trusting and testing, and other ambivalent behavior. Throughout this process, the worker tries to understand the behavior of each member by studying the factual information contained on the face sheet of the group record and by interpreting the symptomatic meaning of what he has himself observed. He is unable to understand the movement of the group-as-a-whole until he has some understanding of each of the members who compose it (the depth of understanding will depend upon the type and size of the group and the purpose for which it is organized) and of the interpersonal relations of the members. He learns to identify subgroups by careful observation of the various alignments throughout the group session.

¹ Observe this process in each of the records in Chapters 11-14.

² See following pages for discussion on how to write a record.

In order to be continuously aware of the shifting relationships within the group, the worker should be at the place of meeting before any of the members arrive. This gives him the opportunity to observe who comes with whom, to whom each responds, and for whom each asks upon arrival. The interaction of the group begins the moment one member arrives, and the worker observes how the quantity and quality of the interaction change as various members come into the group situation. The entrance of some members causes scarcely a ripple in the interacting process; others arrive like a northwest wind, changing the whole temper of the group. Sometimes, even when most of the members are present, there remains a quality of "waiting" in the meager activity which is carried on; perhaps some members will ask, "Where is Jack — or Susie — or Mr. Jones — or Mrs. John Doe?" Or it may be a subgroup for which the majority are waiting. In any case, whether the group is dependent upon a dominant individual or subgroup, the members hesitate to enter upon full activity until the natural leaders arrive. In groups where the relations between individuals and subgroups are less unequal, activities begin with the arrival of a few, and the movement of the group is like a crescendo, growing in strength, interest, and vitality as each member or subgroup arrives, so that there is neither a waiting period nor a disruption as the attendance at the meeting increases. The social group worker advising a group, the chairman of a committee, the leader of a discussion group, or any other person whose role is that of affecting the social process in groups is well rewarded by being the first arrival.

Throughout each group session the worker continues to observe *who* does *what* with *whom* and *how* each does it. The substance of all this is found in the proposal of ideas and their acceptance, modification, or rejection. Acceptance and modification involve action; rejection, a stalemate. The social group worker affects the social processes for the purpose of helping the action to move forward, but he is also concerned with the quality of the action and its relation to the real interests and needs of the members. He enters effectively into the interaction only when he is thoroughly familiar with the interpersonal relationships within the group, and these he understands only to the degree that he understands the needs and interests of each member involved in them. There is no short cut to becoming an effective social group worker other than to increase one's understanding of the dynamics of human behavior as exhibited in group situations. If the worker has professional competence, the degree of acceptance soon becomes greater than the degree of rejection. A working relationship has been achieved when the members feel that the worker accepts them as persons, with their positive and negative aspects, their rights and privileges, their desires and ambitions for themselves and for their group.

Throughout all contacts which the social group worker has with the members of the groups in business sessions, in activities, in committee meetings, in informal conversations with subgroups, in personal interviews with individuals, he helps the members to participate in the decision-making process through which they develop the life substance of the group. For the vitality of any group is closely related to the degree of its autonomy and this aspect of group structure is particularly important when the members are in late adolescence, early maturity, or adulthood. The autonomy of the group — hence its ultimate responsibility — is related to the physical, intellectual, and emotional capacities and the stages of development of the members as well as the purposes of its auspice. Within these limitations, the members must be given free range for the expression of their ideas and desires. Within the business meeting the worker supports the elected officers and encourages shy or withdrawn members to participate in the discussion. He helps the officers to handle the too aggressive, too vocal, or too active members without completely denying them the opportunity which the group affords for the expression of their hostile feelings. He clarifies issues when necessary. He gives information when needed. He teaches new skills when appropriate. He states his opinion when asked, if he feels that such a statement will not inhibit the members from doing their own thinking. But within the area of the group's autonomy, he does not make a decision for the members of the group. He respects the decision of the group even if it is contrary to his own interests or desires. He helps the members to implement their decisions and to execute their plans.

The members manage their own affairs with the help of the social group worker, who enables them to make and carry out decisions. The worker helps the members to recognize the responsibility of each to a decision co-operatively determined; he helps them to learn that, once made by the group, a decision can be changed only by the group-as-a-whole. The various solutions to conflicts — elimination, subjugation, compromise, alliance or integration — have been discussed in the previous chapter. The worker recognizes that in any type of solution except integration there will be dissatisfied members who will need special help in accepting a decision with which they are not in wholehearted accord. He helps the members to use the structure of the group for the orderly attainment of their objectives.¹ Throughout this process the members are helped to appreciate the points of view of others, to weigh other values against their own, to accept differences of opinion as natural but to keep their own point of view if they feel it is the correct one for them. Through the decision-making process, the members

¹ Read the Sub-Deb record in Chapter 12 and identify what the worker did to help the members develop the structure of their club.

learn to accept the principle of majority decisions and to employ methods by which these decisions may be changed within the structure of the group's operations. The effectiveness of this process is dependent upon the process of acceptance, through which conflicts are faced and solutions discovered.

The social group worker helps individuals to become effective members of groups, to take their places in group situations which require them to be able to function sometimes as leaders and sometimes as followers. He does this by according to each that love and acceptance which enable the members to feel secure even when the worker imposes on them limitations related to their personal needs and to the needs of the group. He helps the members to feel a sense of personal achievement both in their own growth and in the accomplishments of the group. Within the group situation, the worker stimulates, guides, clarifies, implements, teaches, expedites, limits, and permits, as the occasion demands. He sensitively listens, feels, and observes; and determines his role by evaluating the data so gathered against the interpersonal relations within the subgroups and the individual behavior pattern of each member.¹

He recognizes that the total group experience comprises the program content of the group, that program content is not only the means through which members satisfy their interests and needs but also the medium through which they express interests and needs of which they are unaware or which they are incapable of expressing in words. The social group worker regards program as a means, never an end. It is the means through which the members achieve personal and social growth. The social group worker helps the members to develop the kind of group structure suited to the purposes for which the group exists. When the purposes change, the members are helped to accomplish their new ends more readily through changing the structure of their group organization.

No group exists in isolation. The social group worker facilitates and encourages relationships between groups within the agency and between an agency group and similar outside groups. He stimulates groups to participate in agency-wide planning through representative membership in interclub councils and agency committees and boards. He helps the groups with which he works to be a part of the wider community through neighborhood councils, federations of clubs, youth councils, and other representative groups. In many situations, the worker is the link between the agency groups and the community at large.

Conferring with Individuals. We have already enumerated many of the situations which call for helping individuals through a face-to-face relationship.² The basic principles upon which this relationship is formed are the

¹ See Chapter 5.

² Chapter 1, pp. 24-25.

same as those which determine the relations between worker and members in the group situation. The interview, however, permits the worker to concentrate his whole attention upon one person in contrast to the necessity for sharing attention with many in the group. The individual being served is not protected by the other members, as in the group situation. In the interview he cannot, even momentarily, avoid or escape his problem in the confusion of the interacting process as he can in the group setting. He will both welcome and fear this opportunity for individual attention.

Within the group situation, the worker is less dependent upon words as media for helping individuals, for action and program media are the prevailing tools here. In the interview, while using the same understanding of behavior, the worker must develop skill in the use of words. He learns to control his own tendency to talk, learns to be a sensitive listener and to ask questions and make comments which will help the individual to tell his story, ask for the help he needs, or share his confusions. If the individual comes to the worker to discuss a personal problem, he is helped to analyze it, factor out the issues, and see its parts. The worker helps him to recognize that it is his problem and that his is the responsibility, with the worker's guidance, of working it out. He helps the individual to tackle the parts of the problem with which he feels ready to grapple. Without being ingratiating, the worker gives the individual a feeling of being understood. The worker feels with him but not like him; hence the individual is able to disclose his feelings of anxiety without fear of loss of respect from the worker. The worker gives the individual the support of assurance when such assurance is justified. He helps the individual frankly to face his negative as well as his positive attributes, to assess his limitations and strengths. He helps the individual to use this understanding of himself and his problem as a motivation for seeking further help, if needed, from another service in the agency or from that of another agency in the community. When such a plan has been formulated, the worker refers the individual to the proper sources. This may mean merely giving the individual the necessary information about the available resources; or it may mean a conference between the worker and the representative of the agency to which the individual is to be referred.¹

Visiting the homes of members of the group is another function which involves the use of the social work method of the interview. These visits always have a purpose: they may be made, for example, to acquaint the family with the program of the agency, to meet the husband of a member of a Mothers' Club who objects to his wife's participation, to confer with parents over the behavior of a child, or to recruit members for a club for the aged.

¹ See Gertrude Wilson, *Group Work and Case Work, Their Relationship and Practice* (New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1941), pp. 84-103.

From the purpose of the visit stems the pattern for the interview. Appointments for home visits, stating the purpose of the visit, should be made by mail or telephone or personal contact. The worker should again clearly state the reason for his call when he arrives and proceed to discuss the business at hand. Many times the individual being visited will seek to engage the worker in other matters, often asking for help with family and other personal problems. Here the group worker sees his function as that of a referral agent. He uses his professional skill to understand the problems of the individual sufficiently to refer him to the appropriate agency, but he does not permit himself to become involved in helping the individual with his problems unless they are those which can be met within the service of groups. In all work with individuals the social group worker is guided by the knowledge of his specialized function in social work. The focus is that of enabling the individual to use the services of the group more effectively. His secondary function is that of helping members to use the resources of other agencies. In carrying out both of these functions, he must have the skill of the interviewing process as well as of the group work process.

Members who need individualized help come to the attention of the worker through many channels, and he helps individuals throughout the whole structure of the agency.¹ The following list of the opportunities for face-to-face relationships with individuals gives some conception of the varieties of situations in which the worker is called upon to use the skill of the interview in the practice of social group work.

- (1) Interviews at the time of registration
 - a. To help members choose activities appropriate to their interests and needs
 - b. To help members feel an identification with the agency and to engage themselves in its program
 - c. To become acquainted with the members and their background
- (2) Casual interviews
 - a. Members seek to have a personal word with the worker because of a conscious awareness of problems with which they want help
 - b. Members make opportunities for personal contact with the worker because of an unconscious drive for assistance with problems the nature of which they are unaware
 - c. Worker enables members to ask for help through "curbstone" conferences

¹ Bertram Gold, "Some Guiding Principles in Work with Individuals Outside the Group," pp. 88-96, and Hazel Osborn, "Record Material—Direct Help or Referral," pp. 97-110—both in *Toward Professional Standards*, by the American Association of Group Workers (New York: Association Press, 1947).

- (3) Interviews by appointment
 - a. To offer assistance to the member in the performance of his elective or appointed responsibility in the group
 - b. To help members whose behavior is indicative of need, to recognize that they have problems which are blocking their effective participation in the group
 - c. To explore the problems of members with them to help them (1) to work on their problems within the setting of the group, or (2) to use the services of another group or activity within the agency, or (3) to use the service of another agency
- (4) Visits in the homes of members
 - a. To acquaint the parents of the service of the agency and to seek their co-operation in helping the individuals and the group-as-a-whole
 - b. To share with the parent the concern of the agency in regard to the meaning of the behavior of his children as observed in the agency
 - c. To help the parent use the services of other agencies in the interests of his children
 - d. For purposes of recruitment and general agency interpretation
 - e. To engage adult members in agency responsibilities
 - f. To discuss the special responsibility of an officer of the group
 - g. To discuss problems which are interfering with a member's use of the group or with the movement of the group-as-a-whole

Writing Reports and Records. Reports and records are part of the responsibility of every social worker. Agencies differ in the forms of statistical and narrative reports which they require from their workers. We shall not discuss these forms of recording; rather we shall consider the writing of process records which reveal the interaction within groups. While these records have many uses (see below), the most important value to the worker lies in the writing of the record. It is through record writing and analysis that the worker makes the skill of social group work his own.

Writing records helps the social group worker better to understand individuals in the group. Through this experience he relives the group session, he becomes aware of the meaning of behavior and spoken words which previously escaped him, and he clarifies his understanding of himself, his relations with the members, and the movement of the group-as-a-whole.

The written record helps the worker better to understand the group-as-a-whole because in the record-writing process he becomes aware of the *whole* which seemed only fragmentary as he went through the experience.

The record provides the worker with evidence of growth and change on the part of the members and of himself as a worker; thus the record serves as an instrument of evaluation.

The record provides content for supervisory conferences through which the

worker improves his service to the agency and develops his skill in social group work.

The record provides a source for future program planning because it is a reflection of expressed, unexpressed, and unfulfilled interests and needs as well as an account of what actually happened.

The record provides a permanent and continuous record for the agency — a tool for evaluating and planning the agency program.

The record is a source of information and understanding for the next worker.

The record provides the substance for interpreting and explaining to the public how its tax money and contributions are used to serve clientele of the agency.

Writing itself is not the problem. Thinking, hearing, seeing, and feeling are the problems to be faced in developing the skill of record writing. Any-one can write about that which he clearly knows and feels. The individual who has developed the skill of social group work practice is able to write adequate records, but he cannot write such records unless he has the skill of practice. The supervisor helps the student-worker to recognize the real problem in record writing and helps him to remove the crutch of the rationalization that "writing always was hard for me." Some need a very great deal of help in this area, for their insecurity about the quality of their practice blocks their revelation of poor practice through the record-writing process. Only when the person's willingness to learn has become the dominant force in his experience so that he is able to record the whole process — including his own role, whatever it was — can he move toward the attainment of professional skill.

The worker is helped to write records by reading the previous record of the group he is to serve. He must be helped to read this record in the light of its possible deficiencies, so that he will not take it as a pattern. The supervisor helps him to understand that records tell what happened, who made it happen, how each member reacted to what happened, and why the worker thinks it happened. As nearly as it is possible to do so, the record should describe chronologically the interacting process of the members, as the process actually occurred, without reference to the logic of the content. A record should jump from one subject to another in the same way as the members flit from one idea or activity to another. The record is not a story or play. The sequence of events, remarks, and reactions as they happened is more important than their subject relationship. The purpose of the record is to understand the interacting process between the members; the subject matter is secondary because its significance is discovered in the way people *feel* about it rather than what they *say*. The digressions have meaning that is significant to the central theme.

Who said or did what, who agreed with whom, who chose to be on which team or committee, who refused to follow whom, who initiated what activity and which combination of members followed him? These are specifics in the record through which the relationships of the members to each other are discovered. In this recording the worker recognizes the lonely isolate, the consistent pair, the volatile triangle, and all the combinations of these basic structural relationships of people.

It is not necessary to describe the program content *per se*, but it is of vital significance to record who planned the program, how the decisions were made, and how each member reacted. In recording these reactions, the worker adequately describes the program content. Since the quality of the group experience is dependent upon the reactions of the individual members, it is important that each be individualized in the record as much as possible. The worker will find it helpful to make an analysis of each member by relating his behavior in the group to what is otherwise known about him. These thumbnail analyses may be integrated into the body of the weekly record, or they may be a separate section following the account of the interacting process of the group-as-a-whole. Both methods are sometimes used within the same record. A short analytical statement about the behavior of a member may be recorded immediately after the action in which that behavior was dramatically expressed. In other situations, the analytical statement may be based on continued observation of behavior throughout the group's meeting, or again, it may be a summary of observations made during several meetings and in contacts outside of group meetings. In such cases, the statement is added to the record at the end of the recorded group activity.

Home visits and individual conferences with members outside of club meetings should be recorded in chronological order in the accumulative group record. In agencies which have individual as well as group files, duplicates of individual contacts and summary statements of individuals' participation in the group should be placed in this file as well as in the group record.

Since the WHO in every group is different, the WHAT, HOW, and WHY are also different. It is therefore impossible to develop a rigid record form which will not interfere with the dynamic process in which the worker must fulfill his role. As the worker is acquiring skill in writing records, he is learning to sharpen his seeing, hearing, feeling, and thinking to the point of being able to recall the events and their sequence with sufficient accuracy so that he is able to benefit from the "hindsight" learning involved in record writing. There are, however, some suggestions and guideposts which are useful to the beginner who is working out his method of writing the narrative process record.

- (r) Notes made immediately after the group meeting enable the worker to catch the sequence of events and to jot down significant observations of behavior which later help him to recall the total experience.

(2) The beginning worker should write the record completely in longhand until he has developed skill in record writing and in dictation.

(3) The worker should go to the dictation period with material well organized so that he can express himself easily without waste of time. The chronological sequence of events should be outlined.

(4) In order that the most effective use may be made of the records, the worker should endeavor to choose meaningful language, to avoid extravagant expressions and useless phrases. He should make every effort to achieve simplicity and conciseness. Obviously, such factors as neatness, accuracy in spelling, and correct sentence structure are important in preparing good records. Margins of at least an inch and a half should be provided on the left-hand side of the paper and of a half-inch on the right. Uniform face sheets should constitute the first page of each record. Each record should be dated as to the day of the week and month and the hour of meeting.

(5) The confidential nature of the records should be kept in mind at all times. They should be discussed *only* for study or service purposes in professional groups which bear a functional relation to the groups, never in public places where others may hear.

Suggested Order of Content of Narrative Process Records

(1) Names of members present.

(2) Names of members absent.

(3) Record of contacts with members since the last club meeting (home visits, individual interviews, casual contacts if they were important to understanding the members or the group-as-a-whole).

(4) Process recording of the group session. *Who* came first? *Who* came with *whom*? *How* did *what* happen to *whom*? *Who* proposed *what*, and *how* were decisions made? *What* was the relation of the worker to each phase of the interaction? Be sure to include *what* the worker did and *how* the members reacted to him as well as how they reacted to each other. All this information is recorded in terms of the program content of the session.

(5) Analysis of the group experience of this session. What did the interaction in the group reveal about the interpersonal relations within the group? What were the subgroupings? Were they consistent or changing? If permanent, what evidence is there of the basis of the relationship? If shifting, upon what basis did they shift?

What conflicts were there in the group? Are their causes clear? If not, what hypotheses can be made as to their cause? Which were related (1) to differences of opinion, values and norms, (2) to differing objectives for membership in the group, or (3) to conflict of personalities?

What insight into the interests and needs of individuals in the group was revealed in the activity of the session? What expressions (direct and indirect) were there of common interests? of differing interests?

Summarize the worker's knowledge and understanding of the members whose behavior is baffling.

Comment on the program content of the session from the point of view of its inherent value to the group-as-a-whole, to certain members.

Does the group-as-a-whole seem to have a sense of direction? What factors contribute to the presence or absence of this quality?

Evaluate the role of the worker, as recorded above, from the point of view of the help he gave to individuals in participating in the group and to the movement of the group-as-a-whole toward corporate achievement.

(6) Plans for preparation for the next session.

Representing the Agency in Community Work. The objectives for which the social group work method is used are derived from the purposes of the sponsoring agency, the community of which it is a part, and the interests and needs of its constituent members. It is clear, then, that knowledge and understanding of the agency, its philosophy, purposes, and methods of work, are prerequisites for the social group worker. He must be identified with the philosophy and purposes of the agency. It is equally important that he understand the community of which the agency is a part and which gives it sanction. He must see in historical perspective both his own agency and other agencies which share the same social objectives. He must be able to help the individuals and groups with whom he is working to use the resources of other agencies to meet their needs. He must have knowledge and skill in the use of intergroup methods of serving the community. He must have the ability to use research methods in his work within the agency and the community in order to study the met and unmet needs of the community in relation to the responsibilities of the agency.

A social group worker is able to identify himself with the philosophy and purposes of an agency when there is a common agreement (1) on how the professional personnel helps people to learn and change and (2) on what constitutes socially desirable objectives for learning and changing.

The social group worker must also accept the media through which the agency helps individuals and groups to learn and change. There is more general agreement on the need for agencies and organizations to help people to learn and change than on *what* the individuals and groups should learn and *how* they should change to accomplish the democratic objectives which practically all agencies and organizations claim. Some program content is related to Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism; some content is non-sectarian but based on various economic, social, political, or cultural theories; and some is focused exclusively upon recreational values. Still other program media are chosen by health agencies and institutions for their rehabilitative values. In any situation, the social group worker must believe in, and accept as his own, the philosophy, purposes, and program of the agency, when he becomes its representative in carrying out its functions within the agency and the community.

The professionally educated social worker brings to the particular agency a generalized knowledge of agencies, their structure, organization, and place in the field of social welfare. He also brings an overall knowledge of the social and economic problems which communities are facing today, and should be able to understand these problems in relation to the national and worldwide social and economic situation. His immediate task is to understand the agency with which he is connected, and its relationship to the constellation of agencies within the community. It is his further responsibility to understand the particular manifestations of community problems which are characteristic of the community in which he finds himself. The orientation of the worker to the agency and to the community is the joint responsibility of worker and agency. The agency is responsible for providing records, reports, historical data, surveys, studies, and other background material which will enable the worker to familiarize himself with the work of the agency and with the community. The agency has the further responsibility of acquainting the worker with the current program and with its administrative channels and procedures, thus providing him with a blueprint of not only his own functions but also those of others in the agency. The worker is responsible for having knowledge and skill so this material will be meaningful to him and will clarify his role in the work of the agency.

The social group worker learns to understand the community from the focal point of the agency with which he is identified and in which he is performing a professional service. The community is a complex concept and one which must be broken down into its parts in order to be understood. It may be a municipal unit of government, a county, a region, or the country as a whole — or it may be international in scope. The agency's community may have two dimensions: that of the local setting, and that of the setting created by affiliations with like agencies of the nation or the world. In such agencies the worker has the responsibility of understanding not only the horizontal (local community) structure and the co-operative program of the agency on the local level, but also the vertical (national or international) structure, program, and methods.

Most cities and counties in which there are several agencies and organizations concerned with the health and welfare of the people have formed federations or councils to co-ordinate, integrate, and plan the services of the community.¹ These councils are organized in accordance with the specialized functions of the member agencies, which usually include both tax-supported

¹ Wayne A. McMillen, *Community Organization for Social Welfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); "Health and Welfare Planning" (*Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1945*); *Social Work Year Book, 1947* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation) — "Councils in Social Work," pp. 130-138. "Community Chests and Councils," p. 613. "Community Organization in Social Work," pp. 110-116.

agencies and those financed from other sources. It is through the subsections of the council that the agency worker takes part in community planning, either directly, or indirectly through the agency's delegates. The social group worker must understand the structure of the council and how to use its channels for relating the work of the agency to that of the community as a whole. The National Social Welfare Assembly co-ordinates the work of the local councils as well as the work of most national agencies.¹

It is not sufficient for the social group worker to understand the structure and operations of the health and welfare agencies of the community; he must also be familiar with the population data and movements of his immediate community and be able to interpret them against those of the wider community and of the nation. He must be familiar with the social and economic conditions affecting the members of his groups; with the general condition of the neighborhood²—streets, lighting, garbage collection, police protection, sanitary controls; and with the extent to which people of the section are interested and participant in local government. He must know the standards for good housing and the minimum requirements of the local government for decent housing, and be able to evaluate the housing conditions of the neighborhood against these standards. He must know what recreational facilities are available, both indoor and outdoor. He must know what services are offered by the agencies in the neighborhood. He must know the chief occupations of the people in the neighborhood and the opportunities for employment. He must be acquainted with standards for good working conditions, in order to evaluate working conditions in the community. He must know as much as possible of the standards of employment in the community, and ascertain whether there is equal opportunity for employment regardless of race, religion, or nationality. He must be aware of the ethnic and social class groupings of the neighborhood and of the existence of tension points caused by economic, ethnic, religious, or class factors of difference. He must be able to evaluate social forces in the community which are directed toward integration or disintegration. And finally, the social group worker should seek to know the community through personal contacts with the families represented in the membership and visits to their homes.

The social group worker uses this knowledge and understanding of the

¹ See *Social Work Year Book, 1947*, p. 650.

² Many agencies serve the entire community, not just one neighborhood, frequently using the facilities of schools, churches, and other buildings; such agencies have the responsibility of knowing the overall community and of being particularly aware of the living conditions and working conditions of the members whom they are serving. The other factors of difference are just as important and must be considered from the viewpoint of the section of the community represented by the group membership as well as that of the total community.

community in his work with the primary group, with agency committees as he helps the agency to understand the problems of the neighborhood, and with representatives of other agencies and organizations as they plan community-wide approaches to common problems.

The social group worker is related to other agencies in the community not only through the structure of the central planning agency but also directly through personal contact with other agencies in the community or neighborhood. In small neighborhoods that are not very highly organized, this is done through interagency visiting. In other communities, neighborhood councils provide the channels through which co-operative work is carried on. Even in the neighborhoods in which there are councils, it is necessary for both group and case workers to do some agency visiting if they are to know the services well enough to help their own clientele to use the resources of the community. Communities are served effectively only when the personnel of the schools, churches, libraries, museums, family and child welfare agencies, recreation centers, youth-serving agencies, courts, hospitals, clinics, and other community services are all acquainted with one another's services and know how to help their clientele to make the most effective use of each service. Directories help, and the telephone is a great time-saver, but nothing takes the place of personal contact. The social service exchange, or central index as it is sometimes called, is a helpful tool for those who understand the services of the agencies which register, but without this understanding its usefulness is limited to eliminating the duplication of services.

In any group, as we have seen, the worker must understand the interests, needs, and desires of individual members and the social process they mutually create; but how he uses this understanding in affecting the social process — that is, in helping the members to develop and grow as individuals and to achieve as a group — is determined by the character of the group, its age-range and other factors of difference, and its purpose, and also by the attitudes and relationships between the worker and the members.

THE "WHO" OF SOCIAL GROUP WORK

People of all ages, of all ethnic, occupational, religious, economic and social class groupings, in sickness and in health, constitute the WHO of social group work. While the basic principles of social group work remain constant in working with all groups, their form of application is affected by the factors of difference in the behavior of individuals and in the social processes these factors create.¹ Most groups, as we have seen, can be classified by the age-range of their members as preschool, school age, adolescent, young adult,

¹ See Chapter 4.

adult, and the aged. Norms of physical, emotional, and intellectual development of people within these age classifications have been established by the research of the social, biological and psychological scientists.¹ These findings are of prime importance to the social group worker, who must not only be familiar with the norms of each age grouping but also be sensitive to the many deviations from them. Similarly, from this study of the researches of the social scientists, particularly the anthropologists, the worker is able to incorporate within himself an understanding of the customs and habits of different ethnic, occupational, religious, and class groupings.² The members of groups are understood against the norms of all these studies, but always with an eye to the exceptions and differences inevitable with any generalization that involves human beings.

It is essential that the social group worker identify the generalized characteristics of the stratum of society of which the group-as-a-whole is representative. It is also essential that he learn the specific identification of each member within the group. He should know the age, educational background, religious and ethnic identifications, occupation, and living conditions of each member. He should have information which will provide him with some understanding of the experience of each member in other groups — information about the family constellation is of particular significance. A knowledge of the number of persons in the family of each group member, and his ordinal position therein, will aid the worker in his attempts to understand the member's *present* use of the group, whether the member be a child or an adult. Information about the program content, including interpersonal relationships and corporate achievements, of other groups to which the member belongs or has belonged gives the worker further understanding of the member's use of the group in question.

The worker seeks to understand the group-as-a-whole by asking himself: What do these facts about the members mean in regard to program media? structure of the group? homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group? *esprit de corps?* What is the group's corporate capacity for decision-making? What clues do these facts give to the role of the social group worker?

When the worker has gathered these data about the members, analyzed their meaning and studied them against his sensitive observation of the members' behavior, he is able to answer the question: WHO are the members of the group?

THE "HOW" OF SOCIAL GROUP WORK

One of the most disappointing experiences faced by students engaged in professional education for the practice of social group work is the realization

¹ See Chapter 4, pp. 101-115. ² See Chapter 4, pp. 138-152.

that there is no set of rules to follow in achieving the purposes for which the social group work method is used. The social group method is a process based on the relationship which is established between the worker and the members of the group he serves. It is through his professional use of this relationship that the members and the group-as-a-whole are helped to achieve their personal and corporate purposes. The success of the social group work method depends upon the worker's wisdom and discretion in developing the interpersonal relationships within the group and with other groups. The HOW of social group work is therefore discussed in terms of the attitudes and relations of the worker to the members and the group. We quote and use as a frame of reference for this section the first line of a jingle composed by a group of students engaged in this process: "Love them and limit them and help them to achieve."

"Loving" the Members

In Chapter 1, we pointed out that it is humanly impossible for a worker to like, personally, each individual with whom he comes in contact. In fact, there is no more reason for a social worker to like all the people with whom he works than for a doctor personally to like all his patients, a lawyer his clients, a teacher his pupils, and so on throughout all the service professions. In each of these professions, however, it is essential that the practitioners have a love of human beings which transcends their dislike of the behavior patterns of specific individuals. The desire to serve human beings should motivate each person who undertakes the obligations of any of the service professions. The love of human beings is the core of the profession of social work; without love there is no intrinsic value in any service of any social service agency. We have previously termed the attitude of social workers to those whom they serve as that of "professionally regarding." We are now using the word *love* in this sense.

The members feel loved and accepted by the worker because his tested reactions to them have proved that he does not stop loving them when he disapproves of their behavior. This is the essence of the attitude of the professional worker. Not only must he be able intellectually to regard behavior as symptomatic of the individual's adjustment to the tensions caused by conflicting drives of hostility and friendliness, but also he must have this concept emotionally. His acceptance of it must be so thoroughgoing that his behavior toward the members leaves no doubt in their minds that they are regarded by him as persons worthy of respect and consideration.

The members feel loved and accepted because the worker's tested reactions to them have proved that they do not have to "be good" to be loved by him. The worker puts no premium upon his attitude toward them. They can

neither buy his affection by "being very good" nor lose it by "being very bad." The worker is frank in his approval or disapproval of their behavior and he is just as clear in his recognition of the naturalness of the feeling which lies back of the behavior. His recognition of the cause of the behavior, however, is seldom if ever expressed in words. It is, rather, conveyed indirectly by the tone of his voice, the position of his body, and the quality of his response in words or actions. In these ways he lets the members know that it is natural to feel cross or angry; that when one has something to be angry about and recognizes the causes of that anger, it is natural to express one's feeling in some way; and further, that everyone feels angry at times without apparent cause and without really knowing why. The worker does not blame the members for feeling angry or hostile, and his attitude assures them that their behavior has not changed his love or regard for them.

The members feel loved and accepted by the worker because he helps them to handle their aggressive hostile feelings in a socially acceptable way through the medium of satisfactory group experience. He helps them to accept the angry feelings as natural and to find ways for expressing these feelings without harm to themselves, to their companions, or to property. Let us affirm here that the handling of interpersonal relationships is not so much dependent upon words as upon attitudes, reactions, and the skillful introduction of appropriate program media at the needed moment.

The members feel loved and accepted by the worker because they feel in him the strength of a stable person on whom they can depend. This of course means that the worker must be a reasonably well adjusted adult who is able to be the bearer of values in areas where the members need support. But the worker must handle with care this matter of dependency. There are times when it is helpful to a member or to the group-as-a-whole to depend upon the worker for support or even for decisions. In groups of very young children, or in groups composed of emotionally immature or ill adults, the members may need to be very dependent upon the worker. There are also occasions when the stress within a group is so great that, for the sake of the group's life, the worker undertakes the making of decisions; but in the normal group this is a rare occasion, and the function is one which usually should be avoided by the worker. However, the worker should be a constant source of strength both to the group as it carries out the decision-making process and to the members as they learn to participate in the give and take of organized group life.

The members feel loved and accepted by the worker because of his gifts to them. These gifts are meaningful not because of material values; in fact they are not "gifts" at all, in the ordinary sense of the word. They are really symbols of recognition, given by the worker to emphasize his approval of

certain behavior. A word of caution needs to be said about the giving of gifts. In the initial period of work with a group, an inexperienced and insecure worker may feel tempted to win approval from the group by treating it, providing more than his share of the refreshments, or in some other material way showing the members his desire for their approval. It can be said dogmatically that a worker cannot buy acceptance from a group. The worker must realize that the members are aware of his motivation and that, while they will enjoy the treat, their attitude toward the worker is not related to what he gives them but rather to how he feels about them. Not long ago the writers were talking with a club made up of adolescent girls whose group experience in their agency dated back to their early school years. The girls were discussing the various club advisers who had worked with them. They mentioned one who had a car and took them to see a great many things which they had never seen before. Their comment about her was that they liked her car but they did not care much for her. We asked why. They didn't know. Then one of them said, "I guess it was because we didn't think that she liked us." "Yes," added another, "when we were in that car she didn't have to bother with us and it was more fun for her to drive the car than to fool around with us when we wanted to cook and do the things we liked to do in our club." Still another exclaimed, "Oh, but do you remember Miss Schwartz? She was on the beam. She was always forgetting to come and then she would be 'oh, so sorry' and would bring us presents — oh boy, that part of it was nice." "But Miss Evans is the one we'll never forget. She was wonderful," returned one girl, and all the others agreed with much enthusiasm. We asked if she gave them gifts, too. They could not remember that she had ever given them anything. Then they seemed to feel it was necessary to explain what she did do. They said that what she did with them was nicer than gifts. They recalled discussions that they had had in club meetings when one or another of them had been in a "jam" at home or at school. They told how interested the worker had been in their courses in school and the talks they had had about jobs. Then one of them said, "She knew a lot about boy friends and how to get along with them, too." "Yes," agreed another thoughtfully, "she helped me get up enough courage to have my first date with Jim." This bit of recorded conversation teaches its own lesson about the gifts which social group workers make to the members of groups with which they work.

Honors and awards, which are part of some agencies' programs, are gifts of the agency to its members. These "gifts" may be helpful to some of the members and they may be blocks to the growth of personality in others. Motivation of program through giving honors and awards for individual achievements is less likely to develop the members' abilities to participate in

activity for a corporate objective than is the method which is dependent solely on a common decision as to a program by all the members working *together* for its achievement. The use of honors and awards does not rule out the use of the decision-making process; it does, however, lessen the need for decision-making and makes it possible for a group adviser to stimulate a program through the motivation of "gifts," instead of engaging the members in a process whereby they set their own goals and receive the natural rewards inherent in the success of the group-as-a-whole. If the sole purpose of the agency is the development of *self-reliance* among its members, then the granting of honors and awards for individual achievement is an appropriate method to use. If, on the other hand, the purpose of the agency is to provide group experience which will help individuals develop the sense of *interdependence* necessary to acquire the skills of social action in intra- and inter-group situations, then the program must be motivated by methods having primarily intrinsic rather than extrinsic values.

The members feel loved and accepted by the worker because his tested reactions to them have proved that he has a sincere interest and appreciation of their personal and group traditions and customs. Each member brings to a group his own religious, national, racial, and social-class identifications. The membership of a group may represent a great variety of traditions and customs, or it may be very homogeneous. The background of the worker may in some respects be similar to that of the members, or it may be quite different. The worker who is able to accept people as they are, with all their different traditions and customs, is one who is aware of his own prejudices and who is able to handle them in such a way that they will not interfere with his work among people who are different from him. As we indicated earlier, the worker has a right to believe that his way of "thinking" or "doing" is right for him, but he does not have a right to think that his way is the way for all other people. His religious beliefs are his own and he is not asked to change them in order to work with people of other beliefs. He is, however, asked to respect beliefs which are different from his and to encourage and help others to make the religious factor in their lives more meaningful. The same attitude is required of the worker toward the differing customs of various national, racial, and social groupings. This attitude transcends tolerance; it is a positive acceptance of the values of difference among human beings, of their right to be different¹ one from another. Perhaps some day the peoples of the world will recognize One God and ways of worshiping him which are not antagonistic to each other. We might even look forward to the day of One World and world citizenship shared equally by all. If these are goals to be achieved, they will be accomplished only by social processes in

¹ See Chapter 4, pp. 121-132.

which each group representing different beliefs, traditions, and customs has equal opportunity for unhampered intergroup relationships. It is our belief that we are in the early stages of such a process, and that the groups which social group workers serve are vital units in a movement toward a world at peace based on the brotherhood of man in the kingdom of God. Since so many of the groups sponsored by the recreational and informal educational agencies are intercultural and interracial, these agencies are in a significant position to help members not only to understand each other's differences but to learn the value of difference within a common framework and the art of self-respect and of respect for others.

The process by which this idealistic goal is to be achieved brings us right back to understanding the whole individual and his problems of personality development. No one can be helped to love and accept others until he respects and accepts himself, his personal capacities and limitations, his religious conviction, his cultural heritage, and his place in society.¹ This does not mean that he is helped to accept himself as static or full grown. As long as the human being is alive he is growing and developing, but his growth and development are greater if he has full appreciation of all that goes into making him the person that he is.

The customs of our society have imposed handicaps on minority groups. Discrimination is overtly shown, for example, in employment, recreation, and housing. And the subtle psychological handicaps which affect everyday living are too numerous to discuss here. Many members of minority groups have sought to meet these difficulties by denying identification with their cultural or religious heritage. In so doing, they have cut themselves off from sources of strength which every human being needs; they have also undertaken to do something which is psychologically impossible, since every human being can only be himself. He can develop himself to the limit of his capacity *only* when he is able to accept himself as he is. The social group worker offers particular help to members who try to cut themselves off from their heritage, aiding them both individually and in the group; he also helps the agency mobilize efforts to change the social situation which is handicapping these members.

Most children, adolescents, and young adults — and many adults — have little knowledge of the history, traditions, and customs of their forefathers. Furthermore, they are apt to have little conscious interest in learning about the background of their parents. They are primarily concerned with the customs of the life about them. The way of life which they follow in the larger community may be quite different from the customs practiced in their

¹ Leon Festinger, "The Role of Group Belongingness in a Voting Situation," *Human Relations*, vol. 1 (1947), no. 2, pp. 154-180.

homes, where parents or grandparents perhaps dominate the mores of the family. For whatever reason, if the way of life within the family unit is different from that generally accepted by the neighborhood, this fact of difference tends to aggravate the normal child-adult conflict. The child is endeavoring not only to establish his role as an adult but to establish himself as an adult in a role which is different from that of his mother or his father. While the child, in infancy, has identified himself in the feminine or masculine role with the parent of the same sex, now that he is a pre-adolescent, an adolescent, or even a young adult he does not have the support of the parent which he needs, because the person he now wishes to become is someone different from his parent. To a lesser extent, this alienation from the parent is a factor in the growing-up process of every individual because the customs of one generation always differ from those of the next; but with young people who come from foreign backgrounds or from minority groups the difference is greatly magnified. It is important, further, that those who work with young people and parents from minority groups recognize that the problems of such members are made still more difficult by the prejudices of the majority groups.

In a cosmopolitan community where population is representative of many nationalities and more than one race, the organized groups of the agencies offering social group work service tend to reflect the structure of interpersonal relations as they exist in the neighborhood. If people of like nationality or race associate only with one another, then the groups in the agencies tend to form on the same pattern. Whether the groups which are sponsored by agencies have developed to an intercultural and interracial basis or whether they are in the exclusive stage, the agency is in a position to help the members of the community to know each other and to develop understanding and appreciation of each other. If the agency serves the total community, then under its auspices the representatives of all religions, nationalities, and races can be brought together to further the common interests of the community.¹

Within the programs of organized groups there is a wealth of opportunity for intercultural and interracial education. While it is true that many individuals join groups for the purpose of identifying themselves with the status which they imagine the group to have, and that they profess little interest in their own background or that of anybody else whose manners and customs are considered strange by the so-called majority, it is also true that the group itself develops its own customs. The social group worker who knows the history, traditions, and customs of the religions, nationalities, and

¹ See Chapter 16 for a discussion of social education through participation in representative government of the agency.

races represented in the group, and who also understands and accepts the value of difference and the contribution each representative can make, will be able to help each to feel sufficiently accepted so that the group-as-a-whole will become an experience in intercultural and interracial education. Inter-club councils and agency committees later become the media through which this educational process penetrates to the wider community.

Limiting the Members

We have not been able to discuss the social group worker's role of loving and accepting without also discussing his role of limiting.¹ The two functions go hand in hand. The worker who loves is able to limit without being judgmental or punishing, but he who does not love is incapable of setting constructive limitations. Hate or indifference takes precedence over love, leaving the worker impotent rather than strong when the members need his strength to help them in their struggle between the positive and negative forces within them. The handling of the feelings of hostility and friendliness within an individual, whether these are expressed in a group meeting or in a personal interview, is the test of the social worker's skill in practice. Handling the expression of these feelings in a group is a delicate operation because of the many complicating factors in the interacting processes of the group. The worker must be aware of not only the meaning of the expressed behavior to the member but also the meaning of the reaction of the other members to that behavior. In order to understand the chain reaction of members in groups, the worker must be emotionally free to concentrate upon the members; he will not be thus free unless he is able to love and accept them as persons needing his help, and unless he has little concern over their reaction to him as a person, or over their behavior as a reflection upon his competence. In other words, the worker must be free to regard behavior only as symptomatic of the members' interests and needs. Any other concern about behavior will blind his eyes, stop his ears, and dull his feelings to the real meaning of the behavior he is seeking to understand. If the worker permits his personal feelings to enter into his relations with members of groups, he will be unable to handle their feelings of hostility professionally and will read personal attachment into their friendly feelings rather than the regard of members for their workers. When the worker interprets the behavior of the members in terms of their reactions to him as a person, he will be angry when their behavior displeases him and flattered when it pleases him. Neither reaction is conducive to the development of wholesome personal growth or healthy group morale. There is no place in the practice

¹ T. V. Smith, *Discipline for Democracy* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1942).

of social group work for the narcissistic worker; and when the indigenous leaders of the group are "prima donnas," they must be helped to become democratic leaders and followers.

The social group worker consciously affects the interacting processes within the group to further the personal development of the members through the achievement of satisfactory activity. He is continuously using his wisdom and discretion to determine what types of expression will meet the needs of members and those of the group-as-a-whole. He is now permissive, now limiting, in response to his evaluation of the needs of the moment. Limitations are not to be regarded as arbitrary restrictions imposed by the worker; they are rather the support given by the worker to the member in exercising self-control. The worker, through his support, strengthens the ego of the member in order to enable him, whenever possible, to meet the conflict situation. Most limitations are inherent in the situation itself. As society imposes limitations upon the conduct of its members, so the group's customs and laws, the agency's policies, rules, and regulations are all seen as limitations coming from society. The worker helps the members to live within these limitations or to take socially acceptable measures to change the limitations to meet their needs. The program content sets some of the limits within which the members must abide if they are to feel a sense of accomplishment in their activity. Playing a game according to the rules, following a recipe for cooking, preparing materials for arts and crafts, showing consideration to others in a discussion group, sharing in a week-end camping trip — all these and other activities impose limitations on the members' freedom to do just as they please when they please. The worker helps the members to accept these limitations and to use them for personal growth and the good of the whole.

Some members need protection from their own hostility, which may be expressed through very aggressive behavior disruptive to the group and destructive to the status of the individual in the group. Maladjustment to the group may be expressed by "being very good" and becoming the drudge of the group; or it may be expressed by clowning, gift-giving, treating and other forms of bribery, stealing, telling "dirty" stories, tattling, or other behavior indicative of need for help. The worker helps members with such needs through using the limitations in the situation: those set by society and those set by the program. There are, however, members for whom these are insufficient, and when this is the case the worker himself is responsible for supplying additional limitations.

The worker, then, supplies additional limitations when the hostility of one or more of the members is too drastically expressed, when the repressed hostility of one or more of the members ought to be expressed, when the ex-

pressed hostility of some of the members will destroy the group, when the hostility of the group-as-a-whole endangers its continuance as a group. He also supplies limitations when the program content is insufficiently defined and when the program content is beyond the capacity of the members; young children and immature adults are likely to have "big" ideas about programs, and the worker is responsible for helping them to plan in the realm of reality. The limitations called for by program will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. We shall consider here the limitations which the worker must set in order to keep expressions of hostility within wholesome bounds.

The worker must understand the dynamics of the feelings of hostility and friendliness if he is to be able to limit the individual whose behavior is motivated by these feelings. As we have seen, when an individual gives expression to hostile feelings he experiences a sense of guilt which in turn drives him to a further expression of hostility. With some individuals, this behavior pattern calls for limitations. The worker who loves and accepts the member whose behavior is anti-social is able to help him by prohibiting further expression of his feelings. The worker's love and acceptance are stronger than his prohibition; hence the member does not feel in danger of *losing all* simply because he has earned the disapproval of the worker. Persons in positions of authority need to understand and use this important principle. No social group worker ever lost the relationship of acceptance with a member of a group by using firmly and uncompromisingly his proper role of limiting unacceptable behavior. Many a worker, however, has lost a group because he permitted his personal self to gain precedence, became angry with a member and was unable to disapprove of the behavior without rejecting the person or group-as-a-whole.

Individuals who handle their hostile feelings by denying them and expressing only positive and conforming feelings are particularly in need of a form of limitation peculiarly adapted to this method of solving feelings of guilt. This type of behavior is observed in members who have the need to be "very good." It is expressed through always agreeing with others, consistently doing the dirty work, being self-righteous, and through other means of conforming. Individuals using this mechanism of defense frequently dislike any activity which involves getting dirty, as for example finger painting or work with clay. They may be meticulous, always wanting chairs to be placed in a straight line or some other form of exact pattern. They may insist upon the repetition of activities in *exact* order. The variety of ways of expressing the need to be "good" is endless. The significant factor to observe is the consistency and strength of the urge of expression. The worker must be overly sensitive to this form of expressed need, since in moderate degrees the behavior is admirable and very useful to the movement of the

group-as-a-whole. He must recognize, however, that, insofar as it is not behavior through which the individual is developing his full personality, to that extent the conforming member is not making his full contribution to the movement of the group-as-a-whole.

The worker in such situations provides limitations in reverse; that is, his very permissiveness and encouragement serve as limitations to the member's conforming behavior. The worker helps the member to feel that it is socially acceptable to disagree; to enjoy, in appropriate situations, messy and disorganized activities; to yell and shout and even to "get mad." He helps him to get less satisfaction out of being "better than other people" and more satisfaction out of being himself with recognition of the validity of his own ambivalent feelings. The worker helps such individuals by limiting other members of the group from ridiculing or taking advantage of the hesitant, conforming members. The worker who is aware of the needs of some individuals to express their hostility within the protection of socially approved program content will take advantage of the opportunities offered in the program-planning process to suggest activities which will not only provide channels of expression for those who most need so to express themselves but will at the same time provide pleasurable experiences for all. When members participate in activities through which they express feelings they have been denying, they need more than ordinary love and acceptance from the worker and from their companions. The worker not only gives them the needed additional attention but also helps the other members to respond to these members in positive ways. Older members, in late adolescence and upward, may wish to have the opportunity for personal interviews with the social group worker following such experiences. The worker must be aware of this need and make himself available to give such services.

Occasionally there are members in groups whose hostility is so extreme that they cannot be helped to find suitable expressions for their feelings except at the expense of the group-as-a-whole. Sometimes the worker must protect the group-as-a-whole against the hostility of one or more of its members. The group also can be very cruel to a person who interferes with its life, and sometimes the worker must protect such an individual from the hostility of the group-as-a-whole. In such situations the particular needs of the individual and of the group-as-a-whole give guidance to the actions of the worker. In most cases the worker is able to handle the situations thus created through skillful use of program and through affecting the interacting process by his own attitudes expressed in silence, words, and actions.

There are times when the whole group seems to be possessed by the need to express hostile feelings, when the members are so hostile that they seem to be incapable of making any decisions for themselves. Everything is a mat-

ter to fight about. At such times the worker must exercise direct leadership and thus put himself in the position of accepting the hostile feelings of the members at the same time that he is providing them with the direction which they need. The worker thus becomes the common enemy and the members unite opposing him. The expression of feeling against the prohibitions which the worker has imposed, together with the fusion which takes place among the members, makes it possible for the group again to take up its own responsibility for managing its own affairs. When the worker assumes the leadership role, everything that he does is important. Most of all it is important that he be calm, composed, and *not angry*. He will not be able to achieve the required degree of objectivity unless his first attention is placed on the need of the members to behave in the way in which they are behaving. If for one moment he permits himself to evaluate their behavior against the norms of "acceptable" behavior for people of their age, he will be lost and probably will deliver a lecture which will help no one. If he becomes angry he is emotionally in the same state as the members, and they might just as well all go home. If, however, he is fully aware of the meaning of their behavior, his voice will carry over to the members his love and acceptance; his suggestion for the next activity will be reasonable and will entail something completely different from what they have been doing, something which will provide outlets for the energy accumulated by all their hostile feelings. The members may reject the suggestion and any form of leadership from the worker, but they will feel his acceptance and his strength; and they will return to the next meeting in an entirely different frame of mind. Thus the worker is in a strategic position to help them in other situations. In most cases the suggestions of the worker will be reluctantly and angrily received, but members will follow the leadership of the worker for whom they have more love than hatred; then their feelings of co-operation win in the contest within them and an unsatisfactory group experience has been changed into one of real achievement.

Some groups choose ends which are contrary to the philosophy and purpose of the agency and to the values and norms of the society which sponsors it. The social group worker is the bearer of values for the agency and for society, and in such a situation he helps the members to clarify the issues and to use the channels between the club and the policy-making committees in the agency for the discussion of differences. It is then the worker's responsibility to help the agency's staff, board, committees, and general membership to understand the values and norms of the group in question and the meaning of the suggested activity. These differences may arise in the area of manners and customs (type of dress, language used, issues like smoking, drinking, or kissing games); of law (use of agency truck without a carrier's

license, money-raising events involving the sale of chances, use of rooms which have been condemned for group dancing, and other matters covered by legal codes); of morals (limitation of activity of group in area of boy-girl relationships, use of stolen goods in money-making projects, lying, cheating, gambling games and other activities regarded as contrary to the accepted moral code of the agency); and of social and economic philosophy (programs leading to political or social action). Whenever a conflict occurs between the members' plans and the policy of the agency, the worker helps the members to work with the appropriate committees of the agency toward a possible change of agency policies in light of their needs; and at the same time he helps the members to understand and accept, if need be, the limitations imposed by the agency. It is self-evident that the frequency of such conflicts is closely related to the degree of autonomy which the group enjoys and to the skill of the social group worker in helping the members choose socially desirable forms of behavior. Many controversial issues arise out of the variety of social norms represented in agency memberships. For instance, while raffles are illegal in most states and hence contrary to the policy of social agencies in those states, the members will often be able to cite churches and other institutions highly esteemed in their community which use this device for raising money. In other words, raffles are accepted as a norm in the community. The social group worker, as the representative of the agency, therefore finds it very difficult to help the members to accept the agency ruling on the basis of legality; yet it is seldom, if ever, that an agency changes its attitude on the validity of raffling as a money-raising device.

Social action on the part of so-called autonomous groups under agency auspices also leads to perplexing conflicts. The agency is here brought face to face with the meaning of its objective: to provide social group work service for the purpose of helping the individual to develop his personality and the group-as-a-whole to achieve socially desirable ends. Socially desirable to whom? The members of the group itself? The members of the board and committees of the agency? Unless the administration provides for the democratic process to be operative throughout the entire agency, groups will not have the opportunity to learn effectively the skill of democratic participation in society; they will be denied the opportunity of feeling the full satisfaction of group achievement. The answer of many individuals and groups to situations of this kind is to withdraw from the agency auspice. This might well be one of the reasons why the membership of so many recreational and informal educational agencies reflects such a large proportion of children up through early adolescence and such a sharp dropping off in late adolescence and early maturity.

Helping Individuals and Groups to Achieve

The worker loves and limits the members in order to help them achieve, for it is in *action* that useful learning takes place.¹ The sense of achievement, however, is based on something more than just "doing"; the action must be purposeful. The common decision which precedes the activity and the evaluation which follows it are essential factors in the process by which group members, individually, develop this sense. It is the achievement of the group-as-a-whole which gives meaning and significance to the individual achievements, yet there would be no achievement of the group-as-a-whole if there were no individual achievements; thus we see the circular nature of the process.

The social group worker is concerned with the quality and meaning of the *ends* (achievements) as well as with the means through which the ends are achieved. The ends or achievements of a group in which the means have been determined by the use of the social group work method are different from the *ends in view*. It is in this difference between the ostensible objective (the end in view) and the accomplished result (the achievement) that most of the value of the group experience lies; there is also of course the value inherent in satisfaction with the end itself. End and means are interdependent; the end will have little significance if the means have failed to engage the interest and satisfy the needs of each member, and the means will have little sustained value if the end is disappointing. Within the process through which objectives are achieved, members learn to accept new ideas, expand or discard old ones, acquire new skills and improve old ones, develop new attitudes and change old ones. The process of achievement, in short, is a process of change. The social forces of the community, the agency, and the group itself are at work influencing the members as they establish the new frame of reference required for the accomplishment of their group's objectives.

The most important contribution which the group makes to the individual is the opportunity to learn how to function within the structure of group organization. Malinowski says, "... everywhere and in every effective performance the individual can satisfy his interests or needs and carry out any and every effective action only within organized groups and through the organization of activities."² The satisfaction of both basic and derived

¹ "... the psychology we are considering teaches us that the ideas of people are not formed in their 'minds' as conceptual pictures, but depend on their activities.... Concepts can never be presented to me merely, they must be knitted into the structure of my being, and this can be done only through my own activity." Mary P. Follett, *Creative Experience* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1930), p. 151.

² Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. 46.

needs is dependent upon the individual's ability to function with his fellow men in organized groups; hence the mere fact of participation in the group process is an achievement of no mean consideration. The concomitant gains accruing to the individual are increased knowledge and skill, and hence increased opportunities for satisfactory living.

The values to individuals of group experiences are directly related to the achievements of the group-as-a-whole. For the member, the significance of his individual achievement is rooted in the status of the group within the agency and the community. And the group-as-a-whole has a status in the agency and the community because of the behavior of its members and their collective achievements as a group. In the last analysis, individual achievement and group achievement are so interrelated that it is practically impossible to discuss them separately. An illustration of this point is provided by the Roaring Aces, a club of young veterans who came to the agency with the wish to form a basketball team. The members had had no experience in organized groups where the management of their group was their own responsibility. They met frequently but seemed unable to undertake the necessary organization which their request necessitated; instead they played aimlessly with the ball, were unwilling to learn the rules of the game, and spent the greater part of their time in arguing and wrestling. They complained to the worker about the equipment in the gymnasium and the poor ball which they had been given. The worker suggested that they hold a club meeting and discuss what they could do about the situation. Following this advice, the members got together, expressed their dissatisfaction, drew up a petition, and appointed a committee to take their requests to the executive of the agency. The executive received the committee as the *representative* of the Roaring Aces, not just as a collection of individuals, and through this experience these members became aware of themselves as part of a group which was *theirs*. They were successful in communicating this idea to the other club members. Because of the achievement of the group-as-a-whole in securing a place in the agency sun, they were able to organize themselves so that they could carry on co-operative activities. In this case, lack of self-esteem and of social experience blocked the members from becoming effective within their own group. The executive's respect for the group-as-a-whole encouraged them to move ahead to a group achievement in which each was able to share, and by which they were enabled to develop new personal skills both in basketball (their conscious objective) and in the use of the group to accomplish a social objective. Through working together they made some progress in learning to respect one another's opinions and in using group discussion in the decision-making process upon which corporate action is dependent. The worker helped the members to achieve these results through

accepting them in their retarded state of social development, limiting them in their attempt to disregard the orderly procedures through which they could attain their objectives, and finally supplying the structure through which they could work when it became evident that they could not develop it themselves.

Individuals need to have satisfactory experiences in many groups. When they have learned to function in small primary groups, they are ready to move on to larger groups and intergroup situations. Participation in intergroup organization, such as interclub councils, demands the ability to think of the needs and interests of a community of groups; here the member learns the responsibility of representing his group-as-a-whole, in contrast to the role he fulfills in the primary group. It is through relations with interclub councils and other intergroup situations that the individual becomes aware of his own group's achievements or lack of them.¹

The social group worker helps members to achieve through helping their groups to become part of the social forces within the community in areas of their interests. Many of the same problems which beset a particular group are also perplexing other groups in the community and in the country at large. The social group worker helps the members to become aware of the relationship between their areas of concern and those of others, and to join with other groups in common study and action.²

Finally, the social group worker helps the members to achieve through helping them to develop and strengthen their philosophy of life as an integrating force in their personal life and as a directive in their social concerns. This the individual achieves through the process of adjustment which he experiences within every group of which he is a part. The social group worker is only one of many factors in the member's growth and development, but he is in a strategic position because he can affect the social processes within the primary group in such a way that personal integration takes place, and can help those whom he serves to use all the resources of the community toward this end.

In this chapter we have distinguished the method of social group work from other methods of working with groups, defined the areas of social group work practice, and discussed the relation of purpose — that of the agency, that of the members, and that of the worker — to the decision-making process within the group. We have described some of the emotional content

¹ Note the effect on the Sub-Debs when the group's representatives gave their report on the interclub council meeting (Chapter 12).

² "Youth United for a Better Home Town" (pamphlet; Youth Division, National Social Welfare Assembly, 134 East 56th Street, New York 22, New York).

of the interaction of people in groups and examined the processes by which workers are accepted in their professional role in the groups which they serve. We have shown what the social group worker does, whom he works with, and how he fulfills his role in primary groups through loving and limiting the members and helping them to achieve their purposes. Before proceeding to a discussion of the program-planning process and an analysis of various areas of program content, we shall give further consideration to the factors of difference among individuals and groups.

4

Factors of Individual and Group Difference

IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER it was said repeatedly that the worker's role is determined both by the interests and needs of the members and by the social situation. We shall now attempt to develop a deeper understanding of his role through further consideration of the vicissitudes of life, both internal and external, which result in individual human differences and to the effect of these differences upon the social processes which make each social situation unique.

COMMON PROBLEMS OF GROWING UP

Since the behavior of human beings is their response to internal and external stimuli, it is important to understand typical and atypical responses which are common to large numbers of people as well as those which are unique to a particular individual.¹ We shall first consider those problems which are common to human beings in our culture as they move from infancy through school age,² adolescence, young adulthood, adulthood, and finally old age. It is fundamental that social group workers know general norms of physical, intellectual, and emotional growth and development in order that they may evaluate the stage at which the group members are at a given time. These norms are not absolute; within a considerable range, individuals may be ahead of them or behind them, and still be making satisfactory progress. They are to be used as guideposts only. They cannot be applied definitely to any age-range; the norms indicated are suggested for convenience and should be regarded as approximations only.

¹ For discussion of the total personality as an organic and functioning whole, see Frederick J. Hacker, "The Concept of Normality and Its Practical Significance," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 15 (January, 1945), pp. 47-55.

² The term "school age" is used to designate the period of adjustment to society experienced with entrance to school at five or six years until puberty.

Infancy (Birth to Two Years)

Although social group workers very seldom work directly with this age-group, there are many reasons why it is important that they know and understand this period. The adjusting process begun here forms a pattern for future development. Club members often have younger brothers and sisters; adult groups may plan part of their program around the care of their own small children; club members, particularly household employees and high-school-age "baby sitters" care for babies as part of their employment. Knowledge and understanding of conception and birth, of physical, mental, and emotional growth and development of the infant are prerequisites for the practice of social group work.

While the infant brings with him short-term immunity to certain diseases, his resistance to infection may be low and he requires careful protection.¹ He is in the period of most rapid physical growth. He moves his arms and legs almost continuously and needs this exercise for his development. Gradually this random movement becomes more controlled and directed. He is wholly dependent upon his mother or mother-substitute for the satisfaction of his physical needs — for food, shelter, and clothing. In the same way he receives from her his feelings of love and rejection, security and insecurity. He is self-centered; loving himself and his mother as part of himself. He is all impulses (*id*), and is in the oral-anal stage of development. He gradually learns to control his impulses and accept a certain amount of frustration and limitation. This he can do if he feels loved and accepted. He learns through the senses, particularly the sense of touch, and thus discovers his immediate environment.²

Preschool (Two to Six)

During this period, physical growth is still rapid, but is gradually becoming slower. Boys and girls develop at slightly different rates but are temporarily equalized at about five years of age. The child has abundant energy, using the large muscles primarily, and thus needs an opportunity for large, free, active movements. Small movements should not be emphasized in any activity. He is still physically dependent but is developing the ability to care for his own eating, washing, dressing, and toilet needs. His enlarging contacts with other children and adults — so necessary for his social development — increase the possibility of contact with infections, and some of the childhood diseases are very prevalent.

¹ See bibliography, pp. 641-644, especially L. Emmett Holt and Rustin McIntosh, *Holt's Diseases of Infancy and Childhood* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1940).

² Some of the material on "Common Problems of Growing Up" is adapted from *Program Planning*, edited by Gladys Ryland (mimeographed).

Intellectually he is developing memory and vocabulary and making associations of cause and result. He is still learning primarily through the senses. He is usually fascinated by rhythm and nonsense rhymes. Imitation and imagination are used more than the constructive powers, and he may play with the same materials throughout this period but develop in the way he makes use of them. Although he may become absorbed in an activity over a long period of time, ordinarily his interest span is short and he shifts activities frequently.

Emotionally, the ego (the self) is assuming ascendancy over the id (the impulses), and the development of the superego (the conscience), which up to now has been an external force (the parents), begins. The oral stage of the psycho-sexual development is on the wane, and the anal stage is increasing. The child discovers the genital organs, and masturbation and exhibitionism may occur. Adults need to understand and accept this behavior as normal in order to help the child move ahead in his development.¹

The preschool child needs to base his relationships on what he can "get" from others, and he is impatient — "he wants what he wants when he wants it"; this is normal behavior for him. He must love and feel kindly toward himself before he can feel kindly toward others. As a result of his self-centeredness he finds it hard to share with other children, particularly with his brothers and sisters; he wants to be first and only.² The first child has a particularly hard time since he feels displaced every time a new child is born in the family, and sibling rivalry is exaggerated when the parents actually prefer one child. He also finds it hard to share one parent with the other. The child rivalry situation in relation to parents is of great importance since it affects both present happiness and future relationships. What is known as the oedipus situation (see Greek myth) refers to the boy's attachment to his mother and rivalry with the father for her affection, and the girl's rivalry with her mother for her father.³ This rivalry brings feelings which are a mixture of love and hate, and the hostile wishes make the child fear retaliation from the parent who is the rival. These fears get little expression in real situations and may be expressed in extreme fear of common things which have taken on symbolic meaning for the child. If the feeling tones within the family are advantageous to the growth and development of the child, the boy by the time he is five or six will give up his mother as his primary love object and identify with his father, taking to himself the father's standards for him as he develops his own superego or conscience; the girl between the

¹ English and Pearson, *op. cit.*, Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

² David M. Levy, "Hostility Patterns in Sibling Rivalry Experiments," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 6 (April, 1936), pp. 183-257.

³ Anna Freud, *Introduction to Psycho-Analysis for Teachers* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1931), Chapter 1.

ages of seven and nine gives up her father as her primary love object and identifies with her mother as an ideal and pattern in the formation of her own superego. While the child is absorbed in the conflicts caused by his primary relationships, it is no wonder that he has little energy to devote to developing relationships with companions.

Play¹ at this age is very serious; it is the stuff of which life is made, an experimentation and testing of old and new experiences. Because he is primarily absorbed in himself, the child seldom engages in co-operative play with other children; he may play with them when they are needed to serve his purposes, but more often he chooses an adult whom he will try to subjugate. He comes in conflict with the wills of his contemporaries and learns some of the early lessons in accommodating to the interests and needs of others. He needs the help of adults in learning to share playthings and toys and to play with other children. He may need their help to make use of materials such as clay, finger paints, water, and other materials which provide a means of release and sublimation for his feelings. The preschool child needs to feel that he is loved and accepted. Part of his feeling of security also comes through limitations set by loving adults.

School Age (Six to Twelve or Thirteen)

After the sixth year, individual differences in rate of development are great. This developmental period is often divided into early school age (six to ten) and late school age (or pre-adolescence). The early period is sometimes designated as latency, for both physical and emotional growth are less rapid than formerly. Physical growth is more gradual, but toward the end of the period the arms and legs start to grow, so that the child seems to be all arms and legs and the trunk is small in proportion. The heart is small for the size of the body and needs to be protected from strain. Childhood diseases are prevalent and possible after-effects need to be kept in mind.² Adequate rest, sleep, and food are essential. The finer muscular co-ordinations begin to be developed, although there is still need for vigorous big-muscle activity. The girl acquires this ability earlier than the boy and does neater work. About the age of nine or ten interest in acquiring skill becomes great.

Although the oedipus struggle is latent at this period, interest in sex is by no means quiescent. The secret and open conversations within the privacy of the group reflect a very great interest in and curiosity about sexual mat-

¹ See Chapter 6.

² The diseases of high incidence in the first decade of life include: pyloric stenosis, diphtheria, mumps, whooping cough, scarlet fever, rheumatic fever, infantile paralysis, chorea, pneumonia, appendicitis, tetany, Still's disease, glomerulonephritis, sickle cell anemia.

ters. Children of this age-period are particularly interested in the sexual relations of adults, and they engage in various forms of sexual experimentation.

This age-group has made the first break from parents and home. What other youngsters his own age do and think is more vital to the child than the opinions of adults. Membership in a group is an essential relationship; association with his peers and consequent support from them gives him the courage to emancipate himself from his parents and other adults. This is the period of strong group loyalties, when clubs have secret names, languages, and rites. Adults seem many times to be enemies, and within the club the individual gives himself full opportunity to be as big, strong, and omnipotent as his parents appear to be. During the early-school-age period, relationships within groups are quite loose, almost fluid. The pair relationship is much stronger than the bond of the group-as-a-whole. It is at this age that the child who does not have a chum stands out like a sore thumb. Children who have not been loved by parents and those whose parents are possessive find it difficult to develop strong friendships. The child who has worked out a satisfactory relationship with his parents is now free to establish reciprocal relations with other adults and with companions of his own age. The club tends to be patterned on the family relationship. The members pay a great deal of attention to rules of conduct and thus undertake in corporate form the responsibility for their own personal behavior. Although they are still individualistic, they begin to share with others, to work and play together, and to accept the decisions of the group. The group not only gives them support but widens their horizons. Increasingly they become aware of their own sex; girls play with girls, while boys form their own gangs. They grow in their ability to learn and remember, to think things out, to make plans and decisions, and to accept and carry responsibility. They are curious about many things and need opportunities to use their imaginations and to create new ideas and express them. Their interest span lengthens, and they work successfully on long-term projects.

In the latter part of the school-age period they are ready to develop finer co-ordinations and skill in all kinds of activities. They are less satisfied with crude workmanship and strive to attain skill. They are still growing and need plenty of nourishing food and rest, but on the whole have greater physical resistance. As group or team spirit develops, some individuals tend to push themselves to participate in competitive games beyond their strength and endurance. There may be a great difference between the chronological age and the physical, emotional, or intellectual development, and it is important that each individual be allowed to grow at his own rate of speed. Ordinarily they are practical, concerned with things rather than ideas. They are

curious about the world around them and this curiosity stimulates them to try learning new things.

Emotionally they should have reached a fairly stable adjustment. They have many relationships with those their own age, but want to be able to turn to adults for reassurance and help in case of difficulty. They need to find acceptable parent-substitutes and objects of identification in their teachers and group leaders. They are learning to accept the limitations which wider social participation places upon them and to meet the demands of the group in which they move. The group gives them continued support in their struggle for independence from adults and serves as a place where they can discover that others have the same problems. The group provides an opportunity for leadership, and its program gives ample scope for sublimation and organization of impulses which otherwise might give them concern. Their group life is characterized by the gang spirit and by strong, relatively permanent associations with other children, which are often very seclusive and secretive. Members express their sense of the club's importance through developing symbols of identification such as secret codes, passwords, and initiation rites which distinguish them as members. The children play together, not merely doing the same thing, but actually co-operating, dividing up the labor so that each contributes in his own unique way. Acceptance by the group is so important that the youngster who has no place in the group suffers intensely and needs help in adjusting his behavior so that he will be acceptable to others. There may be strong rivalry for leadership, with individuals or subgroups trying to dominate the entire group. Individuals with little status may be used as scapegoats by the rest of the group. The attitude toward the opposite sex is changing; there is great ambivalence. At one time boys and girls will play together or try to gain each other's attention and admiration; again, they will have nothing to do with each other and will even engage in open hostility.

It is in the school-age period that the organized group comes into the life of the human being as an important relationship through which he is able to play a developing role in society. From this age on, one cannot understand an individual unless one understands the meaning of the organized groups with which he is affiliated.

Adolescence (Thirteen to Seventeen or Eighteen)

A group of parents met at the invitation of the agency to discuss the problems of adolescents in the neighborhood. Mrs. Adams said that "all we need to do is have lots of things going on and we won't have any problems." Mrs. Kelso said that she was not interested in discussing canteens; that she personally wanted to know "what makes these kids 'tick' and what there is about them that we don't know that could help us." Mrs.

Peters stated that she really saw no purpose for a group like this as she does not understand teen-age children and she was positive that no one else did.

This excerpt from a record of a parents' group reveals three distinct and fairly typical points of view about helping adolescents. We agree with Mrs. Peters that no one *really* understands adolescents just as no one *really* comprehends the full meaning of human behavior. But we do know a great deal about this age-period, as the quantity of literature on the subject testifies. Certain knowledge about the physical, emotional, and intellectual turmoil through which the adolescent is passing must be kept in mind as well as his need for recreation.

After the relatively slow physical growth of the previous period, the onset of puberty brings another period of rapid growth. Following the "all legs" or "colt" period, growth emphasis shifts to the trunk, and the body moves toward attaining the proportions of maturity. But the pattern is irregular, and neuromuscular controls are erratic and undependable, bringing an awkwardness which results in embarrassment difficult for the adolescent to bear. The heart and lungs have been increasing in size but not proportionately in strength. Weakness may be a result of rapid growth, but so-called "growing pains" are often symptoms of disease (rheumatic or arthritic) rather than of growth. Regular physical examinations at least yearly, and preferably every six months, are indicated for adolescents.¹ The sex organs are maturing and secondary sex characteristics are manifest. All these changes make heavy demands on the metabolism of the body and a tendency to glandular maladjustment may become evident. Individual differences in the onset of adolescence and in the rate of development are especially apparent. In addition, the bodies of boys and girls become differentiated; the boys become angular, while the girls become rounded and develop curves. The girl matures earlier than the boy. By the age of twelve, girls are about two years ahead of boys physiologically; at seventeen, equalization has again taken place; by twenty there should be no distinctions in rate of development. All these individual differences bring conflicts in the area of social relations. It is easy to see why adolescents need nine or more hours of sleep and equally easy to see why, in the light of their emotional and intellectual needs, they oppose any such requirement.

Intellectually, there is also an awakening. The adolescent seeks intel-

¹ The physical strain of adolescence is a factor often overlooked in planning athletic programs, which should be closely related to each participant's physical well-being. See bibliography, p. 604 f. The diseases of high incidence in the second decade of life include: mumps, chorea, appendicitis (50 per cent of cases are before 20 years), rheumatoid arthritis, pulmonary tuberculosis, peptic ulcer (females 15-25), colloid goiter, exophthalmic goiter (most cases over 16), glomerulonephritis (70 per cent of cases are before 21), Still's disease, sickle cell anemia.

lectual freedom. He is interested in specific and authentic information. He begins to question most of his beliefs and out of this emerges his philosophy of life.

In the psycho-sexual development, there may also be an upheaval. In the previous period, he attained some measure of balance between the instinctual strivings and the development of the ego. At puberty, this balance is upset, and in the behavior which follows there can be seen interests which are common to the oral, anal, and phallic periods of development. Thus the ego has a new burden, that of reorganizing its defenses. The pattern followed will bear a relation to the way the individual solved similar conflicts in the phallic period.

This struggle will not be understood by the adolescent, who will be fortunate indeed if he receives understanding treatment from his family and parents. Therefore, it is essential that he have the support of relationships both with adults and with groups of boys and girls his own age, for through such relationships he can work on the conflict caused by his needs to be both dependent and independent. This imbalance is shown in the way his imaginative plans far exceed his ability to carry them out; the way he fluctuates, one minute accepting and carrying through a responsibility, and the next, avoiding or failing to carry the responsibility he has assumed. Groups provide outlets for physical, emotional, and intellectual energy and for the drives through which the adolescent attains his measure of social development. These groups should be as varied and numerous as are the interests and needs of adolescents. The need for the development of skill in the use of the hands and body, so important in the school age, is still a need in adolescence. Interest groups in the arts as well as organized athletics are important types of groups for adolescents. Dancing is the outstanding medium through which teen-agers experiment in heterosexual relationships. Mass activities which include all forms of the dance and group games should have prominent places in programs for these young people. Adolescents need the anonymity of large mass activity; but they need also the individualization which the small intimate group provides. On the one hand, they need the opportunity, afforded by the mass activity, to escape for a time from the conflicts within them; on the other, they need the help of the small group in facing reality. Program content should recognize no limitations of media through which the adolescent finds help in working on such problems as emancipation from his family, vocational choice, relationships with the opposite sex, and realization of himself in relation to society and to his religious beliefs. No one group can provide sufficient testing ground for adolescents as they use their experience in groups to find their way into adult life.

The growth process in adolescence is complicated by the attitudes of both

family and society. Our culture tends to keep these young people "children" by lengthening the school experience and giving little acceptance to early marriage and assumption of family responsibilities; yet both parents and society frequently expect a consistency of behavior which is beyond the capacity of adolescents.

The experiences of these early years, to yield full value to the individual, must be regarded as important *now*, in themselves, and not as mere threshold experiences with little significance. Each experience, from birth on, is significant in itself and worth being analyzed with a view to determining and affecting the advantageous and disadvantageous factors which influence the process of socialization. Respect for the individuality of the young child is just as important as respect for the older members of society. Experiences of childhood and adolescence, we repeat, must be fully understood as to meaning and regarded as important in themselves, not merely as preparatory for adulthood.

Young Adulthood (Eighteen to the Late Twenties)

There is a transitional period that might be described as having one foot in adolescence and the other in adulthood. The stage of development reached in physical, intellectual, and emotional areas is the result of life's experiences in the earlier periods and thus there is a very high rate of individual difference. Physically, young adults are well on the way to mature development and mature bodily proportions. They are free of the awkwardness of adolescence and can co-ordinate well. They are less prone to serious diseases than other age-groups.¹

The young adult is faced with the necessity of making decisions about vocational plans, choice of a life-partner, and other adult responsibilities. His ability to handle these decisions depends to a large extent upon the adjustments he has made earlier. He may be free to devote all his energies to the immediate problems of functioning in adult life. While the problems of vocation and of marriage present difficulties, individuals who have made satisfactory adjustments have the capacity to make the necessary decisions because they have the emotional maturity that enables them to make choices. These individuals need help and guidance, and while they are able to make effective use of help given on an intellectual basis, they too need to be understood as "whole persons" and to receive help related to their individualized needs. However, since they have come through adolescence successfully they are free to approach the problems of adult responsibility.

¹ The diseases of high incidence in the third decade of life include: rheumatoid arthritis, colloid and exophthalmic goiter, pulmonary tuberculosis, appendicitis, peptic ulcer (males, 30 to 50 years), cancer of the breast, venereal diseases (high point at 24 to 35 years).

Yet many young adults are still beset with the problems which disturb adolescents. Many have not succeeded in achieving emancipation from their parents and homes; they have not made satisfactory vocational choices; their problems of man-woman relationships are affected by memories of previous unhappy experiences and disappointments, fears of being unattractive to the opposite sex, the difficulty of choosing a life-mate, the necessity of postponing marriage for financial or educational reasons, and other obstacles less connected with reality which make the pre-marriage period difficult. The experience of social group workers indicates that it is the unusual young adult who has achieved the emotional integration of real maturity. For example, the problem of parental emancipation is one of high incidence among young people in their twenties. Some parents are unable to relinquish their controls; they treat their young adult sons and daughters as children; and at the same time, they expect them to carry adult responsibilities. Society, too, makes this demand of them. Thus a difficult situation is created for many young adults who have had neither the preparation nor the freedom to develop those personal characteristics which would make it possible for them to learn to meet the requirements of parents and other representatives of adult society.

Young adults need the support of congenial groups because of the nature of the decisions with which they are faced. When they graduate from high school, or drop out of school, they lose the support of membership in close associational groups; for while many have belonged to community as well as school groups, these groups tend to disintegrate as the members form new alignments in different social settings. Within one group, interests change as some members continue their education in trade or business schools, colleges, or professional schools, while others seek immediate employment. A great number combine marriage with any of these choices. Others must postpone marriage until after a long period of educational and professional experience. Those who are searching for new friends of either sex find large mixed groups very attractive, and they spend many of their out-of-school or out-of-work hours in social gatherings where they meet old and new friends. They tend to pair off in couples and form subgroups within both large open groups and small exclusive clubs. Small mixed groups are very satisfying for those who have found friends in whom they are at least temporarily interested. In addition, some young adults are interested in belonging to groups composed only of members of the same sex. It is natural for young people to want to belong to both types of groups. But some young people are afraid of contacts with the opposite sex and seek to find all outlets for their social needs in groups of their own sex. The group can then be a handicap instead of an aid to their personal and social development. Workers should seek to know

and understand the program of all groups in which young adult members are affiliated if they are to help them to use effectively the particular group in question.

One of the components of young adults' interest in social activities with each other is a very great concern about the sex factor in life. Many young adults, both married and unmarried, are ignorant of the meaning of sex in their lives; some have very distorted information about the physical aspects of sex, and few have adequate knowledge of the emotional factors surrounding the central core of human life.

Courtship is to some an emotional strain. Fortunately, it does not affect all people adversely. The dates of adolescence carry little responsibility, but the dates of courtship in the twenties or later bring both persons involved closer to marriage and its implications: namely, greater responsibility, the actual beginning of sexual experience and, for the woman, pregnancy and motherhood. If people have not had an opportunity to think these matters over, if they have drifted along with no thought as to the responsibilities of marriage, as they reach the twenties the prospect is frightening and causes anxiety.¹

Since sex is such an important part of the life of every human being, each individual should have the opportunity to have full knowledge of its meaning appropriate to his stage in the life cycle and to develop an attitude which accepts sex as the normal part of his make-up which it is. Young men and young women who are frightened and anxious about their relationships with each other do not have a secure basis on which to build a life for themselves or to participate with others in building a better society. Young adults who reach the twenties still struggling with problems of parental emancipation and with inadequate knowledge and understanding of the importance of sex in their lives are not ready or able to handle adequately the problems of marriage and vocational choice which are appropriate to this period. Many of these problems of young adults can be discussed in group meetings. Handled by a mature, well-adjusted, well-informed, and adequate worker, such discussions can be a most helpful experience for the members. The group approach, however, is not sufficient. Through personal counseling the worker helps individuals to understand their problems and to seek additional help, if necessary, from marriage clinics, mental hygiene clinics, vocational counseling bureaus, and other available services.

Young adults may also need help in taking their roles as citizens in the community. Some appear to have little interest in public affairs; others are

¹ Reprinted from *Emotional Problems of Living* (p. 313), by O. Spurgeon English and Gerald H. J. Pearson, by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright, 1945, by the publishers.

too much concerned with personal problems to have any energy left for the world at large; still others see social action as a way of expressing their rebellion against authority. Many young persons, however, approach these responsibilities with eagerness and a sense of pride in their own importance as citizens, and they are likely to become disillusioned and discouraged when results are not immediate, or when they discover how complicated and interrelated are the processes for effecting social change. They need the help of adults who have more wisdom, discretion, and experience in the area of social action.

At all times it must be remembered that "there is nothing esoteric about group work with young adults. Its aims and objectives, its techniques and methods are fundamentally those of group work in general. Any differences in program or emphasis are due to the basic social factors characterizing young adults."¹

Adulthood (Late Twenties to Sixty)

Young people may feel that all the excitement of living occurs in youth, however, middle life can be both an exciting and critical period. Some people conduct their lives in such a way as to make life richer and more meaningful all of the time, while others follow a procedure of living that tends to impoverish them emotionally, ideationally, and even economically.²

The state of being mature does not imply an absence of problems; rather, it indicates the ability to deal with problems in adequate, straightforward, realistic ways. The emotionally mature adult realizes, with the poet, that life is real and life is earnest, life is not an empty dream. He is able to obtain satisfaction from postponed pleasures, whereas the attitude of immaturity is "I want what I want when I want it." He is able to be angry at just cause without feeling guilty, and he is capable of accepting hostility without feeling the need to return it in kind. He has accepted his sex role and its implications in his adjustments to social situations. He is capable of loving others as well as himself and expresses this in marriage or career (or both) and in the assumption of civic responsibilities. He has accepted the responsibilities of his vocation without feeling impelled to shirk or overwork. He can organize and carry out plans independently, but is able to accept guidance and dependency when appropriate. He has attained a balanced judgment based on neither an overstrict or an undemanding conscience.

¹ Laura Ault, "Principles and Problems in Work with Young Adults," *The Group*, American Association of Group Workers, vol. 9 (1947), no. 2, p. 10.

² Reprinted from *Emotional Problems of Living* (pp. 309-310), by O. Spurgeon English and Gerald H. J. Pearson, by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright, 1945, by the publishers.

In this period of maximum physical, intellectual, and emotional development, the adult is called upon to assume his heaviest responsibilities. Physically, he has attained those body proportions — the mature relationship between trunk, limbs, and vital organs — toward which all the former growth has been directed. The adult has to become accustomed to the idea that, as time goes on, the vigorous activities of youth must gradually be discontinued. There may be a period of readjustment as he realizes the waning of the physical powers, particularly the sex function. Thus, while the body is capable of great exertion and endurance, there are also physical hazards, in this as in every age-period, which may threaten physical well-being. Major illnesses that necessitate a change in one's way of life or that involve surgery may bring special problems.¹

All the physical, intellectual, and emotional experiences of his earlier life contribute to the degree of maturity which the adult achieves in his middle years. His past successes and failures are expressed in his adult personality pattern. Happy childhood gives promise of success in adulthood — of the capacity to be loving parents and community-minded citizens. Unhappy childhood lays the groundwork for frustrated middle age, with all the attending personal problems and the loss to society. Most individuals achieve only partial maturity; hence the average adult presents some characteristics of the fully mature person, accompanied by many of the problems natural to adolescents and children.

Participation in group life provides the adult with the opportunity to use the group to satisfy the needs of his particular stage of development, whether for making social adjustments or for contributing to the welfare of society. Although the group life of some adults may show characteristics associated with the younger periods in the life cycle, the substance of group life of the mature adult reflects the equilibrium of his physical, intellectual, and emotional systems — wholesome activity, appropriate fun, joy in participation with others, interest and concern about matters of public interest, and a creative approach to life through many media. The role of the social group worker in working with adults, as with all other groups, is determined by the members' interests and needs which he must understand in the light of all the characteristics of the age-period with which he is working.

Old Age (Over Sixty)

Gradually but inevitably the adult slips into old age. This period is char-

¹ The diseases of high incidence in the fourth, fifth, and sixth decades of life include: angina pectoris, arteriosclerosis, cancer, diabetes mellitus, cholelithiasis, pernicious anemia (usually starts after 36), nephrolithiasis, essential hypertension, peptic ulcer (males), gonorrhea, syphilis, rheumatoid arthritis, osteoarthritis, pneumonia, pulmonary tuberculosis (18 to 35).

acterized by marked physical, intellectual, and emotional changes, varying in degree with the individual. Because of change and deterioration of some of the bodily tissues,¹ the old person has a lower resistance. In speed of movement he exhibits a general slowing up, although he still has the ability to perform and to acquire new knowledge and skill, provided speed and energy are not required to a great degree. Memory for recent events may be affected although the past remains vivid.

Character changes of extreme degree are not necessarily inevitable as old age appears. Whether they appear or not depends largely upon two factors: first, on the rapidity with which degenerative changes are prone to take place in a particular family; and, second, on the strength of personality integration as a result of home and environmental training.²

This period of life can be one of continued fulfillment. But society places emphasis upon productivity, and so for the most part the aged person feels that he is a burden. He develops many defenses. He may become conservative, rigid in personality, and critical of the younger generation; he may seem to be concerned only with himself; he may live in the past, recalling earlier achievements and enlarging upon them. As in earlier life, all such defenses are mechanisms through which he attempts to achieve a feeling of being safe and secure, of being loved and accepted. However,

In favorable circumstances of economic security, a very gradual decline in physical and mental powers, the continuance of sustaining relationships, the continuance of some satisfying activity, and an inherent capacity on the part of the individual to accept change without undue anxiety and resistance, one may encounter no marked problems of adjustment.³

Developments in recreational groups for the aged bring out several pertinent points. The old person's preoccupation with self lessens when he has an opportunity to know other people with whom he can talk and participate in activities; his former skills in activities come to the fore and he is able to teach these skills to others; he is able to learn new skills provided he is not hurried or rushed; he can function on committees, participate in decision-making, and carry out responsibilities. In some groups, the men and women tend to drift into separate groups although they are interested in carrying out some activities together.

¹ The diseases of highest incidence in this age-period include: angina pectoris, pneumonia (highest incidence at 65), pernicious anemia, arteriosclerosis, osteoarthritis, essential hypertension (up to 70), cancer.

² Reprinted from *Emotional Problems of Living* (p. 400), by O. Spurgeon English and Gerald H. J. Pearson, by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright, 1945, by the publishers.

³ Charlotte Towle, *Common Human Needs*, U.S. Social Security Board Public Assistance Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1945), p. 68.

With the increasing length of life span and thus the increasing number of aged persons, serious thought must be given to the needs of this age-group. Attention is centering on helping the family group to understand them; on foster homes and institutions for the aged; on economic security; and on recreational opportunities.¹

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF GROWING UP

Physical and Emotional Illness and Handicaps

Every human being experiences a certain amount of illness, physical and emotional. When an individual is sick, he is less able to handle the daily conflicts which living entails. His reaction to illness is consistent with his reaction to other obstacles and frustrations in his life. As all behavior patterns may be placed along a continuum which runs from excessive acceptance of responsibility to complete avoidance, so in illness may individual reactions run the gamut from denial of the fact of illness to escape into its licenses and privileges. Some diseases and injuries present a greater threat to the security of the human being than others. Hence those who seek to help ill persons must understand both the person and the disease or injury from which he is suffering.²

A serious illness or injury not only makes the affected individual feel different from others but also removes him from his normal social setting, and this removal in turn increases his sense of difference and causes him to lose confidence in his former social adjustment. The process of rehabilitation should include not only care of the physical needs and help in handling personal reactions to the illness but also help in recovering or improving upon the patient's former social skills in group life.

The social group worker needs knowledge and understanding of illness and handicaps in order to practice in any setting. If he is serving community groups he has the responsibility of helping the members to keep well and of understanding those whom illness strikes. He does not learn about diseases and injuries in order to diagnose an illness or make a judgment as to the seriousness of an injury. What he should know, however, is the significance of symptoms which indicate the need to call in a physician. When the social group worker recognizes symptoms which require medical attention, it is his responsibility to enable the member or his parents to seek the help indicated; but it is *not* his responsibility to apply or recommend remedies for symptoms, the causes of which he has neither the skill nor the legal sanction to discover.

¹ For reference material on all these developmental periods, see bibliography, pp. 641-649.

² See William A. White, *The Meaning of Disease*, (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins 1926). Also bibliography, pp. 649-653.

The social group worker must be able to administer first aid to any member who suffers an injury while under his guidance, but he is not in a position to determine the seriousness of the injury nor to prescribe further treatment.

The social group worker takes the illness or injury into account as he affects the interacting processes of the group. In Pyke's Pack, for example, we see the worker seeking to understand the illnesses and injuries which beset the members.¹ His first notion of Paul's physical condition came as a result of a visit to the hospital where Paul was being treated for a felon on his thumb. His knowledge of illness made him realize that this must not be an ordinary felon — he sought further information about Paul. When he had the facts of the illness, he understood the limitations he must help Paul to observe if the boy were to make a satisfactory recovery. It is important to note that he helped Paul to participate in active games but provided a substitute to do the running. In this way Paul continued to be a participating member, but in relation to his capacity at the time. It is interesting to note that Paul did not talk about his illness and that his response to the worker's inquiries was always an indication that he was "feeling fine." Hal, on the other hand, not only moved from one accident to another but also "seemed to get a great deal of satisfaction out of talking about them." The worker adjusted the program to meet Hal's need, but in ways which required him to participate with his temporary handicap. In this way the worker helped Hal to retain a measure of his own responsibility for the movement of the group-as-a-whole.

Illness and injuries are frequent subjects of conversation in adult groups, as one might expect from the fact that illness occurs more frequently in this age span. Members of groups of the aged express a great deal of concern about illness and death. In the Friendship Club² there was a standing committee to visit the sick, and rules and regulations about how sick a member had to be to receive flowers or other gifts. It was the worker's understanding of the fear of death that prompted him to encourage Mr. Kletz's idea that the club develop a group insurance plan. Note that at the meeting previous to the introduction of this plan Mr. Kletz made himself a member of *extra* standing by paying his dues in advance for the rest of the year. Mr. Kletz was ill at the time and died before the year was out. One cannot help but wish that he might have known how the members rallied to give him an appropriate funeral without the insurance plan he wanted so much. Mr. Shiff's cure for arthritis is another example of the place illness plays in the life of the aged. The worker, understanding this, respects their needs but also helps members to develop other interests which are more productive to creative living in the time left them to enjoy.

¹ Chapter 12.

² Chapter 14.

The social group worker who serves ill and handicapped people as one of a team of specialists with a primary focus upon treatment has occasion to need a more specialized knowledge of disease and injury, but his function remains unchanged. His contribution to the patient is that of helping him in his *social adjustment* through participation in groups. The team of which he is a part consists of all the specialists who are contributing to the treatment of the patients. In a hospital setting the team may include the doctors, nurses, case workers, occupational therapists, other specialized therapists, ward attendants, and any other persons concerned with rehabilitation of the patient. The key to successful treatment is the group achievement of the specialists.¹ In clinics for children or adults many of the same specialists co-operate in serving patients. In convalescent homes and specialized camps for sick or handicapped children the team is often composed of resident and consulting specialists. Camps, on the whole, operate on a seasonal basis; and since it is easier to secure the services of social group workers for the summer than on a year-round basis, there are, quantitatively speaking, more social group workers serving the sick and handicapped in camps than in any other setting. Within the hospitals of the Armed Services, under the auspice of the American Red Cross, there are some recreation workers with professional social work education and others who through individual study and experience have developed many of the skills of social group work; hence in this setting valuable contributions have been made which demonstrate the use of the social group work method in helping sick people to get well.

The relationship between the social group worker and the ill or injured person served in hospitals, clinics, and other medical settings, is essentially no different from that between the social group worker and any other group member with whom he works. The general principles governing this relationship we restate here, however, with emphasis on the factors of difference which illness creates.²

The social group worker must understand each patient as a whole person, and not think of him merely in relation to his illness or handicap. Through this understanding the patient feels accepted as a person who matters to other people. This is not to say that the worker should ignore the illness or handicap, or try to act as if it were not an integral part of the patient's life;

¹ Social group work is a comparatively recent addition to the team of specialist in treatment situations. This is another area where the demand for his services is far greater than the supply. In the few hospitals in which social group workers are functioning they may contribute on two levels, (1) group service to patients, and (2) help in the use of the group process by the team serving the patients.

² See, in Chapters 11, 12, and 13, the records of the Fun Club (child guidance clinic), Can Do Club (institution for crippled children), Constructive Griping and the Social Dancing Class (hospitals).

on the contrary, the worker makes every effort to understand what particular meaning the illness or the handicap has to the patient, and he incorporates this meaning in his understanding of the patient as a whole person.

Ill or handicapped persons need assurance that they are acceptable to people in normal groups. The worker is, to the patient, a representative of the wider community. The patient "tries him out," and if he feels accepted by the worker he has taken one step toward testing the reactions of others in normal groupings. The worker, by encouraging the patient to engage in group activities, then helps him to transfer his feelings of acceptance from the worker to others. He helps the patient to gain an optimistic perspective of his illness through the faith he develops in himself and through contacts with other representatives of the wider community. He helps him accept the limitations of his handicap and in spite of them to feel a sense of achievement through his participation in group activities. Because contacts with normal groups are so important to the patient's growing sense of self-respect, it is important to include in the program plans as much contact as possible with groups outside the environment of the hospital or institution.

In the hospital or institution the patient is subjected to so many things which he has no share in planning that he comes to accept the validity of all situations in which others take full responsibility for him. This situation leads some patients into a state of passivity and others to one of smoldering fury. The social group worker has the opportunity to help patients with either reaction by offering them the opportunity and the stimulation to make and carry out their own plans for their group activities. It is more than ordinarily important that patients, no matter what their illness or handicap, be encouraged to enter into the planning process as much as their abilities justify.

The interests of the sick and the injured are not necessarily different from their interests when they were well and able to care for themselves. Their attitudes toward their own ability to enjoy activities in which they formerly engaged, however, have been considerably changed. So the new and additional element which the worker faces in working with the ill person centers around the latter's feeling toward his illness rather than around specialized program media for him. All the principles of helping individuals to develop program for themselves apply to working both with the ill and handicapped within the hospital and institutional setting and with the occasional handicapped person in community groups. In every group the program content must be adjusted to the needs of the members and to the setting in which they find themselves. In working with the ill and handicapped group in a hospital or institutional setting there may be more adjustments necessary than in some groups sponsored by other auspices.

Problems Leading to Delinquency

Delinquent behavior is the socially unacceptable expression of individuals who need help in their social adjustments, and help must be provided which is related to their deprivations. Recreation is one of the important tools in this process, but the source of help lies primarily in the enabling support of the variety of workers who serve such individuals in all areas of their need, and only partially in the medium itself. The similarity of the symptoms observed in those whose behavior classifies them as delinquent is monotonous as well as tragic. Lack of real love and acceptance from parents, plus unstable family life, plus social and economic problems, plus health problems — all expressing themselves in difficulties at school, in the street, and in group associations — characterize the background of most individuals who exhibit behavior problems. Delinquent behavior patterns, numerous as they are, can be seen as the acts of individuals striving to gain for themselves the love and affection they need in order to be happier human beings. These expressions — exhibitionistic behavior (attention-getting devices), stealing, attacking, and the like — are substitutions for the socially acceptable devices through which human beings gain status in their groups. In the case of the delinquent the status he achieves intensifies his rejection by society. Unless the use of recreational facilities is accompanied by help in finding some satisfactions for other basic needs, little will be accomplished.¹

The close relationship between delinquent behavior and the failure to find satisfaction of basic human needs in constructive social relationships is becoming increasingly apparent as knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of human behavior become more general.² This is reflected in a more discriminating evaluation of recreational services for those in need of help in personal and social development. While there is much to be said for the programs which seek to replace city streets and nonexistent back yards with

¹ "Concerning membership in clubs, whether those connected with a settlement house, church, or other supervised organizations such as the scouts, we found that almost twice as many of the delinquents as of the controls had such connections at some time prior to our acquaintance with them. It is not surprising that more of the delinquents had registered club connections, in view of the fact that they on the whole were more out-going and active. But then we discovered that in many instances clubs had not represented a long continued interest; attendance was irregular or the activities soon ceased to be attractive. It is an open question whether specially trained leaders should or could do more for the prevention of delinquency by an individual approach supplementing their program of group activities. Furthermore, can delinquent careers often be headed off without establishing social case-work relationship with the families? Since so much support is being given to boys' clubs with the hope that they may check delinquency, thought should also be given to the possibility of satisfying fundamental needs through club interests." William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 71.

² See Chapter 2, pp. 45-48.

playgrounds and other facilities for healthy constructive play, the validity of those programs is found in the need of all children to play, not primarily in the prevention and control of delinquency. It is becoming increasingly clear that the needs which drive some individuals to pursue unacceptable activities are caused by many basic drives other than the simple need for physical exercise. The problem of helping individuals to avoid delinquent behavior and to substitute acceptable behavior for unacceptable was oversimplified when it was approached primarily from the point of view of the need for physical facilities. But so attractive was the prospect of such a simple answer to a complex problem that many people became convinced that the cure-all for delinquency was the building of playgrounds and recreation centers. Indeed, the connection between recreation and the prevention of juvenile delinquency became so closely related that, even today, the one program is frequently associated with the other. Like every other popular misconception, this one has certain elements of truth. However, such a misconception makes the promotion and development of other services more difficult, for when recreational facilities are regarded as "the answer" the general public finds it difficult to accept the validity of the social services through which the use of the recreational facilities can be made effective in helping individuals find socially acceptable methods of self-expression.

The social group worker, sensitized to the meaning of behavior, is in a position to recognize the symptoms of pre-delinquency and to set in motion a co-operative effort on the part of the many specialists who are needed if children and adults exhibiting unsatisfactory adjustments are to be helped to avoid a career characterized by delinquent behavior. The prevention of delinquency is even more important than the treatment of those already in trouble. This is a task greater than any one type of agency can undertake; it necessitates the close co-operation of "teams" of agency representatives working together to make available the services not only of social group work but also of social case work, psychiatry, medicine, the church, and the school.¹

The social group worker serving Pyke's Pack (Chapter 12) began to work with this group *after* the pattern of delinquent behavior was fairly well established by most of the members. Hal and Pete seemed to be the ones most driven by forces too difficult for them to handle. It is significant that *what* they did determined the punishment which they received, while the court gave little attention to the emotional needs and environmental circumstances which motivated their acts. This attitude is typical of societal opinion at this time. Society loses sight of these boys, and the thousands of others

¹ See "Report on Case Work-Group Work" of the National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, 1946 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947).

like them, while it seeks retribution for the acts which violate the laws and customs developed for its protection. The question posed by the implications of the knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of the human being is this: Would society be better protected if the needs of the individuals committing acts against it were given first attention and social and personal treatment of ill and deprived individuals were substituted for punishment, rehabilitation substituted for retribution?¹

Hal and Pete both needed more help than they could receive even from an understanding and supportive social group worker. Both came from broken families; both had unsatisfactory relationships with their mothers. Pete was confused in his identification with his appropriate sex role. Hal needed help in assuming the responsibilities of being next to the oldest son; his mother needed help in seeing him as an individual rather than as a replica of the father who had deserted the family. Both boys' families needed adequate medical and psychiatric care, social case work and social group work services. The comparative differential cost of this treatment with that of two years for three boys in a reform school is not sufficient to make this problem one of cost to the taxpayer. The social group worker, in co-operation with other interested and informed members of the community, has the responsibility of helping to develop a different attitude on the part of the general public toward those who commit acts of delinquency, and to institute programs of treatment as substitutions for programs of punishment.

The chief responsibility of social group workers in community agencies is to recognize the symptoms of behavior indicative of needs which, unless met, lead to delinquent behavior, and to work co-operatively with other agencies in helping to prevent delinquency. In prevention and treatment close co-operative relationships with workers from other community agencies are essential in serving persons whose behavior is indicative of unmet basic human needs.

Prejudice — Social Illness

No matter what one's opinion about prejudices based on differences of race, nationality, religion, and class, one cannot but be acutely aware that such prejudices exist. These are caused not so much by the differences themselves as by feelings about the right of others to be different.

The individual, in growing up, is likely to be taught either by direct or implied precept that the tenets of his culture are "right" — not merely right for him, but right in terms of an *absolute* — and that persons who hold other beliefs and standards are "wrong." His values and norms are closely bound up with his emotional ties to his parents, his entire family circle, and all the

¹ See bibliography, pp. 653-654.

groups to which he belongs. In other words, his values and norms are held in place by the structure of his immediate culture. As he develops his own superego, he incorporates within himself attitudes and patterns of behavior which are acceptable to that culture (or to a culture which he prefers to substitute for that in which he was originally rooted).

Thus values and their consequent norms are incorporated within the individual through a process that involves much more than factual learning; they become part of the very fabric of his personality. They constitute the frame of reference from which he directs his life. Every individual must believe that the standards by which he is governing his life are right and the only ones *for him*. The threat to the welfare of society-as-a-whole lies in his failure to incorporate within himself, at the same time, the values of "difference." The right of individuals to be different and to share their differences with others in a society in which each has an equal right of membership and a joint responsibility for the common good is fundamental to democratic structure. The prevalence of prejudiced thought and behavior in the world today leads us to believe that few individuals grow up in an atmosphere permeated by the philosophy of the right to be different.

Manners and customs are learned through the same process: "*We don't behave that way*" is a frequent parental admonition which implies the inferiority of those who do. This process is continued until the child builds up a general negative attitude toward everything and everybody new and strange. In this way the idea that it is wrong to be different becomes deeply imbedded within the developing personality of the young. It is with the negative aspects of these teachings that we are concerned here — not with the positive ones. It is true that people cannot live their lives successfully without conviction and faith; from their beliefs they secure strength to govern their own lives. But it is equally true that people cannot live together successfully without conviction and faith in the rightness of the other person's standards and beliefs, values, and norms, *for that person*.

The social group worker must be able to recognize the reality of the problems created by the failure to accept the "right of people to be different." Every individual feels strange in a group until he discovers something in common with others. Participation with others in activities provides a vehicle for this discovery, but the participation in itself is not proof of real acceptance. Activities may also be used to "cover up" feelings of rejection or disapproval. Some workers are so eager to have members who differ in race, nationality, and religion enjoy each other in common group fellowship that they substitute the wish for the fact. Such workers have been heard to report that "we do not have such problems in our agency because we treat everybody alike — we don't even know what the backgrounds of our mem-

bers are." But not all problems are indicated by "incidents," and the fact that such workers are unaware of the unhappiness of the members they are serving does not mean that the unhappiness is not present. This point is illustrated by the remark of eight-year-old Betty Jean who said to the group worker at the end of a club meeting, "I had such a good time today. I'm gonna be so much happier now that Peggy is a member of the club. You know she is a Catholic too." This remark was a surprise to the worker who had not noticed that Betty Jean was the only Catholic in the group.

Having recognized that a problem exists, the worker must understand its nature. We regard this problem as primarily an emotional one, and we shall analyze some of its aspects from a psychological point of view.¹ If members wish to get along together in groups within the agency, they must be helped to handle the emotional problems blocking their acceptance of each other. Resistance to change is one of the most important feelings to be handled in the process of helping an individual to learn anything new. When the new learning is fraught with emotional components, the resistance is stronger and the learning problem is correspondingly greater. The degree to which individuals are able to enter into the process of change of attitudes is closely related to the degree of their personal and social security. Some individuals express their feelings of insecurity by clinging to the old and refusing to have anything to do with new ideas or "strange" people. Still others are uncomfortable in their own cultural group and need more acceptance than they receive from their associates. They may seek to secure this acceptance in a group of a different culture. The worker should be concerned about the social adjustment of a white member who seeks to join a group of colored members and about a colored member who seeks to join a group of white members. Lest we be misunderstood, let us say clearly that we are not advocating segregated clubs. We believe that the best intercultural education goes on in intercultural groups, but we are pointing out that the worker must not mistake a symptom of personal maladjustment for an interest in intercultural activities. The strength of the established social norms in regard to membership qualifications in groups is compelling evidence that there is some unusual reason for one or two members to seek admittance in a club of another culture or race. If the members in question need help in their social adjustment, they will not receive it through *this* use of the group; neither will the group be helped by the members.

The social group worker must understand the motivation of those who seek to identify themselves with so-called superior or inferior groups before he can help the individuals or the groups concerned to handle their feelings

¹ Helen V. McClean, "Psychodynamic Factors in Racial Relations," *The Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, vol. 244, pp. 159-166 (March, 1946).

and develop constructive relationships with one another. One individual may be motivated by emotional deprivation; another may be well adjusted and mature and acting upon social conviction. How the worker helps the one will be very different from the way he helps the other. The worker makes his diagnosis on the basis of (1) his knowledge of the background of the members and (2) his data gathered from sensitive observing and listening, as evaluated against his theoretical knowledge of the meaning of behavior. He discovers that some individuals join groups of another culture in order to have an opportunity to dominate others. He learns that some are in personal conflict over the acceptance of authority — that they have never settled their relationships with their parents and that the opportunity to flout their family standards of behavior through association with a so-called inferior race is a very effective way to "get back" at the family or the culture it represents. More often than not, such persons are unconscious of the real reasons underlying their zeal for better race relations, and indeed their zeal may exceed their wisdom. The majority group may find in the members of the minority group people on whom they can project their feelings of love and hate. It is not unusual to find one colored boy in a club in which all the rest of the members are white. His role in the club is apt to be that of the butt of the jokes, the clown, the drudge — or he may be in a position of exalted prominence. The individuals whose culture is held in low esteem are the scapegoats of society as a whole, and that pattern is likewise found even in groups in agencies which are committed to an intercultural program.¹ The social group worker who is serving a club in which there are members of minority groups must be prepared to cope with feelings of considerable hostility expressed not only openly but in many subtle ways. If he does not understand both the psychodynamics of human behavior and the operation of factors of difference in the life of the community, he will be unable to handle these feelings. Frustration breeds hostility and aggression, and members of minority groups are continuously subjected to frustrating experiences; the worker who understands the meaning of the behavior he is observing will have occasion to wonder that there is not more expression of hostile angry feelings on the part of the minority member. Many members of minority groups are extremely reluctant to join intercultural groups; they have had little occasion to trust the members of the majority group and they fear the loss of status within their own cultural group if they are known to associate with the majority group.

The individuals with social experience in both the majority and minority

¹ Kurt Lewin, "Psycho-sociological Problems of Minority Groups," *Character and Personality*, vol. 3, no. 3 (March, 1935). Robert Cooper, "Frustration of Being a Member of a Minority Group," *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 29, no. 2 (April, 1945), pp. 189-195.

groups, with personal and social development adequate for their ages, are the ones from whom the leadership in the development of better intercultural relations must come. Individuals whose personal and social development is retarded must receive help in adjusting to their own group before they are exposed to a process as complicated as intercultural education.

We have mentioned some of the emotional factors which the worker must not only recognize but be prepared to handle in helping people with their feelings about the right to be different. The worker himself is a very important part of this process, and his first responsibility in fulfilling this role is to understand and handle his own feelings in regard to difference. All that we have said about the use of the professional self is of the greatest importance in the delicate situations involved in working with the heterogeneous groups in the modern community.¹

Whenever possible the social group worker helps individuals to handle their feelings in the midst of group situations where co-operative action is necessary. Individuals are able to change their attitudes when they have pleasurable experiences in situations where they expect to be miserable.² It must be remembered that the resistance which individuals have to this new experience is related to all the emotional ties which bind them to their families and cultural groups. They should not be overpersuaded, bribed, or subjected to too great social pressure to join an intercultural group *at this time*. Their resistance may indicate that they need personal help; it may indicate that their position in their own group is so tenuous that they are unable to be leaders in this move, but that they will be able to follow when someone in their group who has prestige takes the lead. If the individuals in question are children, the resistance may indicate that, unless the agency provides a concurrent program of intercultural education with the parents, work with the children is almost useless.

Of course, helping people to join groups of this nature is only a first step. The entire process of intercultural education is a long, slow one, and it involves many experiences in various situations. Attitudes are held dearly by all human beings; and many feelings rise to protect them. When an individual has his first pleasurable experience in an intercultural situation, he may explain to himself and to his friends that those people whom he met were different from the others in their cultural group. After he has had many such experiences he may be heard to remark, "Some of my best friends are Jews," — or Negroes — or Russians — or members of some other minority group. He is totally unaware of the patronizing attitude he is expressing. It is only after many experiences, both group and personal, superficial and

¹ See Chapter 1, pp. 14-16 and 32-35.

² Note Ethel's reluctance to attend the party given by the Glamour Girls (Chapter 12).

profound, happy and unhappy, that individuals learn to accept themselves as part of the human race and to have a genuine respect for all people *with* their differing values, norms, manners, and customs.¹

Intercultural education may be a direct purpose of an agency supplying social group work service to a community or it may be concomitant to a more generalized purpose. Intercultural education, of some sort, is in process in every group which a social group worker serves, whether the group is large or small, made up of boys or girls, drawing from only one race, religion, or nationality, or representative of many cultures. In the Busy Bees Club, in which occurred the incident cited on page 127, all the members were girls ranging in age from nine to eleven, all but two were Americans born of Irish descent, and of the Catholic faith; yet note that, although this group is not an intercultural one, it is nevertheless affected by the intercultural program of the agency and the attitude of the wider community.

The social group worker must be sensitive to cues for stimulating intercultural education. It is very difficult to show specific methods of program planning in this area except through the use of record material. The worker uses many principles and methods simultaneously, and when these are isolated from the context in which they are used they lose their significance. It is important for the reader to realize that one illustration in no way limits the use of a method to similar situations. The same method may be used in many types of situations. The following cue for further work came from a conversation which the worker overheard in the hall outside his office.

Mrs. M. was heard to remark, as she left the meeting of parents who were discussing the problems of their children, that the discussion would have been all right if the Negro parents had not been there. She said it was a waste of time to meet with Negroes because "of course their problems with their children are so different from ours." The woman to whom she addressed this remark agreed with her, and they went off discussing how inferior Negroes were to themselves.

The worker must analyze this conversation and make suppositions as to its meaning. Is Mrs. M. saying that the experience was unbearable and so unpleasant that it re-enforced all she believed to be true about Negroes? Is she concerned about her status with her neighbors, whom she believes to have strong feelings against the participation of Negroes in the activities of the Community House? Did Mrs. M. find the experience of meeting parents of a different race a pleasurable one—so much so that she dared not admit to herself that this was the case and therefore found it necessary to voice disapproval? From the written word, we have difficulty in interpreting her

¹ See bibliography, pp. 654-658.

feelings. The worker, however, knows Mrs. M., and he uses his knowledge of her background and his judgment of the degree of security she feels in relation to all her life's experiences in order to determine how free she may be to move forward in her interracial contacts. Having made a hypothesis of what help Mrs. M. can take, the worker plans his own behavior in relation to how he thinks Mrs. M. is feeling about the activity.

In a record of a different age-group we have an illustration of the need for emotional learning to reinforce intellectual concepts. That members can be helped to recognize stereotyped ideas and derogatory remarks through an intellectual process, but that this does not necessarily bring about a change in attitude, is illustrated by the following incident in the Busy Bees, a pre-adolescent club.

10-2. The group was debating on the next game when Sharon suggested "Nigger Baby." Everyone looked at her, and Muriel said, "'Sugar Baby,' Sharon. We don't call it by that name here." She began to run around the room, throwing a ball and yelling as if to divert the worker's attention from this remark of Sharon's.

10-23.... Along the pathway they met a Negro girl. Muriel whispered to Nancy to "spit on her" and watched the worker as she said it.

The agency had been successful in establishing the custom that the word "nigger" was not a word in "good form" in the agency, but it had not as yet been able to help the members accept Negroes as friends. Note that Muriel said that they did not use the term *here*. The reaction to the Negro girl on the street gives some indication of the long way ahead before the members of this group would be able to make a connection between words and ideas about Negroes and their own feelings about them.

One of the most important facts to remember about the process of change of attitude in the area of cultural conflict is that getting people together does not necessarily insure a constructive experience. Not only must the program be carefully planned, but the individuals need personalized help throughout the process. Workers need to be alert for the cues which will provide the opportunity to help the members to express their feelings of hostility and friendliness and their need for more knowledge and understanding. If it were possible to present all the records of the meetings in which Mrs. M. takes an active part in groups of white women only and in those of both colored and white, it would be possible to show the process by which she and the other women discover that they have much in common and eventually find great satisfaction in working together in many different areas of interest. The worker's part in this process is primarily that of giving supportive help. When Mrs. M. was argumentative, the worker did not argue with her. He did not even try to "educate" her. He listened attentively while Mrs. M.

told him of the things about the Negroes which she did not like. When Mrs. M. had fully expressed herself the worker remarked that Mrs. M. felt very strongly about her neighbors and that it must make her very unhappy to feel as she did. The worker did not discuss Negroes with Mrs. M. but he did discuss her feelings about Negroes. This helped Mrs. M. to feel that the worker was concerned about *her*. As Mrs. M. came to feel accepted and wanted in the agency she became more secure and was correspondingly more able to share the agency with her colored neighbors. The adolescent colored girls in the Glamour Girls¹ were able to initiate a party with white girls *after* they had used their own group experience to satisfy some of their fundamental needs. The youngsters in the Busy Bees who had learned not to call a game "Nigger Baby" were unable to participate in an all-agency Christmas party without the supporting presence of the worker who helped them by remaining near them throughout the evening; by the end of the program year, however, they were able to join a play period in an after-school interracial recreational project.

The social group worker helps the members to accept one another by helping them to handle their feelings rather than by trying to teach them the logic of the situation. When an individual is faced with the illogic of his position, he is put only the more on the defensive; he feels more frustrated and has only his feelings for support. In this case, the worker may win the argument but he has lost the chance to help an individual face the reality of his feelings.

The social group worker needs to consider the problems of grouping in relation to program planning in intercultural activities.² Groups which have the structure of social clubs determine their own bases of membership. The bond in these groups is usually affectional and the groups are very apt to be representative of one culture only. The structure of large clubs, classes, and interest groups is usually determined by the agency, and this gives the agency the opportunity to provide intercultural experiences for the members. In such cases registration in classes and interest groups is open to any member of the agency within the limitations set for the particular group, such as age, special interest, or ability. These groups, where the attention of the members is centered on activity rather than on personal relationships, are suitable structures with which to start. The art studio, the music room, the craft or wood shop, the game room, and the gymnasium are examples of the settings

¹ Chapter 12.

² The following items refer to specific projects in intercultural education: Clarence I. Chatto and Alice Halligan, *The Story of the Springfield Plan* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1945); George W. Culberson, "Community Organization and Intercultural Relations," *N.C.S.W. Proceedings*, 1946, pp. 178-185; Margaret Hartford, *Camping in One World* (Pittsburgh, Pa.; American Service Institute, 1947).

where the agency members can participate on an individual basis with little or no contact with the other members and where dependence on others is not necessarily a prerequisite to the successful outcome of an activity. Choral groups and orchestras, dramatics and dancing, team sports and athletic leagues demand more co-operation if the activity is to provide satisfaction. The program of the social club also includes many of these activities, but its structure makes co-operation a necessity. While interest groups and social clubs differ structurally, some of the same general principles of program planning and development hold true for the workers in both groupings.

First, the worker in any intercultural group must be skilled in helping members to move from participation for personal satisfactions to concern for the welfare of the group. Second, he must be adequate to handle situations as they arise and not given to postponing action. The action he takes will depend upon his analysis of the situation. He does not always immediately stop all activity and lead a discussion on "fair play," "sportsmanship," or "liking other people." Words are not always the most effective media; it may sometimes be more salutary to provide for the release of hostility and aggression through activities. Third, the worker must show no partiality and must maintain his professional responsibility to each member. Each person in the group needs to feel that the worker is just as much interested in him as in every other member. These general principles are no different from those the worker takes into consideration with any group. They are highlighted here because of the tensions caused by the particular factors of difference in the intercultural group.

Some specific suggestions for method are as follows:

(1) Focus on the program activity rather than on the relationships, and let the relationships develop out of interest in doing the activity well. In dramatics, for example, emphasize the production of good plays through casting members according to their ability to portray roles and not according to race and nationality; in group singing, emphasize the effect of all the voices blending together; in crafts, emphasize good workmanship and creativity. It hardly seems necessary to say that this emphasis must not overshadow the development of relationships, a value which the worker keeps constantly in mind.

(2) Provide opportunities for the release of emotional tensions — that is, for the expression of conflict and hostility — *through* the activities, rather than *against* an individual member or subgroup. The potentialities of activities in this area will be discussed in detail in the analysis of program content.¹

¹ Chapters 6-10.

(3) Choose forms of activity that unite rather than divide. It is advisable to use activities that permit the group to act as a unit; that create fun and laughter and thus relax the group and stimulate a friendly atmosphere (the laughter must not be at the expense of one individual or subgroup); that require no more than average skill for successful performance (so that no one stands out because of lack of skill); that provide for constant intermingling of the members and for unexpected alignments of short duration.

There are some forms of activity that it is wise to avoid. Those in which individuals or subgroups are eliminated because of lack of skill cause loss of status in the group. On the other hand, when elimination is by chance or luck the element of fun may offset the effect of elimination. Activities that put one individual "on the spot" often cause embarrassment for the member and affect adversely his position in the group. Competition is a valuable tool for the expression of anger and for unification of one group against another, and if used it must be with wisdom; the emphasis should be kept on the fun of the activity rather than winning. In many cases, it may be advisable to avoid it entirely. Activities where each individual competes with himself to better his own individual score within the group activity are valuable to help the members improve their skill, and increase their self-confidence in an intercultural situation. The worker many times directs the hostility engendered in competitive events toward something outside the factors of difference, sometimes toward himself as referee or toward playing with rather than against another team or person. Projects in areas of school or civic concern may help the group-as-a-whole to unite against something outside themselves. Factors of difference operate in choosing partners or teams, in appointing committees, or in any situation where natural selection is possible; the members of each group find security in sticking together, and sometimes it is wise to start the activity with the natural division into sub-groups, provided mixing will take place through the changing formations of the activity. There are various methods of providing for mixed teams, smaller groups, or representative committees when divisions are required for the activity. One method is to have all the "captains" or chairmen come from the same group. If for some reason it is necessary for the worker to be on a "side," he is careful where he chooses to place his skill and nominal allegiance.

Many dances provide for changing of partners or shifting of groups during the progress of the dance. Unless the worker is cognizant of this, members may eliminate themselves when they find themselves with a new partner or in a different group. It is often important that these changes be of short duration and that the members see that they will return eventually to their original partners or groups.

Activities that involve bodily contact, even so slight as holding hands, may cause friction or dissolve the group. Ordinarily, when asked to form a circle, most groups naturally join hands. If this does not happen, the worker should not make a point of it but proceed with the game or dance. At all times the worker must be able to evaluate the degree of personal contact which the members of the group are ready to accept.

The worker often finds it necessary to rename activities that are valuable for the group but whose names carry derogatory implications.¹ Many games are known under more than one name, and the term best suited for intercultural appreciation should always be chosen for use with any group.

Strict interpretation of the suggestion that certain elements be avoided would eliminate many activities which provide valuable experience in intercultural understanding, and that is not our intention. We do wish to make it clear that the worker must be aware of the possibilities for conflict and the difficulties inherent in certain formations, changes of formation, names of activities, and other factors. As the members grow in their acceptance of each other as persons, many of these elements will enter naturally into the program of the group. Because of his awareness of the stage of interpersonal relations within the group, the worker is able to anticipate the reactions of the members to certain forms of program and to thus avoid unnecessary tension.

(4) Emphasize similarities and minimize differences. Common problems of the members at home, at school, or at work are easily brought out by the worker and the members. The things that are alike in the cultural contributions of each member or subgroup should be emphasized. Having something in common provides a bond and helps in the development of the "we feeling." Members discover that many Negro songs have the same feeling as some of the Jewish ones; that the Kolo learned from a Serbian father is just like steps used in Greek, Rumanian, Danish, and Palestinian dances; that a step in the Russian Koorobushka is similar to the Congo line; that the stories they love to hear are also part of the folklore of other countries; that the holidays and customs observed in their families have counterparts in other national and religious backgrounds. These common elements will be further discussed under the activity analyses.²

(5) Emphasize differences constructively. In any group, the worker helps members to become more acceptable because of special skills or the contribution they can make to the group-as-a-whole. Achieving acceptance on the basis of skill is often the first step toward achieving acceptance *as a person*.

¹ Note that the agency referred to earlier in this chapter substituted "Sugar Baby" for a derogatory name.

² Chapters 6-10.

In groups with heterogeneous backgrounds the worker places emphasis upon the member as a contributing person, and not necessarily upon the fact that his contribution stems from a certain cultural heritage.

The worker helps the members to emphasize differences when there is evidence that the members are ready to discuss them and give thoughtful consideration to their feelings and attitudes. He is ready to help the group when they wish to present these differences in dramatic, musical, dance, or discussion form. He is also available for help in discovering channels for social action in regard to discriminatory practices in the agency, the community, or the wider social scene.

THE SOCIAL SITUATION

We have indicated that the social situation in which social group work is practiced includes, among other attributes, the values and norms of the members and their attitudes toward one another, the worker, and the agency. The social situation (in this case the organized group — social club, committee, council, or whatever pattern is appropriate to the setting) provides the medium in which these values, behavior patterns, and attitudes assert themselves. Because these intrinsic attributes which the members bring to the social situation affect in different ways groups of various purposes, size, types of activities, and compositions, and because these organizational factors in turn affect the individuals and the group, it is important for the worker to give them serious consideration. For the purposes, policies, and programs of the auspice are carried out through these organizational structures. Each is important in view of the group's purposes for itself and the agency's purpose in sponsoring it.

Groups with Differing Purposes

The stated purpose of a group and the structure provided for its execution are limitations defining the role of the worker in some groups, while in others they establish the point of departure where the worker helps the members shift their purpose and alter their structure in accordance with their interests and needs. If the group is an advisory or administrative committee, the worker helps the members to achieve appropriate purposes through limiting the activity of the group to the functions outlined in its assignment; moreover, he is not responsible for so affecting the social process that the group experience is one which contributes to the growth and development of the members. The assigned work of the committee is the end, not the means for individual education or therapy. Such values as exist are concomitant, not inherent in the objective.¹ On the other hand, groups sponsored for the pur-

See Chapter 16 for further discussion.

pose of helping in the intellectual, physical, and emotional development of individuals demand a different attitude on the part of the worker toward their stated purpose, because the stated purpose does not necessarily define the use which the members wish to make of their group. In such groups the structure is bent to respond to the needs and interests of the members. Interest groups shift from a program-centered structure to that of the social club, clubs become classes, teams lose their identity in mass activities, clubs form out of canteen groups, and clubs disband to participate in larger or smaller groupings according to the interests and needs of the particular individuals and of the group-as-a-whole.

The role of the social group worker in groups sponsored for treatment is specifically defined in terms of the needs of the members, for in this situation the group exists only for the members, not for corporate achievements. Corporate achievements in a therapeutic group are emphasized only because of their value to the members. The group as an entity has social value in that it rehabilitates individuals whose illness removes them from membership in groups that are working toward societal goals.

Groups of Differing Size

Groups can be too small or too large to serve the best interests of the members. The nature and quality of the interaction in any group is affected by the number of people who compose it. A group of five or six is different from one of ten to fifteen members, while a group of twenty-five generates a social atmosphere that is conducive to some types of activity and destructive to others. The appropriate size of a group is determined by the type of programs which the members desire and by their social experience.

There are many factors to be considered by the agency which participates in the formation of groups among its membership. Very young children are confused in large groups and need to work out their first sharing experiences among a very few playmates. The child of early school age needs the security which membership in a small intimate group or club gives him. Here he uses his relationship with his peers as a support in his struggle for emancipation from his parents. He also needs the satisfaction of participating in group activities with a larger number of children, with whom he is less closely associated than with the members of "our club." Adolescents, too, need groups of varying size. Large mass activities give them a sense of security so that they can participate without the self-consciousness that they would otherwise feel. The small intimate group provides the setting and the security to learn skills and develop attitudes which make possible successful boy-girl relationships. Age is not a determining factor in the size of groups of adults; rather, the degree of maturity of the given adults and their particular interests indicate the size of the group best suited to their needs.

The type of program content which members wish to pursue is another factor in determining the size of many groups. Team sports require a minimum number of individuals to make up the competing squads, and the pleasure to be gained from square, folk, and social dancing is not unrelated to the size of the group; on the other hand, arts and crafts may be enjoyed in very small or very large groups if the central interest is in the activity rather than in the group association.

The size of groups is also determined by other factors closely related to agency structure, personnel, and physical facilities.¹ The larger the group, the more difficult is the process of individualization, and the less is the opportunity given to each member to participate according to his capacity and unique contribution. The size of the group, however, does not change the professional obligation of the social group worker to recognize and use his relationship with each member in the group. He may have little opportunity for personal contact with the members if the group is very large, but all the members know him and he must learn how to include each individual as a person in his reactions to the group-as-a-whole.

While the basic principles of social group work, previously discussed, are used in both large groups and small ones, the illustrations used and the assumptions made have been primarily with small groups in mind, where the interpersonal relationships are based on continued contacts. Many groups, particularly large ones, are composed of subgroups, the members of one quite unknown to members of others. In such groups the bonds are related primarily to the program media, and many adaptations of method are needed. Size in this situation presents a factor of difference of major importance.

How, then, does the social group worker fulfill his role in the large group? He observes, listens, and acts.² How he acts in working with a large group is of course different from his method with medium-sized or small groups. In large groups the worker is frequently the leader, actually conducting the activities. His role is an enabling one, but it is quite a different role from the one he fulfills in the small group. In the mass activity the worker is enabling the members to participate in the activity itself rather than in the decision-making process that is characteristic of smaller groups. In the small or medium-sized group the worker is enabling the members to fulfill alternating roles of followership and leadership. There is little place in mass activities, while the activity is in process, for the decision-making process. The plans for the entire period must be complete before the event begins. When a large number of people are playing together, the movement must be rapid and sure in order to satisfy. The movement of the group-as-a-whole can be the only consideration. Therefore, preparation for the activity must include careful

¹ See Chapter 16.

² See Chapter 5.

timing of each event and the planning of more games, dances, stunts, or other forms of amusement than would normally fill the time allotted. The worker must be prepared to stop each event before interest in it lags (to do this he must be able to do sensitive observing and listening in the heat of the activity), and while he is able to estimate the length of time required to play off each event he is not able to predict the amount of repetition which the group will demand. The worker must be very familiar with the activities he is to lead (this is no time "to experience the pleasure of learning something together"). He must be able to explain the game, song, dance, or other activity in very few words. Large groups cannot be expected to listen to many words of direction and it is important to get the group into action as quickly as possible. The participants are primarily interested in having fun, and they have fun if they are able to do the activities with a minimum of difficulty in an atmosphere of freedom and relaxation.

The first event is very important. It should be such that newcomers can easily be absorbed and made to feel successful and thus at home in the group. After the activity is started the worker constantly observes those who need special help and endeavors to give them as much as he can from his position as the center of attention. Most agencies sponsoring large mass activities assign several assistant leaders whose function is to give special help to those who need it for any of the variety of reasons which make personalized attention even in a mass activity so important. If there can be several leaders in events of this nature, it is wise to use the professionally equipped social group worker in the supplementary role and secure a specialist whose chief skill is that of recreational leadership. If the social group worker, however, is in the position of being the only leader, he helps each individual by the way he carries out his role in *directing* the activity. The worker must be at ease in this position of prominence; his confidence in his own knowledge and ability gives the participants confidence. If he feels secure in his role he will not be dictatorial in his directions. If the crowd is large he will need to speak in a loud tone or use a loud speaker. It is important that the worker give special attention to the quality of his voice, either when he has to increase its volume or when he uses the loud speaker. In either situation he must practice previous to the event until he has the situation under control. Through his words, his manner, and his attitudes, the worker in a large measure creates the atmosphere of the occasion. The plan of the period should be varied and the worker must be prepared to vary it even more as he senses the mood of the crowd. He will be quick to change the activity from an energetic to a slow one, or to introduce an entirely different form of activity if this seems necessary to recapture waning interest. The worker must make careful plans for the mechanics necessary to insure

the enjoyment of the participants. These include the placement of the musicians or orchestra in the room, the use of cues for starting or stopping the movement, the worker's own location in relation to the music and the group, the convenient placement of equipment, and plans for moving the participants from one formation to another. The worker should give special attention in his preparatory planning to the game, song, dance, or other activity which he will use for the closing event. It should be one in which everyone participates and which has qualities that draw the members of the group together and provide a unifying experience.

When the worker is fulfilling the leadership role, he does not permit himself to become absorbed in the activity; he must be skilled enough in the activity so that he is able to devote his major attention to the response of the participants. In this process he gives of himself and the members feel accepted by him, even if they have little personal contact with the worker. He accepts them, limits them, and helps them to achieve through the program he is directing.

Mass activities are frequently sponsored by a primary group rather than by the agency itself. In this case the worker helps the members to assume as much of the leadership as possible and supplements when necessary or advisable in the role of direct leader. Such an arrangement leaves the worker free to give supportive help to individuals who need it and as a participant he helps the group-as-a-whole move toward the accomplishment of a successful period of activity.

Some agencies sponsor clubs numbering a hundred or more young people. The program provides them with opportunities to widen their intellectual horizons. Groups of this type serve a real need and are instruments of that adult education which is important to the progress of society. There is, however, room for questioning the wisdom of such groups for adolescents. The very size of the group necessitates formality, and the adolescent is pushed by the structure into patterns of adult behavior at a time when it is very important that he have the opportunity to act out his need to be both "young" and "old" as his feelings make demands of him. The large group necessarily relies on formal programs about subjects of generalized interest to the adolescent. Boys and girls not only need knowledge about these problems but experience with them. In small intimate groups they have opportunity for experimentation under the guidance of an understanding worker and for the intimate discussions which make real growth possible. The large group structure does not preclude the formation of small subgroupings for these purposes, but such a plan implies the use of several workers serving the total group. Many individuals belong to many groups, and any one group should not serve all the needs of one individual; however, the agency spon-

soring large formal groups should be sure that the members are concurrently engaging in small group experiences where the members receive help in the more intimate problems which beset the adolescent.

Groups with Multiple or Single Activities

Social clubs usually plan programs including many different kinds of activities, while interest groups are organized around one particular activity. Of any form of organization the social club offers the greatest opportunity for the development of skill in decision-making.¹ It plans its program from any area of human interest with which the members have a concern. Members of social clubs frequently need the help of the social group worker in limiting their program planning to those areas in which they can hope to achieve satisfactory results. If the activities become too diverse, the group loses the advantage which the multiple activity base provides for them.

The area for decision-making in the structure of the interest group is not so wide, but this fact does not necessarily mean that an interest group has to confine its activity to the specific interest about which the group was organized. If the leader of an interest group is concerned not only with teaching the members a specific skill but also with helping them use that skill to relate to the life about them, he will do much more than assemble materials when he prepares for his group meetings. For example:

An interest group in photography met to discuss the subjects they wished to photograph. Many suggestions were made and after a great deal of discussion the group decided to visit a section of town with which they were unfamiliar. The worker was not entirely sure why the members chose to visit this particular part of town. He did know that the papers had been full of the details of a particularly gruesome murder there, and he suspected that the boys were curious to see that part of the city. The worker was acquainted with this section and he knew that the boys would probably see housing conditions which they had not known existed. This was a section of town in which many nationalities and races lived side by side. In preparing for this meeting, therefore, the worker spent more time in thinking about how he could introduce a discussion of the social conditions he knew the group would encounter than he did in collecting photographic materials for the trip. He tried to anticipate the questions the boys might ask. He made himself ready to listen sensitively to any leads for discussions which the boys might give him. The results of this trip were unusually gratifying. As the boys took picturesque shots of housing and ways of living they began to talk about the fact that none of their friends knew that people lived in places like this. Then they suggested that other people ought to see these things for themselves. The worker asked them if they thought that they

¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 66-67.

could use their pictures to help make other people aware of these conditions. This gave them a start, and they made a great many plans of where and to whom they could show their pictures. Some of the plans they carried out. One of the boys succeeded in rousing the interest of his father, who discussed the group's project with his friend, an editor of a city newspaper. He in turn published the pictures and ran a story about this group of boys who wanted people to know of conditions in their city in order that better housing might be provided.

Whether the group is organized as a social club with multiple activities or as an interest group around a single activity, the quality of the group experience is dependent upon the skill of the worker. If his focus is upon helping the members to use one or many activities to meet their interests and needs, he will help them to have a creative group experience as well as to acquire skills in various areas of program content.

Groups with Differing Composition

Since each individual brings with him into his groups not only those qualities which are like other people's but also those which are different, the universal factors of difference among groups are found in the unique personality of each of the members who compose them. While it is possible to classify these factors of difference, it is important to point out that they have different meaning to different individuals. Therefore, while two or more individuals might share the same factors of difference, each still differs from the other because of his own individual reaction to these factors. The worker must be aware of the following factors of difference among individuals, and must take them into consideration in forming and working with any group: age range; intellectual range; educational background range; social experience range; occupational range; social class range; composition as to sex. Some or all of these differences may be found within any one group, and indeed all are frequently found in an intergroup organization in an agency serving a cosmopolitan neighborhood. Successful program development is closely related to the worker's understanding of these factors of difference and to his ability to use this analysis of their effect in the groups which he serves.

Age Range. The importance of the age range within any one group is closely related to the stage of life which the total range covers and the developmental progress of the members of the group. With very young children, successful group activity is dependent on working with children who are practically the same age and in the same stage of development. There is little competition among young children except for the love and affection of the adult. For this reason they are less affected by differences among them-

selves than at any other age. Yet there is such a marked difference in capacity over a very short age range that it is essential that they be grouped with less than a year's age range if possible.¹

There is a wide divergence in practice in the grouping of school-age children. One wonders whether some of these practices are not matters of convenience rather than of careful consideration of the members' needs. Most agencies which serve this age are overrun by numbers of young boys and girls who apparently come to the agency to play after school. These children are at the age when it is important that they have help in the development of their potentialities for group living. Their interest span is short, and it has been said by many that they are too young for organized group experience. The content of group life at this age does not include parliamentary procedure, nor is it dependent upon the election and administration of a stable set of officers. Many school-age groups have officers and they may conduct elections as often as once a month if they do not tire of the game.² While these groups repudiate many of the devices of older groups for the conduct of their affairs, they do have membership requirements and group standards which provide the substance of their group life. In addition to the activities in which they engage, they spend a great deal of time setting up rules of conduct to which they ask their members to conform. These rules, scarcely ever followed, represent the attempt of school-age children to regulate their own behavior. Club group experiences are, therefore, exceedingly important for them in this stage when they are attempting to break away from the rules laid down by their parents and other adults in authority. The school-age child, gangling, awkward, uncommunicative with adults, needs the ego-support of a group of his peers to meet his problems at this time. Groups fulfilling these needs should be small and permissive within the areas of the child's ability to govern himself. The group should also have sufficient limitations to provide the necessary security for those who are taking their first steps toward independence. The uneven rate of development during the school age makes it difficult for agencies to establish age ranges which are helpful to all their members. Some seven-, eight-, and nine-year-olds fit very well together. Others differ too greatly in rate of development to be grouped together; the seven-year-olds may be better placed with the six-year-olds, and the eights with the nines. There is also a great variance among the eleven-, twelve-, and thirteen-year-olds, as agencies are

¹ Note that the children in the younger section of the Toombah Club, discussed in Chapter 11, were all between the ages of four and a half and five years old.

² Contrast the interest of the boys in Chuck's Boys Club in the election itself with their use of the officers when elected. Note also the discussion of membership requirements in Chuck's Boys. How do you account for the absence of such discussion in the Fun Club?

well aware from the insistence of some pre-adolescent groups on having evening meetings. Some children at this age may represent themselves as older than they really are; hence the age as recorded on the registration form in one year should be carefully checked against that of the year before. Age becomes a less important factor in grouping as individuals grow older. Factors other than age are of greater significance in determining the composition of groups of adults.

Knowledge of groups and of the individuals who compose them gives every indication that age in itself in any group is not a very satisfactory method of grouping. Better criteria for grouping are afforded by the stage of individual development of the members and the group affiliations already existing, but substitution of these considerations for the age-range method necessitates a more individualized approach to registration and group service than many agencies in the recreational and informal educational field have, as yet, adopted. In individualized groups sponsored in other settings, there is great opportunity to apply these criteria to organizational structure.

Age range is a problem to be considered, not only by the agency in setting up its structure for program, but also in the groups formed by the members within that framework. Some groups, for a variety of reasons, include members older or younger than the majority. There is the group which takes on a younger member as a sort of mascot. He may be a neighborhood pet whose normal development is being handicapped by the attention of older boys and girls. He may be a child who has difficulty "getting on" with children his own age but who is willing to do the "dirty work" for an older group for the sake of belonging to it and thus avoiding the responsibilities of sharing at his own level. He may be the butt of jokes which he does not understand, yet be willing to fulfill this role because of the attention he receives. But for whatever reason the younger member is attached to an older group, it is not the kind of experience which is helpful to him or to the members of the group who are using him for their own ends. The agency and the worker have the responsibility to protect both the exploited individual and the exploiting group from such experiences.¹

Older members sometimes join groups of younger boys or girls when they are unable to make a satisfactory adjustment in groups of their own age. Such a member may be one who has a very great need to dominate a group, and while he is unsuccessful in groups of his peers, his very age may give him a position of dominance in a younger group. Then, too, individuals whose intellectual capacity is less than the norm of their age-group may seek mem-

¹ See Chapter 1, p. 24, for discussion of the responsibility of the social group worker to help members withdraw from groups, and Chapter 3, pp. 73-76, for basic principles of conferring with individuals.

bership in a younger age-group. If such individuals are accepted by the group, they do not present as much of a threat to its welfare as do those whose emotional development is retarded.

Age ranges and developmental differences are important considerations in planning intergroup activities within the agency and the community. Young children and persons who are emotionally underdeveloped and socially inexperienced are not ready to participate in large intergroup affairs. The stimulation and excitement are too great, and they are unable to share in an experience which necessitates feeling at one with the greater whole which the agency represents. The quality of large group activities which makes them so valuable for the older and socially prepared members is the same quality which makes such experiences harmful for the younger and unprepared members.

Intellectual Range. While all individuals have an equal right to participate in a group and to share in its services, all do not have an equal capacity to benefit from such participation. The factor of intellectual difference is one which the social group worker should recognize and take into consideration as he affects the social process in which members with differing capacities participate. The worker has occasion to notice those who are more than ordinarily quick in their response and those who are very slow. These responses, however, may be caused by other factors than intellectual equipment. Some persons with comparatively low intellectual capacity have developed socially to the extent that they are able to participate effectively in a group with those of higher mental ability.

A group of young men in the late teens and early twenties organized themselves into a club in order to play team sports. The members had had little social experience and had no idea how to function in an organized group. Jim Brown was the person who held the group together. He frequently brought order out of chaos as these socially retarded young men learned the first steps in functioning as a group. When they elected officers, Jim was given the position of treasurer. For a time he made an effort to keep track of the dues and the money received from fund-raising events; then he stopped coming to the meetings. The worker made inquiries among his friends and finally one of the boys volunteered that he guessed keeping the books was too much for Jim — "He always had difficulty at school." A visit to the school and a contact with the principal revealed that Jim had a very low intelligence rating and had been unable to go beyond the sixth grade — in which he had been placed without having passed the lower grades.

Jim was able to function on the friendly social level and had made a contribution to his club, but he needed the protection of a worker who understood

his limitation and would help him to function in an area within his ability.

It is difficult to estimate the intellectual ability of the members of groups because so many other factors contribute to success or failure in group participation. If the worker is dealing with a group of members still in school, he has some clue from the relationship between the individual's age and his grade in school. This correlation, however, is not a safe gauge, and the worker cannot jump to unwarranted conclusions. In the group situation the worker is dealing with the manifestation of willingness to participate, and he must follow all clues to find the causal factors of failure to engage in the life of the group. One of the things he must keep in mind is the possibility that the activity is beyond the member's intellectual capacity or ability *at this time*.

Too wide a difference in the ability of the members of a group presents problems very similar to those of the age differential; in this case, also, the worker has a responsibility to protect the group-as-a-whole and the variant individual from each other.

Educational Background Range. Many children's groups are composed of members from the same grade in school, and even in those where the members are drawn from several grades the difference in actual educational content is not so important a factor of difference as age, developmental stage, and intellectual ability. In older groups, however, varying educational backgrounds and experiences create real differences which separate people from one another. These differences become particularly apparent in clubs which decide to continue after the members have graduated from high school.

Some members of the Debbettes had been in the club since early grade school when they had organized and called themselves the Dare Devils. When they finished high school they resolved to continue their club meetings at the agency. But when they gathered for their first meeting in the fall, they brought new interests with them. Three were planning to register in local colleges, two were going away to college, five were attending business school, four had obtained jobs and were "planning to work for a while." The first two meetings were interesting and exciting as each shared with the others her new experiences and anticipations. But the girls showed little interest in program planning as a group. During one of the meetings Antoinette said, "What did we do last year? We always had more plans than we could carry out." Jane replied solemnly, "Last year was different. We were all together; now we are all different."

Jane's reply gives some indication of the social forces which were separating these girls: no matter how great their desire to keep the comfortable old associations, the new was pressing in upon them and would inevitably cause the old bonds to relax and finally give way.

Difference in educational background is very apparent in formed groups of adults, where common interest rather than mutual attraction has brought the members together. Groups which are recruited on the basis of common occupation, interest in civic betterment, or some other shared interest frequently bring together individuals with wide variance in educational opportunity and therefore quite different areas of knowledge. Groups which are formed in wards of hospitals where the patients are grouped according to common disease or disability may represent a wide range of difference in educational background. So may neighborhood groups, where the fact of residence is related primarily to the economic status of the breadwinner.

Even though there is wide educational variance among their members, a group which forms spontaneously around a common concern is usually able to transcend these differences for the sake of action on the common problem. But its life as a group is short unless the members have help in developing their common interests. Most groups seem to need the help of an "outsider" to accomplish this end; the evidence of this need is seen in the number of organizations which employ an executive secretary to help carry on the work of the group. One of the most important skills for such workers to have is the ability to help people with very different educational backgrounds to appreciate the factor of social experience in evaluating each other's contribution to the work of the group-as-a-whole.

Social Experience Range. Each member brings to the group his previous and concurrent group experiences. Not all individuals have an equal opportunity to belong to groups, nor are all individuals equally able to take advantage of their opportunities to belong to groups. Every individual, however, belongs to many groups in the course of his life. The fortunate individual whose family operates as a group learns the elementary skill of group participation in his home — a skill which he uses to help "make his way" in groups of his peers. He has learned the meaning of group life through participation in family experiences, through feelings of acceptance in the family both when he meets and fails to meet its limitations, and through feelings of satisfaction gained from giving and *doing for* other members of the family as well as *getting from* them. He has learned the meaning of belonging to groups through the family celebration of anniversaries and holidays — occasions when the immediate family group becomes a subgroup in the larger constellation of the family relationship. From this experience the individual lays the groundwork for his conception of the group-as-a-whole. Families which operate as a group usually belong to communities organized to make possible the co-operative endeavor of the residents for the common good. Thus the fortunate individual learns the meaning of group experience not only from membership in his immediate family but also from the larger family or clan, and

that of the collection of clans which make up the community in which he is living. Less fortunate individuals not only have little opportunity to learn the skills of group participation through the family but are deprived of the chance to become aware of the feelings which make group participation so meaningful and vital. Not every individual in well-organized communities has the privilege of these family relationships which ease his social adjustments so remarkably. Nor do all families in disorganized communities fail to provide the basic group experience so important for the future happiness of their members. One of the remarkable facts about families in disorganized communities is that, even against the tides weakening the bonds of family relationships, some families do maintain the operations of group life.

The factor of social experience is a significant one to be considered both in the area of grouping by the agency and in the area of understanding any given group. Agencies which provide protected or therapy groups for the socially retarded children in their membership are aware of this factor. It is nevertheless deserving of much more consideration than has, on the whole, been paid it by both case workers and group workers, for it is one of the most important factors in the differential practice of social group work. Placement of individuals in groups on the basis of the quality of their former social experience makes it possible to set up hypotheses about the needs, interests, and type of service needed from a worker and thus to help individuals use groups more effectively for their personal growth and development.¹

Members who have had satisfactory social experiences are able to move into complicated group situations and use the group for the achievement of goals appropriate to their interests. The groups may be large or small; composed of children or adults; high or low in organization, according to the demands of the program which the members wish to pursue. These individuals are capable of a high degree of decision-making (in terms of the normal expectation of the age grouping). Much of the responsibility for organizing, planning, and conducting the program of their clubs should be left in their hands. The role of the worker is a facilitating one by which the members are helped to learn new ideas and skill, handle feelings, and move ahead in the life cycle along the path they have so auspiciously begun.

In helping members who have had little or no satisfactory social experience, the worker is also the facilitator and the enabler, but the degree of his activity is very much greater than in the groups whose members have been socially prepared for group participation. Members who have had little

¹ Relate the facts given about the family relationships of the members of the Fun Club to their behavior as set down in the record (Chapter 11); do the same for the Sub-Debs (Chapter 12).

social experience are unable to carry responsibility for decision-making. They need both knowledge of procedures and emotional support to give them the courage to make and carry out plans of their own. Groups whose members are unskilled in and ignorant of group procedures need skillful workers who are able to understand the "place where these members are" in their social development and to help them use the group as a means through which to acquire their needed social experience. The social group worker should be available to work with the socially retarded members outside of group meetings and be sensitive to the readiness of members to use the more individualized service of social case work or psychiatry as their needs indicate.

*Occupational Range.*¹ There is no question but that occupational identification is an important factor of difference to consider when attempting to analyze those factors which unite or separate individuals within groups. It is often a basis of group organization; in fact, some agencies use occupation as the structure of their program for adult groups. Employment in a certain occupation does not mean, of course, that all the individual's associations are centered therein. There seems, however, to be a tendency among people today to find their social associates among those with whom they work, which gives some justification to the use of occupation as a means of grouping. But it is questionable whether any one factor of difference is a very satisfactory basis for the organization of groups by agencies. Just as we found that age is not always a helpful basis of grouping, so we see that a common occupation is too simple an answer to the problem of helping people to join with others in organizations where the balance between homogeneity and heterogeneity will be such that the members will develop the characteristics of a satisfactory group. The sociologists who established the basis of groupings of the people who live in "Yankee City" found that any one classification is a composite of many different factors of which occupation is but one.²

In the early part of this century, occupational identification was a greater factor of difference among some people than it is today. The lines of distinction between workers in factories, offices, and the semi-professional trades are gradually becoming less marked as organized labor assumes an increasingly significant role in the national life. Related factors in the change of status of workers in different occupations are wages, hours, the mechanization of processes in both industry and business, educational requirements for positions, and the increasingly higher educational attainments on the

¹ Closely related to occupational range as a factor of difference is the factor of economic difference. "Having money" is a value held in high esteem by many; and the mere fact of material wealth, regardless of occupation or former social status, is a factor of grouping of some people. We recognize that the economic factor is part of the composite of occupational and social status grouping and have therefore not treated it as a separate factor.

² Warner and Lunt, *The Status System of a Modern Community*.

part of the general population of the United States.¹ Increases in wages and the control of hours for workers in industry on the one hand, and the introduction of office machinery with the consequent decrease in educational requirements for office workers on the other, have done much to level off the differential between the desirability of work in factories and that of work in offices. Furthermore, since the percentage of the general population of high school age who have finished high school is now the largest in the history of our country, there is every reason to believe that, as far as educational background is concerned, there is less of a gap between workers in industry and those in business offices than was true in the early part of this century. In spite of all these changes, office work still has a higher status than factory work.

Of all the occupations, those related to personal service have the least status in the occupational scheme of things. Although paid housework is financially as profitable as many other occupations, those who make their living by helping to maintain the households of our nation are the victims of a social attitude which relegates them to lower status and makes them feel excluded — or does in fact exclude them — from groups that exist for various purposes. Whether workers in this category are best served through the establishment of clubs organized on the basis of common employment in household service is a debatable question.

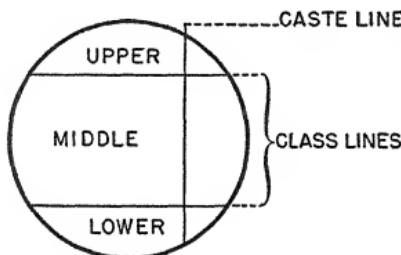
The organization of Mothers' Clubs is another example of grouping on the basis of occupation. Experience in working with Mothers' Clubs seems to indicate that in many cases the members find satisfaction in program related to interests other than those which evolve out of the fact that each member is a mother. The following comment made by the president of one such club is typical of many similar remarks found in numerous group records: "The club is a fine place to come now that we have stopped talking about our kids and their problems. . . . You see we have no chance to play — all day long we clean the house and take care of the children, and when we come to club we want to do things for ourselves." Several months later the worker serving this group records: "Now that the women have had the opportunity to plan their own program and have had many meetings 'just for the fun of it,' they seem eager to talk about the problems of caring for their young children and are planning some of their programs in this area. They voted tonight to affiliate with the adult club council because they said that they wanted to meet and work with some people who did not stay home all the time."

¹ In 1940, 73 out of every 100 boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 17 were enrolled in high school. In 1900, only 11 out of each 100 were in high school. The figures for the years between: 1910, 15 per cent; 1920 32 per cent; 1930, 51 per cent. Figures from the Survey of the Education of Americans, made by the Census Bureau, 1940.

The use of occupation as a basis of grouping presents the same fundamental problem which the use of any other factor of difference presents; namely, is this factor sufficiently important to the members to justify using it as the core of their identification with the group?

Whether occupation is the basis of grouping or whether the basis is a composite of many factors, the social group worker should know the occupation of each of the members and be aware of the importance of this factor in program development. He uses his awareness by helping the members use their group for discussing their common and unique problems, for relating them to larger social and economic problems in society, and when possible for connecting them with other groups having similar interests. He also uses his awareness by helping the members develop respect for each other's contributions through the work which each performs.¹

Social Class Range. Ethnic, religious, occupational, and group identifications, place of residence, and economic status are some of the factors in the



CASTE AND CLASS GROUPINGS

formation of social class groupings which separate individuals in the same culture one from the other. While individuals with different ethnic and religious identifications are found within the same social status classification, these factors seem to be barriers as great as the economic one—if not greater. It is noteworthy that, while classifications such as lower, middle, and upper classes may be made for the general population, the social class system is also present within ethnic groupings. And within these broad classifications there are still other lines of distinction which further separate people.² Caste and class exist in American life. The above diagram illustrates the operation of ethnic factors of difference within the overall social status system. If, for example, we considered the caste line to represent

¹ See Chapters 11-14.

² W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

the Irish, the Negro, or any other ethnic group, we should find that within the population of that group, people could be identified as belonging to each of the three designated social class groups as well as sharing the same ethnic background. This is an important fact to consider when working in the area of intercultural relations. It destroys (factually) many of the stereotypes applied to any one ethnic group.

Although the social class system in the United States is not static, the lines of social distinction are sufficiently sharp to create barriers of which the social group worker needs to take cognizance. Some individuals so completely identify themselves with the social class of their families that all their group affiliations are made within that class. Others associate themselves with people on the basis of common interest or the attraction of opposites. But in any case, the individual is influenced by the values and norms of his social class.

Social class identification is usually not so important to children as to adults, but the concern of adults frequently affects the younger groups.

A central office of the Girl Scout organization was asked to service a troop which was reported to have started through a school. A troop committee was functioning and the list of prospective members had been drawn up. The Scout organization appointed a leader, and meetings of the troop and committee got under way. After a little time the central office received a complaint from a parent in this neighborhood whose daughter had been refused membership in the troop. The district director paid a visit to the school and discovered that the principal of the school had had nothing to do with the organization of the troop, that he had been only the link making the initial contact between a group of parents and the Scout central office. Further investigation revealed that membership in the troop had been restricted to the daughters of a few women in the community who were themselves members of a small exclusive group and that the children of many other parents had been excluded when the troop was organized. The Scouts were successful in inducing the school to share the sponsorship of this group and in establishing a waiting list for new members on which any child in the school had a right to be placed.

Knowledge of the significance of social class identification helped the social group worker to find her role in serving the "Golden Lights":

This was a group of nine high school girls who formed a club, came to the agency, and asked to be taken under its auspice. They had already elected their officers, and when they had their first meeting with their worker, they seemed to have little business to transact. The worker attempted to find out what they wanted to do as a club, but they were unable to propose any plans for their future as a group. The worker, therefore, moved into the

leadership role, helped them to make some plans for their next meeting, and the girls departed. When they arrived for their next meeting, they had forgotten about their plans, said they did not want to make the club pins they had talked about at the last meeting, and after the formality of calling the meeting to order, they entertained themselves by quarreling and at times resorting to physical combat. The worker was successful in helping them play a few games, but nothing happened which gave any evidence of a bond among these girls or indicated that they really enjoyed being together. After several meetings of this nature, the worker knew the members well enough to distinguish three subgroups among the nine members; there were three girls in one subgroup, four in another, and two in the third. As they all attended the same school and were in the same grade, the worker related the location of their homes to the subgrouping — the ones who lived nearest to one another were in the same subgroup. At the next meeting, when the conversation turned to Passover services, the worker asked what synagogues they attended. Here again there was a relation between the synagogues and the subgroupings in the club. Three synagogues were represented — orthodox, conservative, and reformed — and it happened that these represented not only different forms of Jewish religious expression but also different social class groups. At this point the worker was baffled as to why these nine girls wanted to be in a club together. The factors of difference were outnumbering the common interests, and the worker could see no way to help these individuals and stimulate them to become a real group. Each member of the club was a very unhappy girl. Each needed the friendship which her behavior toward the others made it impossible to secure. The worker became more and more convinced that each member had personal problems which were blocking all possibilities of developing a spirit of companionship. But if this were the case, why did they stay together as a group? Their attendance at club meeting was regular and punctual. They spoke of themselves in the name of their club, though this seemed to be the only evidence that they had any sense of unity. The worker decided to explore the meaning of other group affiliations to the members, and she accordingly made a visit to the high school. She found the school to be a very highly organized one with many groups and clubs, both school-sponsored and independent. In this setting, membership in a group is of prime importance to all the students. The worker discovered that none of the Golden Lights belonged to any club in the school or related to it. This information threw considerable light on the mystery of the bond that held them together. They preferred enduring each other, with all their differences in social status and religious observance, to having no group affiliation at all. The group, however, as constituted, could be of little help to any of the members, for the problems which were blocking them from participating in this group were also blocking their participation in all groups. At this point the worker ceased to try to help them to develop a closely knit group and concentrated on establishing relationships with each

of the members and with the parents. When the girls came to club meetings the worker engaged them in activities which she led and thus kept up her contacts with them. Over the course of the club year the worker was able to help the parents gain some understanding of their children's problems, and three of the girls received psychiatric help.

It is plain to see in the above illustration that social class distinction was only one of the factors to be considered in helping the members of this group, but it was through analysis of this factor that the worker was able to understand the lack of meaning of this group to these girls and thereby to help them with their real needs instead of trying to help them with their expressed interest.

Each social class has values and consequent norms of behavior which are peculiar to it and which must be understood if the worker is to help members of the same class or of different classes to use their groups for their designated purposes. Representative groups, such as interclub councils, agency committees, and interagency groups, frequently are composed of members from different social classes, and the worker needs to recognize these differences in order to help the members understand each other and develop common values and norms upon which the program of the group may be planned and executed.

Composition as to Sex. In the American scene, boys' groups differ in nature and content from girls' groups for the same age. Such differences also appear on the adult level; men's groups are different from women's. Thus, in addition to all the other factors which make each group different from any other, the factor of sex plays its part in the composite picture. The activity may be the same, but the way the members handle the activity is different, even when the members endeavor to make it otherwise. The reality of the sex differential is an important basis of distinction to be recognized. In all age-periods, individuals seem to crave the opportunity of belonging to groups of the same sex and also to groups composed of both sexes. In the school-age period most children prefer groups composed of members of the same sex, but they also like to play with those of the opposite sex in loosely organized groups, as in playground and game-room activities.¹ Adolescents enjoy associating with those of the opposite sex in canteens, educational groups, and councils and committees, but they also want to belong to small intimate groups composed of members of the same sex. The attractiveness of sorority and fraternity membership in high school and college is a good illustration of the expression of this need. And the organizational life of the modern com-

¹ Note the reaction to "girls" by the members of Chuck's Boys Club and the attitudes of the boys and girls toward each other in the Fun Club (Chapter 11).

munity indicates the popularity of organized groups of men and women divided by the factor of sex.¹

Membership in a group of the same sex may be a means of escaping or postponing heterosexual development or it may be the means through which the individual receives support from his peers to take the initial steps toward this goal. For example, a group of adolescent girls may form a club for the purpose of having parties and inviting boys "in the name of the club," when they would be unable to extend invitations for such events on a personal basis. On the other hand, a similar group may form a club for the purpose of carrying on various enjoyable activities but be unable to include boys even "in the name of the club."² The club, in such a case, is a substitute for normal heterosexual activity and the behavior revealed in it may be symptomatic of the needs of the members for personalized help which will enable them to widen their use of groups in their personal and social development. Young adults who failed to make satisfactory heterosexual adjustments in adolescence may also find solace in clubs of one sex. This attachment to clubs of one sex may be a conscious or unconscious expression of the need for personal help both within and outside of group situations.

Membership in groups of one sex may also be an expression of the need to secure or to maintain equality with those of the opposite sex, a means of maintaining a balance of power between the sexes. When a group of men or women is absorbed in some activity, it may motivate formation of a compensating group of the opposite sex: a "stag" group of men whose wives belong to a bridge club or civic-interest group; a wives' club that meets on their husbands' "poker night." We know of one club called the "Group Work Widows Club" which met regularly because the members' husbands worked at night. The women's divisions of political parties are examples of groups organized because of the difficulty women experience in securing roles of equality in groups already organized by men. Luncheon clubs composed of business and professional people have organized on a sex differentiation basis; no doubt one of the motivating factors in this development is the competitive relationship between men and women in the occupational world.³ But whatever the reasons which motivate people of all ages to form in groups of the same sex, there is no escaping the fact the organization of adults tends to follow the pattern of sex separation and that mixed groups are largely confined to those of intimate relationships among people of like social status. The structure of associations of men and women in groups concerned with

¹ Note the sex differential in each of the clubs in Chapters 11-14.

² Note the different stages of the members of the Sub-Debs in their heterosexual development; compare Joan and Mary Ruth.

³ Florence Anderson, "Are Women People?" (pamphlet; Democracy Series, U.S.O. Division, National Board, Y.W.C.A.)

social betterment is primarily that of the co-ordinating council or committee where representatives of men's and of women's groups meet together to pool their efforts to accomplish a common goal.

It is important that the social worker recognize that, while the sex factor is an important one to consider in the formation of groups, there is no age at which there seems to be a clear-cut demand for groups of the same sex or of both sexes except during the latency period, when, as both research and experience seem clearly to indicate, the emotional needs of children call for groupings of the same sex. During adolescence most young people need help in working out satisfactory boy-girl relationships. Generally speaking, small intimate groups of youth of the same age, in which members can discuss their fears and concerns about growing up, accompanied by a great deal of activity first with organized groups of the same sex and later with couples mutually chosen, seem to afford the best means of helping youth to achieve a satisfactory heterosexual adjustment. Many of the perplexing problems that arise in work with adult groups stem from the fact that the individuals earlier failed to receive the kind of help they might have received in a variety of groups tuned to the needs of young people in the throes of the adolescent struggle.

Throughout this chapter we have indicated some of the adjustments necessitated in the role of the worker by various factors of difference within individuals and within groups. Perhaps this chapter, more than any other, explains why the practice of social group work demands professional competence and is not the job of a technician. The worker must continuously use his wisdom and discretion as he exercises judgment in the determination of **WHAT** he does, **WHEN** he does it, and **HOW** it is best to be done. The factors of difference in every group and in every individual create new situations which call for a professional response from the worker.

5

Program Planning and Development

IN THE NEXT SECTION, we shall analyze representative activities that make up the content of group experience, pointing out values for individual members and for the group-as-a-whole. Many program activities will of necessity not be included in this analysis, but this does not mean that we do not consider them important. Science clubs, for example, are of interest to pre-adolescents; the members have the fun of exploring, experimenting, and discovering, and those with real interest may become the scientists of the future. "Putter shops," full of odds and ends, bring out unsuspected talents as the members discover how things work and put together many a weird contraption that really runs. Photography is a valuable activity for members who think they have no talents; they soon discover that there are many ways of photographing the same subject or scene, and ordinary everyday things take on new meaning. In all areas of program, increasing skill brings new feelings of self-respect, self-reliance, and poise.

It is clear that not all members will enjoy every area of program to the same extent. Some of the reasons for this have already been discussed and additional factors will be brought out in Part Two.

Each activity has peculiar *qualities* which appeal to certain individuals and which are important factors in the choice of program. But its *values* need not be peculiar to the activity; many of the same values can result from activities which, on the surface, seem to be very different. This is due in part to the ability of individuals and groups to adapt activities to their needs.

Prominent among these values are the potentialities for aiding physical growth and neuromuscular control and for providing intellectual stimulation and development. The release of emotions is also made possible, for the activities provide forms through which feeling may be acceptably expressed. And the activities further contribute to emotional and social development by providing patterns and disciplines which influence and limit behavior and provide security for the members by indicating the kind of behavior expected.

The members reveal their personality patterns through the ways in which they engage in activities — personality patterns which often indicate the help needed, which in fact are often a way of asking for help. Knowledge of the potentialities of program media makes it possible for the worker to understand the needs so expressed and to help the members meet these needs through the program of the group if it is possible to do so. He must be skilled in recognizing extremes of behavior which indicate the need for more personalized assistance and be able to help the members obtain this service.

Activities provide a chance to express friendliness and affection as well as indifference or open hostility towards others. Individuals gain acceptance from the other members through their skill in activities or their willingness to co-operate with the group on special projects. Integration of the group is often achieved through activities. Group morale is high when the members have a good time together, develop a joint project, give a successful party, or participate in a public performance. The total group can increase its status in the agency or community through ability to perform in activities and take part in larger projects, and at the same time all-agency or all-community projects give the members a chance to feel part of a larger whole.

The social values are many, as the members learn to get along with each other in the life of the group. Every person is concerned about relationships with others but often does not know how to establish them. In many cases, program content supplies a center around which the members come together; it helps create a bond through which relationships have a chance to develop. Planning of program provides opportunities for the members to make and carry out decisions and to accept responsibilities. The activities themselves sometimes provide patterns for settling conflicts and establishing controls.

Values and norms develop as the group-as-a-whole establishes its standards of behavior. Many of the values held by individuals undergo change through the medium of the group's activities. Quite often the plans of the group come in conflict with standards of the agency or the norms of the community. In some instances, the members decide to adjust themselves to patterns that already exist; in others, the group performs a real service by helping to change tradition.

The discussions that grow out of program planning and out of the activities themselves hold important values for the members. Although a detailed analysis of discussion groups as such will not be included in the survey of program content, we are by no means unaware of their importance and their frequency, especially among groups of young adults and mature adults. Here, however, we wish to emphasize the fact that informal conversation and discussion are integral parts of the life of any group and are vital to the development of the members. Frequently the discussion stimulated by an

activity is of more value to the members than the activity itself. The worker stands ready to appraise the relative values of continuing the activity or developing the leads for discussion. These discussions center around any of the interests, problems, and experiences of the members; the worker helps the members realize that the problems which seem unique and peculiar to them are often faced by others as well and may be part of the normal process of growing up. Through these conversations and discussions, also, the worker discovers which members need more individualized help than can be proffered in the group setting.

Social content is inherent in many of the activities, as will be indicated in the analyses. Participation in group activity can free the members to express their real feelings about various situations. When these feelings come out into the open, the worker has an opportunity to help the members deal with and discuss their attitudes. The words *social content* cover a wide variety of subjects. At any time the worker must be prepared to follow interests or pick up leads in the area of local politics or the world situation, management and labor, governmental controls and free enterprise, cost of living, the housing shortage, veterans' preference, strikes, rackets, the "numbers game," attitudes toward minority groups, and many others. Any phase of social content is more meaningful to the members when it arises out of the experiences they are having together than when it comes as an unrelated idea introduced by the worker or the agency program. But many times it is the worker who recognizes the possibilities of relating the members' own concerns to the wider social scene and calls them to the attention of the members.

Social group workers, for the most part, are concerned with helping the normal person to maintain mental health and are well aware of the potentialities of activities to serve this purpose. The state of mental or emotional equilibrium is not a static one which, once attained, remains forever set. Every person needs constant opportunities to maintain his mental and emotional balance, and an important way of providing these is through activities.

This task of working out the best possible bargain between himself as a biological unit and himself as a social unit is not something that is accomplished at two or three or five and then forgotten. Nor is it sporadically accomplished at adolescence or in the late teens, never again presenting itself as a task or problem to be solved till mid-life or thereafter. The task of maintaining mental health (in its broadest terms) is *always* with us, and failure at any stage can make for unhappiness, inefficiency, or even ill health in the normal individual at that moment or can lay the foundations for future disabilities *based* upon these unfortunate responses of the moment. . . . Mental health is a continuing process that has to be attained and main-

tained through an endless number of our responses day after day. You have to "work at" this problem of your mental health which in itself is a composite of hundreds of momentary adjusting or maladjusting bits of behavior.¹

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the importance of individuals themselves participating in activities in this process of "working at mental health."

There are two ways in which any art or play expression can be used in psychotherapy; either as a passive experience with the patient as spectator or as an active experience with the patient as creator. A recreative cathartic experience can take place when a group shares a dramatic or musical event as audience. But a deeper therapeutic response is obtainable when any of the arts are used, actively, by a patient as a means of releasing his own unconscious conflicts in some form of individual and original expression.²

This use of activities for attaining and maintaining mental health made by normal individuals is one of degree rather than one of difference.

It is apparent that while the activities themselves provide the media for all these phases of development, the social group worker has an important function to perform as he helps the members plan and carry out their program. Each situation confronting a worker is different because of the personalities in the group and the quality of the interacting process among the members and with the worker. The worker's procedure, therefore, differs according to circumstances; there are no set, ready-made answers.

Elements in the Program Planning Process

The program content of any group is affected by all of the factors fundamental to the life of the community of which the group is a part. While the program content of many groups may seem to be identical, its use by a group where the membership is composed of individuals representing widely scattered neighborhoods in a metropolitan area is quite different from the use of the same content by a group composed of members from a specific neighborhood. The use of program content by members of a group from a well organized, integrated community is quite different from that made by a group from a disintegrating community.

The social forces causing integration and disintegration of communities are well known. It is only important to point out here the influence of these factors upon the process of program planning. In a disintegrating com-

¹ George E. Gardner, "Mental Health Problems of Normal Individuals," *Texas Trends*, vol. 4 (1947), no. 4, pp. 3 and 10.

² Margaret Naumberg in "Fantasy and Reality in the Art Expression of Behavior Problem Children," *Modern Trends in Child Psychiatry*, ed. Lewis and Pacella (New York: International Universities Press, 1946), p. 196.

munity, it is often difficult to interest adults in such activities as troop committees, community councils, and adult clubs. They feel that their social status is lowered because of economic, cultural, and ethnic factors operating in the community. Their desire to move out lessens the interest of the total family in community enterprises — an effect experienced in work with groups of all ages. The intensity of this feeling heightens the tension between the residents and finds frequent expression in racial and cultural clashes. Program content in clubs is affected by these factors and in turn affects the community situation. In the well integrated community, on the other hand, the social forces tend to increase the interest of all members of the family in activities of recreational and social significance.

The program content, itself, as well as its use, is directly affected by the social forces within a given group. In the last analysis, it is the social forces within groups which determine the size, structure, and other processes through which groups achieve their purposes. Individuals dominated by social unrest and insecurities tend to seek the submergence which participation in mass activities and membership in large groups afford. Structure in such groups is consequently loose and the responsibility for program content carried by a few; the composition may be quite diverse without disrupting the group because membership does not require the intimacy of individual contacts. Program content is the chief integrating factor; the bond is related to common interest in the activity. In smaller groups the relationship between members takes first place as the integrating factor and hence the composition of the group is all important; the bond is related primarily to the acceptance by the members of each other. But within every group, both large and small, there are subgroupings of individuals based on affectional bonds. The determination of program content and its use in all groups is closely related to a neatly adjusted degree of homogeneity and heterogeneity of membership. Program content may be the basis on which a group is organized. Here the content is determined by the agency on the basis of assumed or observed interests and needs of the members of the community. Program content of this nature is offered to both large and small groups. Once the group is organized, however, the vitality of the program to the members is dependent upon the degree to which the members of the group are included in the process of program planning.

Program content itself is not always the result of an inherent interest on the part of the members. Certain content may have prestige value which is of greater importance to them than the activity. For example, groups may punctiliously use parliamentary procedure and, at the same time, be personally bored and irked with the formality. An adult women's club may insist upon having a speaker, who was well received by a contemporary club, when their real interest and needs lie in having a party for themselves, but the prestige value that "this is the thing to do" impels them to do it. Program content, even when planned by all the members of a group,

may be influenced more by the social norms of the agency and the community than by the fundamental needs of members. The popularity of groups under the leadership of national program agencies supplies a good example of the influence of social norms upon group structure and program planning. Youth-serving organizations provide both structure and program suggestions which are the result of careful analysis of the life cycle. Their experience, however, indicates that even within the area of limited age groups, there is need for a wide range in choice of program content and diversified methods of its use.¹

The social group worker is an artist in program planning and development. Like any good artist he is thoroughly familiar with the tools and materials with which he is working. In his case these consist of the inherent potentialities of the program content, the purpose and function of the agency, the developmental needs and interests of the members, the values and norms of their particular groups and those of the community and of society as a whole. But while the product of the work of the artist is an expression of himself, the personality pattern of the social group worker is only one of the many that have a part in this process. The final product can be compared to a mural which is the result of the integrated work of a number of people. The process itself, however, is more important to the development of the members than is the final product.

There are three principal elements in the programming process: the members, the social group worker, and the program content. Each of these elements, however, has many components. The members have their interests and their needs, their special abilities, their relationships with each other and with the worker, their particular norms and values as related to their family and community life; the worker has his professional knowledge and skill, his special abilities, his relationship with the members, his role as the representative of the agency and as the bearer of the values and norms of the agency and of society as a whole; the program content has its inherent potentialities for meeting the needs and interests of the members and for maintaining or changing the norms and values of the group, the community, and society. The interaction of these three elements is essential in program planning if the group is to provide a qualitative experience for its members. All three are important and have a place in the process. It is inevitable that there is sometimes a slight overbalance of one element. At times the members are dominant; again the worker is more in evidence; and sometimes the content takes first place. In the properly functioning program process, no

¹ Gladys Ryland, "The Place, Use and Direction of Program Activities in Social Group Work," in *Toward Professional Standards*, Year Book of the American Association of Group Workers (New York: Association Press), 1947, pp. 51-53.

one element is permanently emphasized at the expense of the others; instead, constant shifting of emphasis takes place according to the needs for dominance arising out of the situation. It is the integration of the three elements of program that produces a more subtle, a more satisfying result in terms of the members' needs. It is also one that is more difficult to analyze. Just what is the worker's part in a certain situation? What is the members' part? What is the part played by program content? What has gone into making the experience what it is? This integration and the often intangible results make it difficult to explain to the public the values of program in social group work.

The social group worker functions during the group members' leisure time. It is his responsibility, therefore, to create an atmosphere of relaxation and the light touch of play. Lightness of touch usually has deep sustaining roots. Behind this atmosphere of freedom, relaxation, and fun are skill, knowledge, imagination, planning, and a certain attention to regime — a regime, however, which is changed as needed. The worker provides an atmosphere in which the imagination can be given free rein and the members are helped to stretch themselves and accomplish more than they ever thought they could. He is able to recognize the materials of the imagination when he sees them and to help the members bring them out into the open for everyone to enjoy. His appreciation of each member's creative contribution encourages the group to explore an ever-widening field of program possibilities. And while he gives encouragement to every spark of imagination, he helps the members bring their ideas within the realm of accomplishment.

WHAT THE SOCIAL GROUP WORKER DOES IN PROGRAM PLANNING

Helping the Members Plan the Program

The most important principle in program planning is that the members plan their own program. This does not mean, of course, that the social group worker does nothing. Rather it means that he works with the group-as-a-whole at its own level and helps the members to develop a program more significant to their interests and needs than if he were not there. The members' ability to plan and develop program will depend not only upon their age range but upon their capacity for and previous experience in making suggestions and decisions. With younger groups, the worker initiates most of the program, leaving to the children only choices between limited alternatives.¹ With his knowledge of developmental needs, he is able to make suggestions suitable for them, and through observing their responses to the activities, to secure ideas for further planning. Some adolescent and adult

¹ Analyze the record of the Toombah Club (Chapter 11) from this point of view.

groups which are socially retarded or lacking in experience will need similar help. Groups for which the primary purpose is therapeutic are composed of members who are unable to relate to people and to join with others in effective planning, and who can assume responsibility only by small degrees proportional to their stage of recovery.¹ When only one or two people or a small subgroup are unprepared to assume the responsibility of program planning, they should be removed if possible from the group and referred to a "protected group." When the majority are in this stage, they should be helped on the basis of their social adjustmental age, not their chronological age. But whatever the stage of development of the members, it is always important that they take as large a part as they possibly can in planning and carrying through the program.

Youngsters of early school age are having new experiences and have varied ideas to draw upon for program. They still lack experience in decision-making, and the worker helps them to assume this responsibility as their ability increases through experience.² Members of high school age, with their ambivalent attitude toward independence, present a slightly different problem. They like to feel they are making their own decisions, but they are often bewildered at having to make choices.³ At one moment they will act in a responsible manner and carry through their plans, and at another they will be irresponsible and show no interest in plans they may have made only a short time before. The worker has to sense the situation and provide the equilibrium for the group when the members act in an irrational fashion. He wisely makes use of certain limitations which will give them support to carry responsibilities commensurate with their social development. Thus, in spite of their ambivalence, he assists them to plan and make decisions in a way that will help them along the road to becoming mature adults.

Young adult groups are more mature, and although they may have had little experience in planning, they usually have an interest in the program content itself and some ability to plan and execute.⁴ Here the worker acts largely as an adviser and as a resource person, facilitating the program planning process. Most adult groups use the worker in a similar fashion.⁵ Both young adult and mature adult groups look upon the worker as a person who stimulates them to develop new ideas and new ways of organizing program and as one who is familiar with resources for a varied program.

¹ See the Fun Club (Chapter 11); Constructive Griping and the Dancing Class (Chapter 13).

² Analyze Chuck's Boys (Chapter 11) from this point of view.

³ Analyze the Glamour Girls and the Sub-Debs (Chapter 12) from this point of view.

⁴ Analyze the planning of the Suhfw Club (Chapter 13).

⁵ Analyze the role of the worker in the program planning of the Elite Women's Club (Chapter 14).

Most program planning takes place through discussions of a formal or informal nature. Frequently it is in an informal conversation that a plan is laid for a future meeting. Every worker is aware of the tendency in the small group to emphasize the activity and to minimize the planning. Here the worker must guard against doing all the planning for such groups.

With all groups, the social group worker assists the members in the development of program that will meet needs, arouse interests, and extend horizons. He is justifiably concerned about groups whose interests continue to remain completely self-centered or related to inconsequential details of life. Often these groups are themselves concerned about their program but do not know what to do about it. They may express their concern by saying, "This is a no-account club" or "This club never does anything." Here the worker begins by discovering the meaning of the group to the members and introduces new ideas related to this meaning. The same procedure must be followed by a worker confronted with a group which is content with one form of activity during group meetings. In this case, an analysis of the activity is necessary in order to determine its satisfactions to the members and its relationship to group structure. On the basis of this analysis, the worker gradually introduces new but equally satisfying activities.

It is important to realize that the relations of the members with each other and with the worker will influence to a great degree the kind of planning that is done. The members with the most status will generally have their ideas and suggestions accepted, while members with low status will make excellent suggestions that remain unheeded. Sometimes rival leaders or subgroups will fight for their own plans irrespective of the interests and needs of the group-as-a-whole.¹ The worker must acknowledge the leadership of indigenous leaders and subgroups. Often their interests provide good starting points for program planning, but if they do not reflect the real interests of the whole group the worker soon discovers this fact. Even if the members adopt the program as outlined by a dominant leader or subgroup, their reactions indicate whether or not it is really acceptable to them. In all these instances, the worker helps the group to choose the things which are of most value to the members and to their group life. Frequently it is necessary for him to give the other members support in their attempts to change the suggested program to meet their interests and needs. The relationships which the worker is able to establish with the members will influence to a great degree the way in which he is able to help in the interacting process. It is his responsibility to help the group-as-a-whole to move ahead, to function as a democratic unit, to widen its collective interests, to have experience in social action for its own benefit, and to join with other groups for the achievement

¹ Compare the expressions of these indications in records of each age-group.

of socially desirable purposes. It must be remembered that people cannot be expected to jump abruptly from small individual interests to matters of large national and world-wide significance. When an area of current interest in the group is related to a wider scene, however, the members see the significance of the latter to their own lives. Program planning is an experience in collective living, an experience in democratic procedure.

Discovering and Arousing Interests

Assumed Interests. Sociological, psychological, and educational studies have revealed that there are general norms of interest for people of various chronological ages and of different educational, occupational, cultural, economic, and other groupings. Program planning may therefore be tentatively based on these assumed interests. But because there is always the danger that program content planned on this basis may be superimposed by the worker, rather than evolved from the group, the social group worker uses the norms of interest only in relation to the decision-making process within the group. The program books of various national agencies are based on assumed interests that have been tested in the thousands of groups which are identified with them.¹ These suggested programs are psychologically sound; they have been worked out as suggestions to group leaders and are valuable resources when used in this way. If, however, they are used as a fixed program which the members must follow, they limit the operation of the decision-making process and narrow the extent to which the members may use the group for personal and social development. The value, then, of any program built on assumed interests is determined by the way in which the social group worker adapts it to the specific needs of the group in question.

Because of his general knowledge of the growth and developmental needs of individuals at various age levels, the worker can assume that a group composed of members having the ordinary development for a certain age will have certain interests.² He assumes that they have reached a particular stage of physical skill, co-ordination, and mental ability and have attained the appropriate degree of emotional maturity. He assumes that preschool children are interested in activities which give them a chance to experiment with the senses and with control of their bodies; that they will be interested

¹ These agencies provide materials according to age levels in practically every area. While for the most part, this material is written for volunteer leaders, it is an excellent resource for professional workers as well. Agencies including adults in their membership develop additional materials for discussion purposes. Organizations that have adopted policies advising the agency-as-a-whole to take social action have materials and suggestions for methods of action on social issues. See *Social Work Year Book* for list of national agencies.

² After reading this section, analyze the records in Chapters 11-14 for the use of assumed interests, comparing the effect of age levels upon methods of use.

in rhythmic activities, in stories, and in dramatic and constructive play. He expects them to be individualistic and interested in self-expression. He assumes that early-school-age groups prefer activities which demand great physical activity, such as running and chasing games. He knows that at about nine or ten years of age the children want to acquire real skill in crafts, sports, and other activities. He assumes that adolescents are interested in the opposite sex and in social dancing; that the boys like team games and organized sports, and that their interest in girls does not come at so early an age as the girls' interest in the boys. He assumes that young adults, whether they are in school or already on jobs are interested in vocations; that they are thinking about finding their life-partners and hence will be attracted to activities that provide social opportunities for mixing with others. He assumes that adults want fun for themselves and that their interests lie in cultural development, homemaking, child psychology, and the betterment of community life.

The worker also assumes, from his knowledge of the community of which the group is a part, that certain customs will influence the acceptance or rejection of certain program content. Some activities may be entirely "too sissy" for some neighborhoods, yet be quite acceptable in other neighborhoods in the same city. Some elements of the community may approve of boy-girl relationships through dancing, parties, and other social events, while others disapprove intensely of social dancing. Some factions may approve of a group's work in support of a strike or political action for certain ends, while others frown on such activities.

The purpose and function of the agency lead the worker to assume that certain aspects of program are to be emphasized. If the acquisition of skill or knowledge is a purpose, then the teaching ability of the worker is very important; if development of individuals is the aim, then activities which provide scope for such development are chosen; if the agency is part of a national organization with specialized interests, then national program emphases determine some of the activities included in the program content.

Expressed Interests. Interest finders, check lists, and other mechanical devices are sometimes used to help the members state their interests directly and distinctly. When members meet to discuss what they want to do in their club they often make long lists of activities, thus expressing their interests through words. Unfortunately, the interests expressed in these ways frequently bear little relation to the real interests and needs of the members. These activities may be the real interests of the members; on the other hand, they may be only those with which the members are familiar, those for which the agency has facilities, the particular interests of the dominant members of the group, those carried on by other groups which the club wishes to emu-

late, those commonly accepted in the community, or those in which the parents wish their children to engage. In any case, by trying out the suggested activities and observing and analyzing the reactions of the members to them, the worker will be able to discover if these activities are in fact the real interests. In many instances, these reactions will not be expressed in words, for words are only one means of disclosing interest. "Actions speak louder than words" is an adage of significance to the worker. Boredom and restlessness, lackadaisical attitudes, and sporadic attendance may indicate lack of interest in program, just as enthusiasm, loyalty, and regular attendance signify satisfaction with it.

It is the worker's responsibility to see what needs lie behind the expressed interests. Because he knows the potentialities of activities for meeting certain needs, he is aware of the satisfactions which the members are unconsciously seeking through the activities in which they are engaged or in which they say they would like to engage. The underlying interest may be a desire to "star" and thus gain ego-satisfactions; it may be a desire to become more acceptable to the group; or to become more closely a part of the group-as-a-whole or of a certain subgroup; or to dominate people or things; or to express feelings of hostility or friendliness; or to punish oneself or others. Further, the expressed interests may indicate conscious desires for wider experiences and associations in the community; they may indicate a need to conform to the customs of the neighborhood; or a desire to be original and different. These needs and interests will find either social or anti-social avenues of expression. The worker who understands what is back of expressed interests is able to help the members find those socially acceptable avenues of expression which are meaningful to them and valuable for society.¹

Implied Interests. Many interests are implied or insinuated rather than expressed directly in words. Analysis of members' reactions to expressed interests has already been mentioned. Enjoyment of some activities often implies interest in others: a favorable response to dramatic games or storytelling may imply an interest in dramatics; to rhythmic or musical games, an interest in song or dance. The enthusiasm of adolescents for parties nearly always points to an interest in boy-girl relationships. Unconscious desires can often be inferred from actions. The youngsters who play with water, dirt, and sand in the play yard are showing an interest not only in these materials but in their own bodily processes; the girls who are drawn irresistibly to watch the boys in the game room are expressing some interest in the games, but more in the opposite sex; the adult who hovers near the door of the craft room may be hoping to be invited inside; concern with sex, which

¹ Analyze the role of the workers in the use of expressed interests in Chapters 11-14, and identify the variety of methods employed.

is almost never directly expressed in words, is inferred by the worker from the members' conversations, facial and bodily expressions, and actions in the use of certain media. Words have not been used, but actions indicate a need even when words deny it.

These suppositions and inferences the worker must test in the light of his knowledge of the dynamics of human behavior; that is, he must interpret the ways in which any activity is being used as the language of behavior.¹ Mistakes can easily be made. A number of adolescent girls collected pictures of movie stars, particularly of the men; the worker therefore concluded that they would enjoy forming a photography interest group. The girls seemed enthusiastic when she proposed the idea, but interest soon languished; the collection of movie actors had really been motivated by the girls' budding interest in "boy friends."

Using the Environment

The worker makes extensive use of the environment to stimulate new program activities. The equipment and facilities of the agency — gymnasium, swimming pool, game room, record player, library, kitchen, craft shop, and the like — will inevitably suggest certain activities to the group members. If the agency provides specialists in crafts, music, drama, and the arts, the availability of their services further influences the trend of the program. When the agency does not provide special equipment and personnel, the worker can help the group to use community facilities and to enlist the aid of specialists outside the agency. Sometimes the very lack of agency facilities stimulates the group members to find ways of getting the kind of program they desire. A group that has everything at hand may become blasé. In any case, the needs of the members for group activities can be met only to a limited extent through equipment and facilities. For instance, one analysis of leadership and facilities indicated that, in the groups studied, the leadership was more important than the facilities.²

The worker can enrich the environment in many ways. He may bring to the group meetings samples of craft work, books on games and other special interests, pictures, new records for the record player. He may introduce the group to people whose hobbies or experiences will interest them. He may arrange for demonstrations or take the group on field trips. He can help the members to see the program possibilities in a patriotic or religious holiday or an all-agency festival.

¹ Analyze the role of the workers in understanding implied interests in Chuck's Boys (Chapter 11), Glamour Girls and Sub-Debs (Chapter 12), and Elite Women's Club (Chapter 14).

² Martha E. Robison, "An Analysis of the Leadership and Facilities Utilized in the Programs of Nine Groups as Revealed in the Records," thesis, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, 1942.

The members themselves constitute a part of the environment. Some of them have special abilities which stimulate program for all. The member who sings or plays an instrument or is talented in the arts stimulates the whole group to try his particular interest. A member with a hobby in almost any area, if helped by the worker, is able to bring his interest to the group. While the members may not be ready to adopt the hobby at once, they become acquainted with its possibilities and often ask for it later. By listening to the conversations of the members the worker learns of special abilities. He discovers that Mrs. Jones is noted for her pies and cakes, Mrs. Brown for her sewing or knitting, Mr. Jones for his expert wood carvings, and Mr. Smith for his knack of utilizing discarded materials. When these members can be enlisted as teachers and leaders, their skills can enrich the program of the entire group, and the member-experts themselves will gain valuable practice in the art of leadership. It may take more of the worker's time to enable such individuals to contribute in this way to the group than if he were himself to assume the leadership, but the results more than justify the additional time and effort he must expend.

The worker is also a part of the environment and his special interests and abilities contribute to the group. He is there to add to the program of the group. His wider experience and abilities should be used to aid the members, and this requires skillful timing. On the one hand, he must guard against forcing his own interests on the group; on the other, against failing to make his special abilities available to them. The worker should have that maturity which enables him to accept with equal grace the interest or disinterest of the members in those activities which he personally prefers. In fact, he has a professional responsibility to encourage the members to engage in activities which he himself dislikes, if the members enjoy such activities, for an activity which is thoroughly disliked by some is often exactly the one which meets the needs of others.¹

Using Limitations

Members and groups are faced with limitations which are inherent in the materials and rules of procedure of most activities in which they engage.² They are also limited by finances, time, and the available facilities and services of the agency. The purpose and philosophy of the agency of which the group is a part may also be a limiting factor in planning and developing program.

Limitations Imposed by Materials, Rules, and Situations. The limitations imposed by materials and rules of procedure may compel the participants

¹ See Chapter 6.

² See Chapters 6-10.

to contract or expand their activities. For example, some individuals find it impossible, without the help of the worker, to accept the limitation of the size of paper for finger painting, while others need encouragement and support to use the whole page. Some attempt to force a medium, such as paper, into forms for which it is not suitable; they need help in working *with* rather than *against* the characteristic qualities of the medium. The rules of games and the accepted modes of accomplishing various other activities provide for some the security through which they feel free to participate, and for others the irritations which accompany anything they are asked to do according to "form." Hence the worker uses the permissiveness and the limitations that inhere in the activity itself to help the individual gain self-control and thereby become sufficiently released or sufficiently restrained to engage acceptably in the activity.¹ Dr. L. K. Frank has ably described the need for the child to understand the situation:

What the child needs, but seldom receives, is a clear-cut definition of the situation and of the conduct appropriate therein, so that he can and will learn what conduct is permitted and what is not permitted without the emotional disturbances he now experiences during these lessons.²

The worker can aid in this process through the use of activities, whether they be games requiring adherence to rules and procedures, songs demanding conformity in tune and rhythm, dances calling for unity in group movement, crafts necessitating compliance with the limitations of tools and materials, or any other activity with its unique limitations and satisfactions. It is particularly valuable that school-age youngsters, who often consider adults as enemies, be able themselves to recognize the limitations in situations and help each other to accept them. That the same basic principles hold in working with adults has been demonstrated through the use of activities in recreational programs, particularly in military hospitals and in agencies which provide social group work service for adults.³

Limitations Imposed by Resources and Facilities. Financing the program is another form of limitation inherent in program content. When members of groups are helped to face the costs of a suggested group enterprise, they are helped to distinguish between fantasy and reality. They are motivated to discover practical ways of attaining the desired objective with the funds at their disposal, and when funds prove insufficient, to engage in money-raising projects which have many concomitant values. When all-agency projects are developed, one of the first considerations of the representative planning

¹ Discuss the worker's use of limitations inherent in activities in Chuck's Boys Club (Chapter 11).

² "Fundamental Needs of the Child," *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 22 (1938), no. 3, p. 375.

³ Discuss the worker's use of limitations of activities in adult groups (Chapter 14).

committee should be the budget, and the cost as well as the planning should be shared in such a way that the members are fully aware of the total cost and of the amount which the agency, as well as each group, is investing. If special assessments are made either on the members of each primary group or on each primary group-as-a-whole, the amounts must be determined in relation to the financial resources of the individual members or of the group-as-a-whole. In many situations the agency has more ability to pay than the members, and it must assume a greater part of the cost, but the members should be aware of the total cost and should share in it so far as they are able, either through direct contribution or through the contribution of their group. In some agencies, individuals and groups seem to expect the agency to finance all special events, and some even resent the agency's refusal to subsidize the parties planned by primary groups. In such situations the agency is reaping the consequences of failure to use one of the very important limitations in the development of personal and group responsibility—namely, the development of democratic procedure for joint financial planning and spending.¹

Time is just as specific and helpful a limiting factor as money. Each group is assigned a definite time-period during which to use the agency's facilities and claim the worker's help; beyond these limits, the facilities and the worker belong to other groups. The worker helps the members to make the most of the time that is theirs and to respect the time of other groups. Thus, through experiencing the limitations imposed by time, the group learns to share the facilities and the worker with others. Groups composed of members whose social retardation is pathological are, on the other hand, not ready to benefit from limitations which are helpful to those of normal development; such groups need the security of a room of their own and a large amount of the time of a worker whom they can regard as their own.

Members must be helped to budget time as well as money. They must learn how to estimate the time involved in a suggested project before they launch it. They must consider how time required for extra projects can be found, how the agency and their own personal schedules will be affected. Time is a real factor which must be reckoned with in all of life, and the worker who helps the members to use its limitations effectively is helping them learn an important element in successful living.²

The need of resources to carry out a project provides another limitation which the worker helps the members to handle. Resources include equip-

¹ See the role of the workers in helping the Elite Women's Club (Chapter 14) manage their finances.

² Note the worker's awareness of the time element in the help he gave the members of Chuck's Boys Club in developing the Spook Room.

ment, materials, and specialists both within the agency and in the wider community, and also material and personnel from national and international agencies and organizations. While every environment has a wealth of resources for program content, group members and workers need to exercise creative imagination in using them. One of the most important skills which a social group worker needs is the ability to help members to find substitutions for needed equipment and materials in the resources which are at hand. Even in the well-equipped agency the resources must be shared by all the members, and so are not available to all members at all times. Members need the help of the worker in developing the ability to be concerned about the use of agency equipment for the overall good of the whole as well as for their own temporary pleasure, and to adapt themselves to substitute resources when necessary.

Members are helped to use the limitations of money, time, and resources not only through their relation with their worker but also through the structure of the agency. The purpose and philosophy of the agency are related to them; and if the members are to have full opportunity to use the agency for their own personal development, they must be in a position to make decisions in which these limitations are handled. The agency is the final authority and the central core of all the limitations inherent in program planning. If the structure of the agency provides for representative government with channels of authority which run uninterruptedly from the membership of the smallest and youngest club to the members of the board, and if the flow of authority is in a two-way channel, then the members have an opportunity to identify with the agency and to incorporate its authority within themselves. If, on the other hand, the agency structure provides for a board and staff from which emanate the rules and regulations in regard to finances and use of resources, then the authority is something outside of the members and very few will have the opportunity of identification.¹ Instead of the agency being "We," it becomes "They," and the authority becomes something to struggle against instead of something of which the members are a part and to which they have a responsibility.

Limitations Inherent Within Individuals. The planning of an activity as well as the activity itself must be kept within the realm of the possibility of successful accomplishment. In groups in which some or all of the members are handicapped, this factor must be kept uppermost in the worker's mind. It is the worker's responsibility to help the handicapped person to function to the best of his ability within the limitation of his handicap. The implication of this responsibility is that the worker must understand not only the physical facts about the handicap and its usual emotional compo-

¹ See Chapter 16.

nents but also the particular meaning of the handicap to the particular individual being served. This understanding is essential to program planning even if there is only one handicapped person in the group. In groups in which the majority of the members are able-bodied, emotionally free, and of average intellectual capacity, it may be difficult for the members to plan program which includes in its scope the less adequate members. Through the program planning process, the worker helps the less adequate ones to assume responsibilities within their limitations and protects them as much as possible from getting into situations in which they will experience failure because of their lack of capacity. Sometimes members who have been ill return to the group while still in a weakened condition. The worker thus needs to understand the illness which the member has suffered and the factors which surround recovery. Such illnesses as rheumatic fever, cardiac difficulties, respiratory diseases, glandular disturbances, and others result in bodily weaknesses which necessitate restricted activity during convalescence or even throughout life. Childhood diseases also are to be regarded with due consideration during the convalescent period. The worker must be aware of the fact that the spirit and energy of a child — and many times of an adult — are not safe criteria of his ability to participate in certain very strenuous activities. During periods of convalescence, individuals of all ages need activities, but the activities must be chosen in light of the specific needs of the recuperating body and mind.

Members who are crippled or otherwise physically disabled, members who lack intellectual capacity, members whose emotional and social development is retarded — all need, on the one hand, to be protected from a sense of failure stemming from inability to accomplish results comparable to those achieved by persons who are not handicapped, and on the other hand, to be stimulated to undertake those things which they *are* able to do. The activities as much as possible should be the same; but the rules and methods must be adjusted to the capacities of these members. With a little ingenuity, it is quite feasible to adapt many physical activities to the limitations of the physically handicapped. Hospital recreation workers have adapted square dancing so that people on crutches and in wheel chairs can participate. Baseball can be successfully played when a system of substitutions is worked out: someone who has the use of his arms can hit the ball, someone else who has the use of his legs runs for him, and together the batter and runner share honors for the play. However, even when such activities are adjusted to the capacities of the members, they draw heavily on physical strength and create emotional tension. The worker therefore recognizes the necessity of alternating quiet, relaxing activities with the more strenuous ones.¹

¹ Analyze the role of the workers with the Fun Club (Chapter 11) and the Can Do Club (Chapter 12) in respect to adaptation and sequence of activities.

With members of limited mental ability, it is difficult for the worker to know just how limited they are and from what kind of experiences they should be protected. In one such group, composed of older adolescent girls, the worker had avoided using any guessing or memory games. One day a member suggested that they play "My Grandmother's Trunk," a game which involves remembering an accumulative list of articles. The worker was about to suggest an alternative, but on second thought remained silent and the game began. One girl with an intelligence quotient below sixty was able to remember a list of thirty-five articles in perfect order; another with an intelligence quotient of ninety was unable to participate in the game beyond the second round. This example illustrates the fact that the worker serving members with limited intellectual ability must know more about such members than their ratio of intelligence. He must learn to know individual capacities as well as limitations in order to help the members plan programs in which they will have opportunities to succeed.

HOW THE WORKER HELPS THE MEMBERS TO PLAN PROGRAM

We have discussed some of the social forces which determine the program content of organized groups and have indicated that the content is chosen by the members from their expressed interests, from material suggested by the worker, and from the possibilities afforded by the environment. We have pointed out that the suggestions made by the worker are derived from his knowledge of interests which the members might be assumed to have, from his conclusions as to the members' words and reactions, and from his knowledge of the resources available in the agency and the community. We have indicated that limitations inherent in program activities and in the social situation, if they are understood and properly tested, provide valuable aids to the development of individuals and groups. We have also mentioned certain limitations inherent in some individuals which must be given due consideration in the achievement of group purposes. We shall now examine in further detail just what the social group worker does to enable the members to engage constructively in the program planning process.

Observing, Listening, and Acting

Repeated reference has been made to the fact that the actions and words of the members, as they make use of program media, reveal their needs and interests. In interpreting what the members say, the worker must be sensitively attuned not only to the actual words but to the way in which they are spoken. Inflections of the voice can change completely the meaning behind the formal word. The worker has to keep abreast of the latest slang and know what is implied by the double talk that goes on in groups; otherwise he

completely misses the implications of the conversation. A great deal of this kind of talk is purely local and differs not only from city to city, but from one part of the city to another. Local pronunciations and colloquialisms bewilder the new worker. He listens, not only to hear what is said and catch the nuances, but to become accustomed to words and phrases, to absorb their connotations.

The information the worker seeks is related to the needs of the members in the areas of having fun, releasing feelings, trying new activities, acquiring skill, developing friendships, securing status, improving physical or emotional health, providing limitations, discussing feelings in regard to home, school, occupations, and friends. He also strives to learn the degree to which the members are capable of planning program and carrying responsibility. Much of this information he discovers through careful observing and sensitive listening during the time he spends in club meetings, committee meetings, and conferences with officers and members. He makes opportunities to have informal conversations and discussions with individuals and small groups. With members who are the first to arrive or the last to leave he has a particularly good opportunity to enter into conversations that are often very fruitful, since such members are frequently those with the least acceptance in the group, those whose suggestions are either unvoiced or unheeded in the group meetings. He observes and listens in the lobby and halls where the members congregate while waiting for club meetings, classes, and special events; in the game rooms and play rooms where members play alone or with others; on the street corners and vacant lots where they engage in "bull sessions"; in the corner drugstore or ice cream bar where they listen to their favorite juke box records; at special parties and events in their homes, schools, or community; on their front steps where they sit in the early evening; in community committees where the adults discuss problems common to all. New light is thrown on interests, special skills, friendship groupings, and influences in the community, and many bits of information about current happenings are gleaned in such settings.

The worker picks up conversations in the midst of activities and helps the members to verbalize their troubled thoughts. One group of shy adolescents was so freed by finger painting that the members talked with the worker of their differences with their parents and their difficulties in getting "boy friends." At another time, a member slammed his clay viciously on the wedging board, exclaiming as he did so, "That mean ole teacher! I hate her!" The worker asked him what the trouble was, and after some conversation the boy was able to say that he guessed he had deserved being kept in after school. The women in an adult club always spoke of their high-school-aged children as "good." But one evening when they were sewing,

Mrs. Delmonico said, "I don't know what to do with my Alice. She's a good girl but she just won't come home early from parties. She says none of the other girls do." The worker said that most parents found late hours a problem and she wondered about the experience of others. Sewing was forgotten as the mothers talked of their problems and the worker helped them to understand the dependence-independence feelings of their children.

Conversations about current movies provide many leads for discussion — especially when the movie presents some aspect of family relationships. Situations are necessarily highly dramatic and often present a limited conception of the characters' motivations. Inevitably, some members get distorted ideas; others see parallels between the situation in the movie and their own lives; in either case, the sensitive worker will hear undercurrents of anxiety with which the members need help.

The T. V. Club, composed of girls from fifteen to seventeen, went with their worker to see the movie "Mildred Pierce." Following the movie they stopped at "Pete's" for cokes. They talked enthusiastically about the movie, and the worker asked Sally if she felt that many teen-age girls had similar feelings about their homes. Sally indignantly replied, "There are loads of them, and when I saw what that girl did to her mother I wanted to beat her!" Because she knew about Sally's home situation, this self-righteous remark held for the worker a world of meaning. Sally did not dare agree with the girl in the movie, for she herself felt ungrateful about her mother's sacrifices. The worker therefore said, "It is natural for girls to be angry with their mothers at times. All of us have feelings of liking and disliking even those we love most." This remark seemed to release the inhibitions of all of the girls, and they discussed their feelings freely. Sally finally said, "I like my mother, but there are lots of things I can't tell her."

It is evident that the worker does more than observe and listen. He *acts* upon the information; he enables the members to meet their needs through the process of planning their program. Often merely providing at the moment the activity that will release feelings or give relaxation is all that is needed. At other times, thoughtful analysis and long-range program planning are needed.

Examples of Observing, Listening, and Acting

The subject of health is one in which members show little interest, and yet there are many health factors which prevent individuals from securing from group experiences the satisfactions of their various needs.¹ Action on the basis of observation and listening is particularly important in work with

¹ Note the worker's awareness of the influence of the health factor and his activity in this regard in Pyke's Pack (Chapter 12).

adolescents who are little concerned with health problems. While the worker may be very conscious of their need to observe health precautions, he is aware that they will not accept being told by an adult what they should do. Girls may be reached through interest in personal appearance; boys, through their desire to excel at sports or their growing interest in their appearance as they become attracted to the girls. It frequently happens that one or two persons in the group need to be helped more than do the other members. In order to avoid singling them out, the worker seeks means of developing a program that benefits the entire group and thus gives help to the few who particularly need it through the medium of a total group program. This is illustrated in the following summary:

In a club of girls, Betty, the youngest member, aged fourteen, came to meetings in a soiled dress, her ears and neck dirty, her hair a mass of tangles. The worker knew that Betty had been keeping house for her father and younger brothers since the death of her mother several years before and that she had not had the advantage of any consistent help from an older woman. She knew, too, that Betty was very proud of the way she had been able to carry on and keep the family together. The worker therefore watched for an opportunity to help her. One day she discovered one of the more sophisticated members fixing Betty's hair. At this point, the worker asked the girls if they would be interested in having a session on beauty, including hair styling and make-up. The whole group was enthusiastic. The next week Betty was chosen as the first model, and when her nondescript hair emerged from the shampoo with golden lights in it the whole group complimented her. They also discovered that she had a delicate, lovely skin which had been obscured by the lack of cleansing. Here the worker, following the lead given by the other members, helped them develop a project of benefit for the whole group.

There was something else here that concerned the worker. Should a fourteen-year-old have the entire responsibility of homemaking for the family? The father's income was small, and both his pride and that of Betty motivated them "to get along without any outside interference." The worker's concern for the future of Betty and the other children in the family led her to explore the best methods of helping the father and Betty. One day, when Betty's posture and general attitude showed dejection, the worker expressed her concern to Betty, who told of her anxiety about her progress in school. The worker told Betty about the housekeeping services available through the Family Association. Betty accepted the idea of help and she presented the idea to her father; then she asked the worker to talk with him. In the interview with the father, the worker discovered that the father's concern for his children was greater than his pride in his ability to manage alone, and she helped him to seek the service of the agency which could help him with his problems.

With older group members, expressed and implied needs in the area of health may lead to a more complex program for their satisfaction. The records of a worker serving a young adult group include the following observations made over a five-month period.

Shirley was very tired tonight and commented that she had had a very hard day at work.... Clara, usually quite vivacious, had no pep at all tonight. When I asked her if she wasn't losing weight, she admitted that she was a lot thinner since she had been transferred to another part of the factory.... Play rehearsal went poorly tonight. Joe and Rose forgot their lines constantly; Ruth and Catherine snapped at each other; Bill and Jerry practically had a fight. I know this is because they are all tired after the day's work and this was an extra meeting.... The night of our production! Ruth sent word by Rose that she could not come as she is home in bed with a very bad cold and a high fever.... Our party plans almost went overboard tonight. Joe, the chairman of the program committee, had to work overtime and arrived breathless at the last minute. He did not do as good a job as we had expected of him.... We spent part of the time in social dancing and rather active games. At the end of the evening some of the members, notably Sally, presented the hysterical gayness that characterizes some forms of physical exhaustion.... Betty had rings under her eyes this evening. When I casually asked if she had been out late the night before, she burst into a tirade about the cramped living conditions in her home. "Who could get any decent sleep with two giggling high school sisters in the same room," she said. I asked her if the family had considered applying for an apartment at the new Housing Project and she exclaimed in horror, "Oh, no, we would never live next door to Negroes or even in the same block with them."

But this worker did more than observe the physical manifestations of fatigue and ill health, listen to conversations which brought out the many factors preventing positive health, and record this material. She soon came to the conclusion that the members needed help in two areas if they were to realize their capacities to function in the club as members and in the community as citizens. One area was that of maintaining personal health in the face of obstacles over which they had little control. The second was that of developing consciousness of the possibility of changing some of the conditions which frustrated them. Instead of giving specific details of this club's program, we should like to point out general methods of arousing interest in personal health problems and some of the areas to be considered in any form of social action.

The first step in helping members to develop program content in the area of personal health should be directed toward sensitizing them to their own health needs. The members often provide leads when they indicate aware-

ness of their inability to participate in physically strenuous activities, and themselves set limits. The worker can increase their knowledge by posting eye-catching materials on the bulletin board; making available free literature from firms and organizations interested in positive health programs; arranging exhibits in the agency building, or encouraging the members to visit exhibits held elsewhere in the community in connection with health campaigns. Through his knowledge of such campaigns, as well as of the regular services of the public schools and other agencies, he can help the members to take advantage of the free or nominal cost services which are frequently unused because of fears and misunderstandings. He encourages the members to include projects of health interests in the program and helps them arrange for specialists to lead discussions, show movies, or give talks. If the agency requires a health examination for participation in some activities, this brings up discussion of its values. While the generalized discussions help the members to discover that there may be reasons back of their fatigue and aches and pains, many will not be able to seek medical attention for themselves and will need individualized help from the worker before they can take this step.

Through analysis of her own recording, the worker quoted above was aware of the need for these young people not only to understand more clearly their own health requirements but also to see the social significance of some of the causative factors of poor health. They complain about long hours, overtime, and poor housing, but they are expressing their needs in terms of *personal discomfort*. The members are frustrated by conditions and will continue to be frustrated unless helped to do something about them. There is little they can do as *individuals*, however. The members' attitude toward their problems thus has to be socialized; they must be helped to realize that many other people have similar problems and that the situations out of which they grow can be changed through the co-operative work of people with like interests and needs.

But the worker must realize that the individual who is absorbed in personal problems cannot move in the direction of social concern until he has help with the problems which block his learning. In many cases the two processes go hand in hand, and the individual can work on his personal problem with more hope if he is also involved in a program of social action related to some of the causes of his problems. But the latter does not take the place of the former, nor can personal help alone aid the individual with problems which demand solution through social action. The worker must also realize that some individuals will respond to programs of social action with great enthusiasm because their social adjustment is immature and they need "enemies" to fight. People who have not resolved their feelings about authority find in

social causes opportunities to express their anger, resentment, and hostility against authority, but they will have less concern about the constructive results of their expression than in the satisfaction which they get from that expression. Thus the needed social change will have provided a catharsis for the individual, but he may have done the "cause" infinite harm. Most members, however, in a so-called average group, are merely unconcerned about the social issues of the day and see little connection between these and their own problems.

In making individualized help available, where necessary, both to those who are overwhelmed with their own problems and those whose emotional adjustment is such that they would use the program to meet their neurotic needs, and in stimulating and developing a program of social action in relation to the needs of the group, the social group worker uses exactly the same methods as in planning and developing any other form of program. The resolution of personal problems through social action is, however, perhaps the most difficult area of work with groups and requires a great deal of knowledge and skill on the part of the worker.¹

The examples given thus far to illustrate the role of the worker in this area of observing, listening, and acting are with groups of not more than twenty members. Some workers claim that little individualization can be done with large groups. As evidence that this is possible, we present an excerpt from the record of a large canteen group, where the worker used observation and listening to understand some of the reasons for the behavior of two sub-groups and help them become accepted by the total group.

One was a group of boys; the other, a group of girls. Both groups came regularly, but seldom danced. The first group was easy to recognize, for the boys stuck together and jeered at the dancers. They scrupulously paid their dues on time and kept within the letter of the laws of the Canteen. The girls were not really a group, but came to the attention of the worker because they were isolates or pairs who spent most of their time in the lobby or the dressing room instead of on the dance floor or with the other boys and girls. The worker was becoming acquainted with the girls, but the boys had so far resisted her attempts to get to know them.

At the next meeting of the Canteen Steering Committee, one member said that he wanted to bring up for discussion "that awful gang of boys." The others agreed that the boys were no asset to the Canteen and that the only solution was to throw them out. The worker asked for the floor, and said that she too had noticed the boys and wondered why they continued to come. She then asked the members why they themselves came and got such answers as: "to meet the gang," "to have good times," and "because it's our hangout." Then one boy said, "This is a place to dance, why

¹ Analyze the role of the worker with the NAACP Group (Chapter 13) in this regard.

don't they dance?" At that, a girl spoke up, "I know why: because they're terrible dancers. None of the girls will dance with them." Another girl said, "I got stuck with Joe, the tall one, once. I thought that dance would never end!" The worker asked if all the other canteen members were good dancers, and the chairman said, "No, I guess not, but we know them." After further discussion, one member had an idea, "Say, maybe they need some one to teach them how to dance!" Another said, "I could use some help myself with that latest jitterbug turn." One of the girls asked the worker, "How about getting someone to teach us — we could have part of the time for beginners and part for advanced."

The class was initiated, with a man as instructor; the subgroup acted silly and ill at ease, but they learned to dance and their behavior changed to some extent. Gradually they became accepted members of the group, and later in the year one of them was elected to fill a vacancy on the Steering Committee. The worker had not mentioned the girls about whom she was concerned, but she helped them to come to the class and asked the instructor to initiate some "mixers" which drew them into the group and incidentally helped all the members to become better acquainted.

Countless other examples might be cited to show how, by using the information he has secured through his sensitive observing and listening, the social group worker helps the group members plan programs that will satisfy their needs in terms of their interests. It is clear that he must be first of all aware of the potentialities for meeting needs that may be indicated in every action, every comment, every situation; and he chooses those which have the most meaning for the particular group. In the second place, he himself must act in such a way that the members are able to realize some of these potentialities through their own choice and planning. In the third place, he must not hesitate to make suggestions or to use various methods of arousing interest in content that he feels will meet their needs.¹

Analyzing and Recording

The worker makes "on the spot" analyses which immediately change his procedure with the group. He makes "hindsight" analyses as he writes his records and thinks through the last session. He remembers and sees the events of the meeting and the members' reactions in a little different light and finds new leads for program related to the needs of the members and the group-as-a-whole. For example, as he thinks through the comments of the members on a suggestion that they have a cook-out in the park, he suddenly remembers that Johnny said nothing. He wonders about this and remembers that Johnny once said that he always had to be home by five o'clock so

¹ Point out some of the ways in which the sensitive listening and observing of the workers in the records in Chapters 11-14 influenced their actions.

that his mother could go to work downtown. At the next meeting, the worker makes a point of discovering if all the members are free to go on a supper cook-out or whether a Saturday lunch would not be better. Or, as he writes his record, he comments on the *esprit de corps* and unusual degree of co-operation. Looking at the names of the members he has listed as present, he discovers that Bill's name is missing. This makes him wonder if Bill has in the past quietly yet effectively blocked the program plans of the group. Or the exact opposite may be true: the group was restless and discouraged; perhaps Bill is the person who holds it together. Points like these are often not noticed until the worker thinks through what he will put in the record.¹

In general, the worker should be able to find, in his record, material which throws light on the following questions in relation to program:

Is the group interested in program planning? Do the members feel that they are the ones who determine what they are going to do? Or is their interest only in the rough-and-tumble play of the moment with acceptance of whatever the worker or any member proposes? How was the program planned? By the worker, one individual member, a small group, a committee, the total group? Is the planning done through informal conversation, discussion, reports of committees, parliamentary procedure? Is the method of program planning in keeping with what may be expected from the age and social development of the members? Who suggests what? Who approves or rejects the idea? Is there any relation between the status of the member who makes the suggestion and the acceptance or rejection of the idea by the others? Is there an alignment of subgroups in this process?

What is the reaction of individual members as they participate in the activities? How are they fitting the activities to their needs? When teams are chosen, who are the captains? Who is chosen on what team? Who is chosen first? Last? Do some members have status while engaging in some activities and little if any when other program content is uppermost? Do subgroups stand out in team play? Is winning important to some and not to others? To what extent is the morale of the group related to the particular form of program? Is there real interest in the activity?

How does a certain idea, later developed by the whole group, originate? What are the "germs" of ideas for possible future program? These last two questions are quite important, for valuable projects often develop out of group programs. But often the significant steps in the process of development cannot be seen in the record. It is important to record the process so that the means by which the project was developed may be evaluated, for the means is usually more important than the end.

Re-reading his records after a period of time helps the worker to find leads

¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 76-80, for detailed discussion of how to write a record.

which he has previously missed. Perhaps he is pleased with the program he has helped a group of adults to develop; lectures on nutrition and "understanding our children," trips to health centers — in short, an educational program of the type considered suitable for an adult group. However, attendance is sporadic and gradually decreasing. As he reads back over the records of the group, his attention is drawn to the description of the party given at the time the group was recruited. He notices that the following comments were recorded: "I haven't had so much fun in years," "I feel like new after this good time," "Can't we have lots of parties?" "How about planning one and inviting our husbands?" The worker begins to wonder if he has not been wrong in assuming that these members are ready for and interested in the program which, he now realizes, he had a large part in suggesting. Immediately, he evolves a new plan of action.¹

Before meeting a group new to him, the worker carefully reads the records of previous years. This exercise gives leads for assumption of interests and skills and reveals individual needs even if the members have moved into another developmental period. If records are not available, the worker has a responsibility to discover pertinent data from other sources.

Visiting and Consulting

Another way the worker discovers needs and interests is through his contacts with the family, the school, and other community sources. Home visits give him insight into each member's family relationship and indigenous interests, values, and norms.² Visits to the school provide similar insight into the member's school environment. Often the worker is invited to special events and parties at the school. One worker, herself a Protestant, whose club members all attended the Catholic school in the neighborhood, was invited to chaperone one of the school dances and thus had a chance to meet the Sisters at the school and to interpret the work of the community agency.

Through clearance with the Social Service Exchange the worker obtains information from other agencies about the health, economic, intellectual, or emotional problems with which some of the members and their families are confronted. This information provides useful leads for program and gives the worker a better understanding of the members. Awareness of the other agencies which are in contact with the family often leads to interagency conferences. Such conferences are common events when all agencies are concerned about giving the best possible service to the community; they may

¹ From your analysis of the records in Chapters 11-14, what values would you say accrued to the workers from the consistent re-reading of records as part of the preparation for the next club meeting?

² See Chuck's Boys (Chapter 11); Elite Women's Club (Chapter 14).

include workers from agencies giving regular or specialized social group work service, social case work service, vocational guidance or other specialized service, and teachers from the schools of the community.¹ Frequently the workers represent their agencies on community committees that are concerned with community welfare; these are valuable sources of information about general interests and needs, particularly since adult members of the agency or parents of the children served are often also on such committees.

The following record shows how one social group worker made use of some of these community services in order to help a member in his use of the group situation.

Jack, aged twelve, held a position of leadership in his club and entered eagerly into activities for the first month. Then a change took place and the worker became concerned about his moodiness and withdrawal from group activities to solitary pursuits, his unwillingness to co-operate with others in the use of tools and materials, his dependence upon her, his use of deep, dark colors in his art work. The worker wondered if there were something in the home situation which was causing his change in mood. Jack had skill in arts and crafts and one day the worker sought him out to compliment him on his work. Jack said it didn't amount to much — nothing did. The worker commented that he seemed to be unhappy about something. Jack nodded and said that his mother was not at home — she was in the hospital. The worker expressed sympathy and asked if she could visit him and his father in his home. Jack asked her to come.

The worker cleared the family through the Social Service Exchange. She learned that Hillside Hospital (a mental hospital) had been registered in the last few weeks, Children's Hospital about a year ago, and the Juvenile Court six years before. She then contacted the workers at Juvenile Court and Hillside Hospital. From the Court worker she learned that Jack and his older sister, now fifteen, had been adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Jones six years ago at the death of their mother. Mrs. Jones is the stepsister of the two children. The social group worker discovered in her conference with the psychiatric social worker that Mrs. Jones had been admitted to the hospital several weeks before. Her condition was described as fair and the prognosis as fair. The treatment prescribed would last about six months, and then, if there were sufficient improvement, she would return home. The psychiatric social worker had talked with Mr. Jones and thought that he had a good understanding of his wife's illness. She did not plan to see him again unless he requested an interview.

When the social group worker called at the home, Mr. Jones was finishing his supper and the worker spent some time with Jack looking over the pictures he had drawn. She began her conversation with Mr. Jones by speaking of Jack's ability in art. Mr. Jones brightened. He spoke of the children

¹ See Chuck's Boys (Chapter 11) and Pyke's Pack (Chapter 12).

affectionately and said that he and his wife loved them as though they were their own, as they had been unable to have children. He told of the difficult time he was having and how puzzled he was about his wife's illness. He felt that he was to blame, as her responsibilities had been very heavy while he was away in the Navy. As she talked with him, the worker became aware that Mr. Jones had made a plan whereby with the help of the daughter and special arrangements with his employer he could keep things running in the home. On the other hand, she discovered that he was confused about his wife's illness and that he had been so upset while talking with the worker at the hospital that he could not remember anything she had said. The social group worker encouraged him to ask for a conference with the case worker when he made his next visit to see his wife.

From this visit it was clear to the worker that Mr. Jones, with his own concerns, could not meet all of Jack's needs, and she realized that Jack needed someone to fill the mother-role temporarily. Jack had given definite evidence of this in the group and during her visit to the home. At the very next club meeting, Jack was full of the ideas they had discussed for program during the worker's visit and he participated in the group activities and discussions. In the meantime, the worker contacted the psychiatric social worker at the hospital and explained Mr. Jones's confusion. The hospital worker said she would make a point of seeing him again and would also arrange for him to talk with one of the doctors in charge of his wife's case.

As the boys talked about school in the club meetings, the social group worker learned that Jack was two years behind the other boys. She knew from her conference with the court worker that Jack had missed a lot of school during the first and second grades because of constant colds and minor illnesses and that he had been treated for bad teeth and tonsils. The worker, therefore, made an appointment with Jack's teacher. She learned that Jack was usually happy and got along well with the other pupils and was creative with his hands. But recently he had become moody and irritable. He was constantly late, and when the teacher scolded him, he became very angry with her. She was at a loss to understand the change in his behavior and was very glad to have the worker's explanation of the home situation. She thought that she could now be more helpful to Jack in school.

As the year went on, Jack again became happy and active and able to share with the other boys. While the worker gave him additional help and attention and allowed him to lean on her, she was careful not to injure his status with the rest by giving him overattention within the group setting. Her knowledge of his former physical condition made her concerned when he found it difficult to keep up with the others in strenuous games, and she suggested a program where more than one form of activity could go on at once and games where there were both active and passive roles. She helped Jack to choose the less strenuous activities and roles. Another visit to the home in relation to his health and the possibility of a trip to camp brought

out the information that Jack had had pneumonia twice and now has some bronchial trouble. Mr. Jones said that he knew the Children's Hospital and would take Jack there for an examination.

Early in the spring the mother returned to the home and Jack was completely himself again. As a crowning achievement of the year in school, he told the worker that his teacher had referred his name to the special art classes held on Saturday mornings for talented children.

Here the social group worker performed an enabling function because of her sensitive observations of the change in behavior of a club member in response to activities, supplemented by the information she secured through her visits to the home and school and her conferences with the workers from other community services. She made it possible for the father to have his anxiety relieved so that he could devote more of his attention to the children; at the same time she recognized his strengths and did not herself usurp his functions or urge him to let others carry things which he himself was capable of doing; she helped the teacher to understand the member's behavior in the school setting; she helped the group to adjust its program so that the member could continue his participation in a group whose support he needed; she gave Jack a feeling of being mothered within the group setting, a feeling which it was very important for him to have during his mother's absence from home.

Teaching and Leading

The worker is not only familiar with the potentialities inherent in program media but is able also to lead the activities in such a way that the members enjoy participating in them and gain from the experience. This last is very important. Many young adults¹ associate their dislike of an activity with an earlier unpleasant experience with it and indicate that the leader of the activity was the real source of the initial unpleasant experience: the members had been placed in an embarrassing position because of lack of skill; the activity had put them in the limelight and they became confused and upset and unable to function; the leader had forced them to participate in the activity against their wills; the leader had an artificial enthusiasm that turned them against the activity; the leader had mannerisms and characteristics which they disliked, and they transferred this dislike to the activity. These reasons underlying dislike of certain activities indicate that the worker must have an ability to teach an activity in such a way that all can understand and learn it with enjoyment; that he must have a real interest in the people participating; that he should choose activities and methods of presentation that are meaningful to the members; that he must be sensitive to the need for

¹ See Chapter 6, pp. 212-215.

"on the spot" changes and adaptations; in other words, he must understand the learning process and how to use it.

The social group worker is familiar with the laws of learning.¹ He knows that people learn best by starting with familiar activities and proceeding gradually to new ones; from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex. He knows that people learn more readily if there is readiness for the activity; that the effect is strengthened or weakened according to whether the experience is pleasurable or unpleasurable; that exercise or repetition is needed in order to learn; and that the set or attitude toward an activity influences the rate of learning. He knows also that people learn best through "doing" and especially through self-initiated activity. He is very conscious of the by-products (the "associate" and "concomitant" learnings) that accompany the primary learning and are often more important to the development of the individual.

The worker finds project or workshop methods¹ valuable ways of developing long-range program. When a "purposeful activity," a "dominating purpose," a "unifying idea," is the core of the program, each member engages himself in it and gains in proportion as he does so. The dominating purpose challenges, fixes the aim, guides the process, furnishes the drive. If there is confusion, it is due to aimlessness; project and workshop methods are successful only when the worker and the members are clear about the objective and unified in purpose.

Any project, whether large or small, makes use of purposing, planning, executing, and evaluating. Criteria for selecting a project include the following factors: the activity must be capable of engaging the interest and enlarging the present outlook; varied enough so that everyone can be included; and must hold the possibility of successful accomplishment. The project must therefore be suited both to the members' particular capacities and to the amount of time available. There will be many occasions when the worker will have to limit or stimulate the group, as the members' imaginations and desires may go far beyond or be inadequate to the possibilities of accomplishment.²

A few general principles of leading activities should also be mentioned. The worker must be able to analyze activities. He knows that some people learn best through coming gradually at the whole by easy steps; that others must see the whole first. He therefore first explains the whole and then breaks it up into parts. He is able to explain simply and clearly so that the

¹ William H. Kilpatrick, *The Project Method* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929), pp. 7-18; and *Group Education for a Democracy* (New York: Association Press, 1940), Chapter 9.

² Using the criteria suggested, analyze the following projects in the records: the Spook Room (Chuck's Boys), Party (Glamour Girls), Educational Opportunities for Negro Children (NAACP Group).

group is in no doubt as to how to proceed. He gets the group into action as soon as possible, knowing that while demonstrations and explanations are helpful, people learn best through doing. He is observant of the progress of the members and recognizes when a change of activity is needed to prevent physical, mental, or emotional fatigue or boredom. He is aware that activities which "put people on the spot" or eliminate the less skilled are not ordinarily the best activities to use. Most of all, he does not become so absorbed in the activity for his own pleasure that he becomes unconscious of the reactions of the members. His focus is on them, on their enjoyment rather than his own. Often the question is raised as to whether the worker should participate in the activity. No set rule can be established. It may or may not be a good procedure. At times, the worker's participation may enhance the prestige of an activity and hence make the members feel more free to participate. At other times, and particularly when team games are in progress, it may be difficult for the worker to participate without giving the members the feeling that he is aligning himself with a certain individual, subgroup, or team. Here again, however, his participation may give the needed support and prestige to a subgroup or team.

The program content may be vital and significant, but unless the members are able to accomplish it and enjoy it, it will have little effect upon their growth and development. The worker keeps his focus both on the content of the group experience and on the members. If his full attention is fixed upon the content, the individual is lost; yet if he focuses upon one or two members, the value of the content for the total group deteriorates. He must preserve a balance between them. He is the catalytic agent between people, program, ideas, materials, and facilities, and to fulfill this function he must make use of all his knowledge.

Helping Individuals to Gain Skills

Many members feel left out of the activities because they are less skilled than the others. In clubs in which baseball is a favorite activity, the member who always muffs the ball is the least apt to be chosen to play on a team. In fact, members who lack skill in any activity have low status with their group, unless they have prestige for other reasons; and conversely, skilled members may have status because of their ability. The worker gives special help, either in the group setting or at another time, to the members who lack skill. He may introduce a plan of practice periods for everyone in order to improve the performance of all, and thus help the less skilled members without making them special cases. Particularly in helping the members to develop skill in social dancing, it is better to evolve some form of group instruction than to single out certain individuals. Members lacking this skill are usually adoles-

cents, with all the erratic co-ordinations and emotional reactions common to their age-group; and because social dancing has many emotional components, individuals feel their lack of skill more keenly in this than in most other areas, and hence are apt to be especially clumsy and awkward if the worker dances with them alone. When a group is particularly interested in developing skill in some area, it is often helpful to introduce a specialist for a period of concentrated teaching.¹

Helping the Members to Lead

Perhaps the most obvious role of the worker, in helping members to lead, is found in his work with the officers. Even though an election may be preceded by a discussion of each office and the abilities needed to perform its functions, the officers are frequently chosen because of their status with the other members rather than their experience or qualities of leadership. The officers may be utterly unprepared for their duties, or they may be exceptionally well qualified. In either case, the worker helps them to perform their functions, teaching and supplementing where necessary.

In working with the president, the worker first clarifies the distinction between their roles: the president is the executive officer, the worker is the helper and adviser. The worker helps the president understand that he has a responsibility to the whole group, that it is his function to see that each member has an opportunity to make suggestions and express ideas and opinions. The worker helps the president to function within a democratic framework, to understand and use those methods of procedure, appropriate to the age-range, capacities, and experiences, and structure of the group, which will give each member a chance to be heard. As most groups function through simple parliamentary procedure and group discussion, the worker teaches the president how to use these methods. If the group has a constitution, certain methods of procedure may be indicated therein, and the president should keep these in mind.

The worker helps the president through separate sessions outside the regular group meeting. A definite time should be set aside for these conferences, so that worker and president can together discuss the agenda (if there is need of one) or plans for the next meeting, and evaluate the happenings of the last meeting. During the group meeting the worker is on hand to lend support and help when needed. He may take over a certain part of the discussion if asked by the president. He may find it necessary to clarify issues through participating in the discussion.

¹ How did the worker help the following to gain skill: Donald (Chuck's Boys); Suzanne (Fun Club); Harrigan (Social Dancing Class); and Mrs. Henderson (Elite Women's Club)?

In the following example, the worker discovered that she was failing to fulfill her responsibility to help the president.

Flash was elected to the presidency of the Canteen Committee on the basis of his popularity as a boxer, his long-time membership in the agency, and his lack of hesitancy in expressing his feelings, especially to adults. Flash was abashed yet pleased at his election. It was the first time he had been in a position of prestige. The past president, who had real feeling about not being re-elected, kept reminding Flash of proper parliamentary procedure. Flash was not at ease in presiding at the meetings, yet he still had the respect of the committee. However, his feelings of inadequacy and insecurity prompted him to resign. The members refused to accept his resignation and were quite complimentary, giving him full assurance of their support. Flash was very much embarrassed but led the attention of the committee back to discussion of the Canteen party and for the rest of the evening was a very adequate president.

At this point the worker became more aware of the part she could play in helping Flash to meet the demands of his office. Immediately after the meeting she made arrangements to have regular sessions with him to go over the affairs of the Canteen and plan for the next meeting of the committee. In these conferences she encouraged him to be himself and not to attempt to imitate the past president. She gave him definite help on methods of procedure. Whenever she could, she complimented him on his handling of the group, and she supported his suggestions. Flash became more secure in taking charge of the committee meetings and more relaxed during discussions of the whole Canteen group.

The vice-president should receive the same kind of help and some opportunities to develop skill in leadership, although he may seldom be called upon to preside. In some groups, the vice-president is also chairman of a standing committee and needs to be helped in that capacity. If he has no specific duties, the worker may need to help him feel useful through special assignments that devolve on him as "vice-president."

The secretary may need help in learning how to write minutes, keep records, and carry out the other clerical duties of his office. He may also need to be reminded to notify the members of meetings and special events. A letter of appreciation for a service or courtesy to the group may prove difficult for the secretary and he may ask the worker to undertake the task, but the secretary should be helped to write it himself. The treasurer needs help in setting up a simple system of bookkeeping for checking off the payment of dues and recording expenditures. If the agency does not provide a banking system for clubs, the worker can relieve the young or immature member of full responsibility for the funds and accounting by serving as club banker.

Chairmen of special or standing committees need help similar to that given

the president. In addition, the worker can assist them in finding resource materials pertaining to the committees' areas and functions. When a committee is responsible for some special activity, such as a party or dance, the worker helps the chairman to organize plans and foresee the details that must be considered in such an undertaking.

All the officers and many of the other members may need help in making clear and concise reports to the group.

The worker fulfills a teaching role in serving the officers and he also helps them to understand their responsibilities and the accompanying limitations. The members frequently need considerable emotional support in fulfilling the obligations of their offices. Some see an opportunity to dominate; others are harassed by feelings of guilt or self-doubt for being in positions of leadership and need the understanding encouragement of the worker.¹

In many instances, the worker performs a similar helping function in enabling the members to teach or lead activities. When one person or subgroup is put in charge of planning and carrying out the program for regular or special events, the worker helps these members to realize that knowing how to play a game or do a dance is just the first step; that knowing how to teach it is the second step. He must be sensitive to the ability of the members to get up in front of the group and lead activities. Some individuals have the kind of personality pattern which makes it easy for them to do this, but even they often need help in making the activity enjoyable for the others. The member who volunteers to lead may feel, at that moment, capable of doing the job, but when the time arrives he may be overcome with shyness or a feeling of inadequacy.

Lucile, seventeen years old, volunteered to lead games at a party which the girls were giving for their friends. She was one of the outstanding girls in the group, one with an outgoing personality who seemed to be capable of carrying this responsibility. When the night of the party came, however, she was not in evidence. The worker finally discovered her in a corner of one of the rooms, talking quietly with some of the members. When the worker asked Lucile if she wanted to lead the games at that time, she responded, "Oh, there are too many people here. I need to practice some more with just our own group." The large group of people, some of them strange to her, was more than she was prepared to handle.

The worker must be prepared to substitute for a member when he sees that the responsibility is greater than the member is able to undertake at his stage of development. Whenever possible, the worker helps members to become adequate in leading activities before they are put in a position where failure

¹ The national youth agencies have prepared excellent material giving details of the help needed by officers. See bibliography, pp. 628-629.

is possible. Sometimes during the course of a meeting, however, a member may suggest a game, song, or dance which he knows and wants to teach the others. Even if the worker is not familiar with the particular activity, he knows how to ask leading questions and analyze and can thus help the member to lead successfully. Sometimes when the group is very critical of the way in which a member is presenting an activity, the worker can turn the remarks into a general discussion of methods which will be helpful to all the members instead of critical of one.

Practice in leading activities is of great value to members. It helps them to gain in poise when in front of a group, gives them confidence in their abilities, and gives them practice in "thinking on their feet." It adds to their acceptance in the group and prepares them to assume positions of leadership in other groups. They learn how to use words to tell what they mean, how to gain the attention of the group, how to help others to enjoy the activity. To do this they must feel the support of the worker.

Jim, a member of the planning committee of a teen-age Canteen, was assigned the job of making an announcement to the Canteen. He accepted the assignment in the committee meeting, where he was very vocal. When the time came, however, he wanted the worker to make the announcement. She helped him to realize that he had assumed the responsibility and that the announcement would come much better from a member than from her. She gave him some definite suggestions for securing the group's attention and told him that she would be near in case he needed help. Jim's voice could hardly be heard as he made the announcement, but the members obligingly came nearer and asked him to repeat. On the repetition, Jim had already gained confidence and was able to make himself heard and get across the content of his announcement.

Groups for the most part try to help their own members to practice leadership, unless there is competition for leadership within the group. In that case, the worker has the role of helping to make opportunities for the less dominant members. Only as the members have a sense of confidence will they be able to undertake leadership in their group and eventually in their community. Practice in simple beginnings is the only way for members to grow in their ability to assume leadership in groups.¹

Using the Specialist

A specialist is a person who, by virtue of his experiences, skills, and interesting personality, can extend the horizons of the group members. He may

¹ Point out ways in which the workers helped the following members to function as leaders: Nick (Chuck's Boys); Ronald J. (Fun Club); Catherine (Heights Recreation Club); "B" (Constructive Griping); Peter Kodaly (Suhfiw Club); Mrs. Martin (Elite Women's Club); and Mr. Bluestone (Friendship Club).

be an expert with special training in some area. He may be a resident in the community whose hobbies arouse the members' interest or whose experiences enthrall them: the housewife who is noted for her pies and rolls; the woman with a collection of embroideries which she brought from Europe; the retired sea captain whose stories breathe the tang of salt air; the war veteran who tells of his experiences in other countries.

Specialists are used for many different purposes, and the worker must examine his motives in suggesting the use of one. The group may wish to engage in an activity for which the worker lacks skill or knowledge; on the other hand, the worker may be avoiding leadership in an area which he dislikes or fears. Even if the worker does not possess the specialist's skill and background, his relationship with the members may make the experience more meaningful to them than if an outsider were called in. Sometimes when the worker brings a specialist to a group that is reluctant to be served by outsiders, the hostility of the members prevents the special leader from adequately helping the group. Much as the worker is conscious of the needs of the members, he should remember that the members plan the program and that he must work through them. In most situations, however, the use of a specialist arises out of a need felt and expressed by the group. When this is so, the members are more ready to accept outside help. They themselves may know of people who can help them.

Some groups really enjoy having visitors come to their meetings. They like to meet new people and accept them readily. This seems to be especially true of institutional club groups who welcome contacts with the outside world.

Still other groups have one specialist after another. This may be merely because it is an easy way of insuring that the group has a program. In this case, the relationships within the group have often not developed meaning; the members are not having a real group experience — perhaps they are trying to avoid it. Or the group may be striving for "self-improvement," and see in the use of outside leaders a method of reaching this objective. Again, perhaps the group is emulating community clubs and forums which arrange programs by scheduling speakers and other specialists. This type of program may be meeting the needs of the members, but it should be carefully appraised from the point of view of the particular group.

When there is an apparent need or actual request for the help of a specialist, the worker interprets to the group how such a person can help them accomplish their purposes. The members are interested in knowing certain factual data about the specialist; they want to know what makes him an expert in the special area in which they are seeking help. The worker helps them to be specific in their request, and often a series of questions is prepared.

It is often advisable to have the group discuss the reception to be given the guest and the behavior to be expected of every member.

The invitation may be extended by the worker, an individual member, a committee, or the whole group. While the members may have a real desire to ask the specialist themselves, the worker may have to pave the way for them. Even adult members hesitate to approach someone they do not know in order to request a favor for their group. Practical points need to be cleared: date, time, place of meeting and directions for reaching it. If this information is given verbally, it is wise to follow up with a written confirmation. If any financial arrangement is involved, this too should be worked out and clearly stated. In many instances, the group can at least afford to pay the visitor's transportation costs and so make the occasion more truly its own. If the group is to arrange for any special materials, equipment, or additional help such as an accompanist, this should be done in time to avoid last-minute delays or disappointments. The worker on door or desk duty should be told that the specialist is expected, and if possible the worker or some of the members should be at the door to greet him. Many groups plan light refreshments at the close of such a meeting and have the opportunity to play host.

The visitor can be presented by the worker or any one of the members. This decision should be made ahead of time so that the introduction is graciously and effectively made. At the close of the meeting, this same person usually expresses appreciation for the group or leads the members in their expression of thanks.

It is very helpful for the worker to have some contact — however brief — with the specialist beforehand. Specialists from outside the agency need some information and help if the members are to be served effectively. Much will depend upon the particular specialist and his experience in dealing with leisure-time groups. He will need information about the members and their reasons for asking him to come. He may need definite leads for presenting his material to this particular group. While the worker gives the specialist a sense of direction in the matter of content, he does not tell him *what* to say; rather, he uses his skill in the art of human relationships to help the specialist give to the group. If the worker has some knowledge of the activity or area of content, he can of course discuss more intelligently some of the details of the session. Specialists regularly employed by the agency need less orientation, but they need to know something about the *esprit de corps* and the abilities of the members, how the request for their services originated, and exactly what the group desires from them.

The specialist and the social group worker define their specific areas of responsibility. On the whole, the specialist handles the teaching or presenta-

tion while the worker helps the members to secure the help they wish from the specialist. Because of his relationship with the members, the worker handles any problems arising out of the situation; he helps shy members to take part, and he limits the boisterous, aggressive ones. He may himself act as a member of the group and learn the activity along with the others. This in no way lowers his prestige with the group, for the specialist has been called in because the worker's knowledge or skill is inadequate for the purposes of the group. By learning along with the group, the worker can review the material with the members between special sessions. If the specialist leads a discussion on subjects emotionally charged for the members, such as parental attitudes, boy-girl relationships, or controversial social issues, the worker helps the members feel free to ask questions and express their feelings, and he may intervene with questions when members are hesitant.

Various points and issues are cleared up and the program is given further direction if the worker can discuss and evaluate the special session with individual members, small groups, or the group-as-a-whole. Because of his opportunity to observe the members during the session, the worker may seek to have individual conferences with some of them, in order to give additional factual material or help, clear up misconceptions, or explore the meaning of the members' emotional reactions.

The Social Group Worker as Specialist

While the professionally prepared social group worker has sufficient knowledge and skill to serve groups in all areas of program content, he should also qualify as a specialist in at least one area. Although his chief responsibility is enabling members of groups to which he is assigned to plan and carry out their own programs, he may also serve other groups, both within the agency and in the larger community, as a specialist in his own area of competence. When he is fulfilling this role, his first responsibility is to teach or lead the activity. It is important that he differentiate between his function as a specialist and his function as a basic social group worker. Presumably the group which has invited him to serve it as a specialist has a worker of its own, and what it wants from the specialist at this time is his knowledge and skill in a given activity.

The social group worker is frequently called upon to act as a program specialist in interagency programs such as community-wide volunteer training courses and camp counselor training institutes. In many communities, agencies enrich their programs by exchanging the services of specialists. Churches, schools, and civic clubs frequently ask social agencies for speakers, recreational leaders, discussion leaders, and other specialists. Such requests may come directly to the worker, the agency, or in more highly organized

communities they may be channeled through the Community Fund or the Council of Social Agencies. The amount of such service must necessarily be limited, but it is an important part of a social group worker's responsibility. Through these contacts he is often able to interpret the work of his agency and his profession to the wider community. He also gains a perspective of the community as a whole and in this process he becomes more closely identified with it.

Throughout this chapter on program planning and development it has been apparent that (1) any activity whether of small or great social significance should be the expression of genuine interest of the group; (2) the activity should be specific and known to be within the capacity of the group, thus providing an opportunity for immediate satisfaction and evident progress; (3) the activity should be a stimulation for further related activity; and (4) it should help the members to be participating citizens in the world of today and tomorrow.

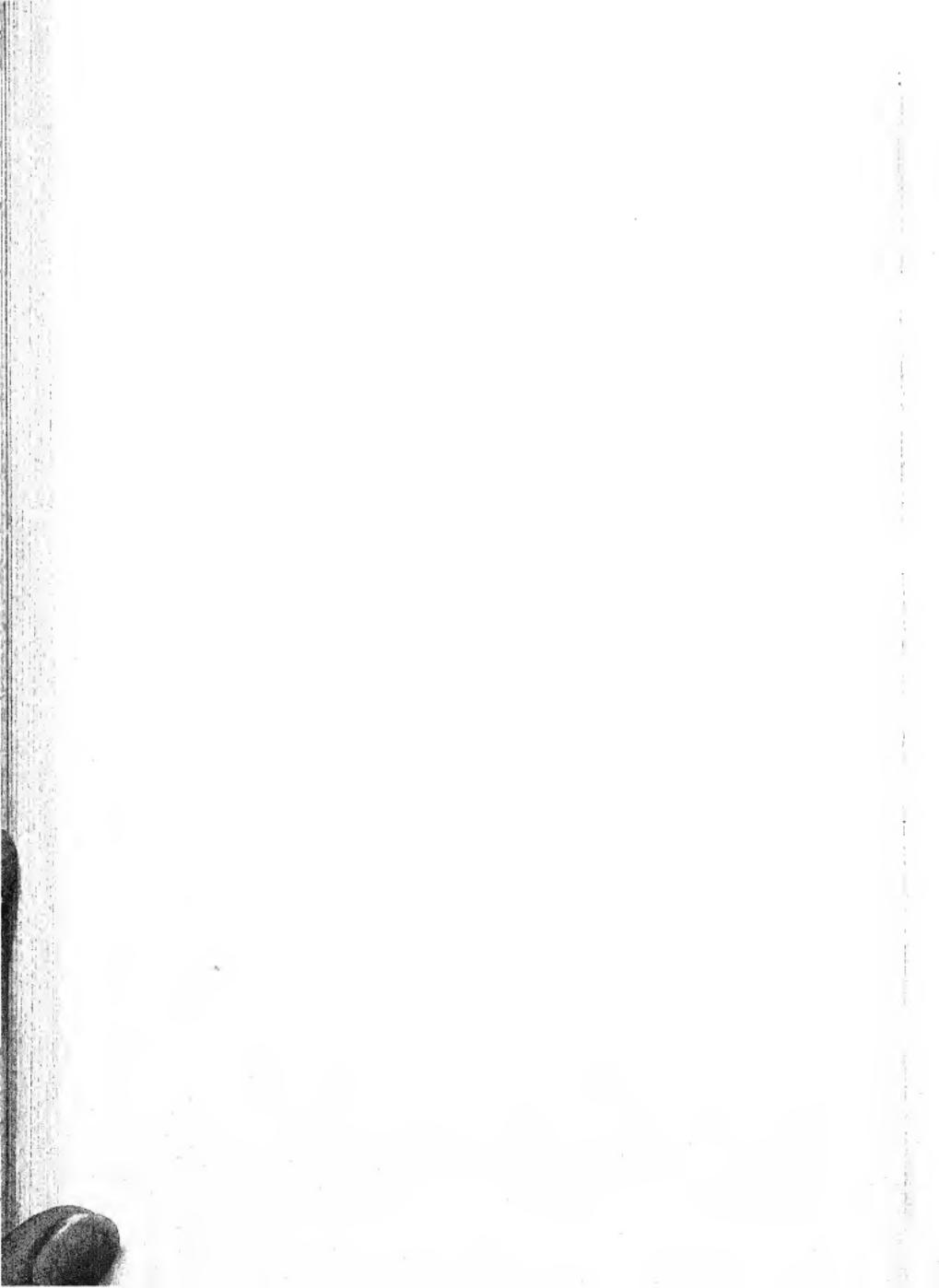
The worker observes and listens and then acts in accordance with his analysis of what he sees and hears. He makes "on the spot" analyses which affect his actions in the meeting. As he records the meeting, he makes "hindsight" analyses which affect his future actions. He visits the homes, the schools, and other agencies in order to increase his knowledge of the members. He makes use of community facilities to meet the needs of individuals and to enrich the program of the group. He teaches and leads activities in order that the members may learn skills and have fun. He helps the members themselves to lead activities in their own group. He makes use of specialists and is at times himself called upon to be a specialist.

All these verbs in the above paragraph indicate that the social group worker is *active* throughout the process of program planning, even though his action consists in apparent inactivity at the proper time. It can be seen that the social group worker adjusts his role to the needs of the individual members and of the group-as-a-whole. He is the helper, the teacher, the leader, the adviser, the enabler, at all times bringing his knowledge, experience, and skill to bear upon the situation. He helps to create an atmosphere — a climate — in which the members can function to capacity in planning the kind of program best suited to their needs — a program that is more significant to the interests and needs of the members than it would be if the social group worker were not present.



P A R T T W O

*Analysis of
Program Media*



6

The Values of Play and Leisure Time Activities

AN INTEGRAL PART of understanding the role of group life in the development of individuals and of the group-as-a-whole is an appreciation of the wide variety of program activities which are part of the substance of the group experience. Many media are used: games and social recreation; dancing of all kinds; many forms of music; story telling and creative dramatics; arts and crafts of an infinite variety; the domestic arts of cooking, sewing, and needle-craft; photography; campcraft and nature study; science; trips to points of interest. Discussions, formal and informal, occupy an important position in the program of most groups; recurring areas of interest include school, jobs, behavior with boy and girl friends, sex information, marriage, prenatal and postnatal care, child and adult psychology, mental health, public affairs, religion, and labor problems. These media and many others are employed in club programs, classes and workshops, forum and discussion groups, board and committee meetings, and in many other kinds of groups.

Program media are tools which are used within the group setting to help individuals and the group-as-a-whole achieve desirable personal and social goals. In analyzing the total meaning of the group experience to the individual and to the group, it is difficult to isolate completely the part played by a given program activity, for the effect of the setting, of the worker, and of the members upon each other cannot be overlooked. Program evolves out of these influences, and the worker's function is to affect the process of interaction so as to help the members have a group experience of personal and social significance. As has been indicated earlier, the social group work method is used both in groups composed of so-called normal persons and in those whose members suffer from illnesses and handicaps. Our study of the use of program media in effecting the content of group experience is based on records and research in both kinds of groups.

Before turning to specific program media, it is important to discuss the values of play and hobbies for achieving maturational norms. There is a tend-

ency to label all the activities of children as *play*, and those of adolescents and adults as *recreation*, *leisure time activities*, or *hobbies*. Fundamentally, however, many of the motivations and values are the same.

THE PLAY OF CHILDREN

Theories of Play

Throughout the centuries play has been universal, even though there have been times when it was frowned upon and prohibited. Philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, biologists, physiologists, educational and recreational leaders have considered play so important that they have advanced numerous theories for the motivation of play. These theories carry such names as "physiological growth," "restoration of energy," "surplus energy," "recapitulation," "instinct or practice," "social needs," "self-expression," "catharsis," "recreation," "imagination," and others.¹ Rainwater, however, summarizes the thinking of many people when he says:

Play . . . is a mode of human behavior, either individual or collective, involving pleasurable activity of any kind not undertaken for the sake of a reward beyond itself and performed during any age period of the individual, the particular action being determined at a given time by the somatic structure and social attitudes of the agent in conjunction with the life of the group or groups of which he is a member.²

It can be seen that play is considered common to all age-groups; that the particular activities chosen by an individual are related both to his needs and to the people with whom he is in contact at a given time; and that the personality and the group relationships of each individual influence the selection of program content.

Psychiatrists and psychoanalysts³ have brought us greater understanding of the emotional forces back of play. They point out that play is an invaluable medium for the development of the emotional life; a way of solving the emotional problems resulting from the experiences which the child is undergoing. The use of play in individual or group therapy, particularly with people who are unable to verbalize their problems, has given new insight into the values of play for emotional development. Often both children and adults express through actions the feelings that they cannot, or perhaps dare not, put into words. The play or hobby activities provide outlets in socially acceptable ways.

¹ See bibliography, pp. 658-660.

² Clarence E. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 8.

³ See bibliography, pp. 658-660.

Observations Substantiate Theories

Observation of children of all ages at play, particularly when they believe themselves unobserved by adults, will substantiate the theories mentioned above. Some play certainly seems to involve the use of surplus energy, but yet it must be more than the release of physical energy that keeps children at their seemingly aimless movements long after they are physically exhausted; hence the theory of the emotional basis of play must be emphasized. Children are also seen carrying out activities which test and develop their physical prowess; engaging in activities or games which can easily be related to the hunting and other occupations of their early ancestors; playing at grown-up activities, as they imitate the adults in the family, school, or community setting. Their imaginations run riot as they express ideas and play out fantasies based on their experiences. Emotions are close to the surface. Sometimes they will constantly quarrel and argue over the choice of activity or the rules of the game; then again, they will be friendly and co-operative in developing a project of their own. Friendliness and hostility come out in their choices of playmates, partners, or team groups for games, and are still more overtly expressed in the taunts and jibes they hurl at each other. The ambivalence of their feelings about each other is shown by the fact that they can play happily one moment and quarrel the next; within the time-scope of a single play period they can call each other names, throw stones and mud, and be "best friends."

In his play the child expresses his understanding and feelings about his entire world; he draws upon his experience, and repeats, on the plane either of reality or of fantasy, those which have made an impression upon him. As he relives these experiences he often expresses anger, love, hate, joy, tenderness, and other emotions which he associates with his particular experiences. Nor does he limit his re-creations to the happy experiences, for he relives also the conflicts and insecurities of his world. It is very important that these unhappy experiences have an outlet. Fortunately, the unpleasing character of the experience does not prevent the child from using it as a game. He may either play his original role or change it to one more acceptable to him. No matter what the content of the child's play, his complete absorption in it gives strong evidence of the vitality of the experience to him.

Certain patterns of play emerge. Children under four play individually and alone, even though there are others in the same area; very meager equipment is sufficient, for their imaginations invest it with the desired properties; they are fascinated by dirt, sand, mud, water, and fire. By the time they are four or five years old, although they may continue to use the same play materials, they are beginning to do more construction with them. Delight in social play appears at about the same age. In some groups there is a wide

range in ages, the younger children being included in the play of the older but usually given the less desirable roles. Certain activities bring out sex differentiation, particularly in the roles played; when children play house, for example, if there is a boy in the group he is usually given the role of the father even though he may be younger than the others. Shortly after they reach school age, there is a division on the basis of sex: the girls group together and engage in slightly different activities; the boys' interest in rough-and-tumble games increases, they term the girls' activities "sissy," and they refuse to let the girls play with them. At about ten or eleven years of age, the girls begin to have a keen interest in watching the boys playing at the other end of the block, while the boys remain indifferent to them until somewhat later. The "play" of pre-adolescents and adolescents is directly related to their growing interest in the opposite sex. Even though boys and girls alike are loud in their protestations of indifference to one another, their actions belie their words. All these play patterns are influenced to a great extent by the mores of the particular neighborhood and the customs of the family of each child.

Alschuler and Heinig¹ point out the growth from purely manipulative play to constructive play, to dramatic play, and to more organized games, in a way that is extremely helpful to the worker who needs to have the specifics of this development. They make two important comments: (1) that the ages at which children may be expected to do certain things must be considered as general rather than exact, since children differ so markedly; and (2) that there is no point at which one interest finishes and another begins.

Children translate their world of today into their own experiences through their games. This is particularly apparent in the play of small children but is also borne out by the activities of older groups. They are very much aware of the happenings of the day, of the headlines in the newspapers. "Cowboys and Indians" and "Cops and Robbers" become "G-Men and Bandits"; "Capture the Flag" becomes "World War II" and no one wants to be the enemy. One group ranging in age from six to nine, composed of both Negro and white children, was observed shortly after a serious race riot in a neighboring city. The children decided to play "Race Riot" instead of their favorite game of "Cowboy and Indians." When they came to separate into sides they discovered that there were not as many Negro members as white ones. Some of the white children accordingly changed sides and the game went on. These children live in an interracial housing project where open expression of the tension between the grown-ups ebbs and flows. They were reflecting the times as they chose this game, and it undoubtedly relieved their feelings to play out the hostility inherent in their everyday living situ-

¹ Rose Alschuler and Christine Heinig, *Play, the Child's Response to Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1936), Chapter VI.

tion. The incident also shows how Negro and white children of certain ages play together with little regard for roles related to their color.¹

Personality patterns are revealed through play. The leaders and the followers emerge, in relation to a particular situation. There are those who will play only on their own terms; they want to be the leaders, to choose the games, to be first. There are those who follow blindly and are content if they are merely included; and there are those who remain on the outskirts, fascinated by the play, yet too timid to enter even if urged by the other children. There are still others who seem unable to reach the stage where they can even observe group play, let alone enter into the necessary give and take. Personality characteristics are well illustrated in the following observation by a social group worker:

A group of boys and girls from five to twelve were playing "Redlight." One older boy counted the numbers, varying his speed. Whenever "Redlight" was called, anyone who was caught off balance had to come back and start over. The younger ones invariably teetered, but galloped back and forth uncomplainingly. One ten-year-old girl cautiously walked one step each time. She was never caught, but never came near winning. Two daring boys about ten or eleven dashed yards each time, and although penalized often, made tremendous progress. Only half-hearted arguments were made about the leader's decisions, and then the whole group settled it. "Oh, go on, you know you almost fell on your face — you know you did," etc. No one was scolded, since his performance affected no one but himself, and everyone laughed at himself as well as at the others.

The cautious little girl always played safe although she never crossed the finish line in time to win; the two little boys, full of energy and vigor, dared to take a chance and were able to make progress. When these same children were observed in other areas of their group life, the same personality patterns emerged.

Observation of play activities on the streets, the vacant lots, the playgrounds, and at the corner drug stores yields an increased understanding of the vital role of play in the growing-up process. Such observation points to the conclusion that no one theory is sufficient to explain the motivations of play for any one child or group of children. There must be a synthesis of all the theories mentioned, a recognition of the truth that play is related to the child's whole life and takes the total experience into account. Nor can any one theory completely explain all the play activities of children: the ways in which they play adult roles and test physical prowess; the ways in which they play out previous experiences, often changing the original role to one

¹ All examples of play used in this chapter were reported by social group workers who observed the informal play-life of children.

more satisfying, and repeating unpleasant experiences over and over again; the ways in which fantasies and daydreams come to life in play. There is no doubt of the emotional force behind the play of children, a force which causes an interweaving of fantasy and reality inexplicable to the average adult observer. There is no questioning the fact that the child takes his play seriously, for interruptions calling him back to the world of meals, hand-washing, and bedtime are vigorously resented.

VALUES OF PLAY

It is vitally important to understand the purposes for which the child uses play. This knowledge gives the social group worker significant criteria for the selection of program content. Play serves the individual as a means of (1) gaining mastery or control, (2) finding opportunities for wish-fulfillment, (3) escaping through fantasy, (4) securing a leave of absence from reality and the superego, (5) finding outlets through fun and humor, and (6) learning to be both a leader and a follower in group life.

These values have much in common, and their outward manifestations often look much alike to the adult observer. Whatever purpose underlies his play, the child may make use of drama, rhythm, music, art, games, and many other activities, even though in their most elemental forms. There is something essentially personal about play — so much of oneself goes into it. For it is the individual's own body that runs, skips, hops, and leaps through space; his own hands that use paper, paint, crayons, and clay to produce concrete evidences of his ideas, feelings, and emotions; his own voice that hums songs, often tuneless, or sounds forth rhythmic chants, sometimes to taunt others. It is the meaning of his own experience which he is repeating in his dramatic play as he uses some blocks, a few boxes, and a chair to create the desired setting; as he moves through space; as he creates a design on paper. The child is not fully conscious of what he is doing, and perhaps it is just as well; some of the values might be lost. The social group worker observes the outer form of play, but it is the other aspect, the inner content of play, which stimulates the action; it is this inner content and its meaning to the individuals which the worker must understand in order to see the real use that the group members are making of the specific activities. A great deal of the program of any group consists of the "play" of the members; and the worker's methods of helping individuals either alone or within the group setting are affected by his understanding of play behavior as an indication of needs.

Mastery or control, as a value of play, has several facets. A very important one is that of gaining control of the functions of the body. Children repeat

physical movements over and over again in their efforts to gain this control. They work hard at this form of play, and their faces glow with excitement when they achieve some particularly difficult feat. Many of the physical stunts loved by people of all ages are actually procedures to test their physical control. Mastery of materials is another aspect of developmental growth; children struggle to overcome the resistance of materials and make them take on the desired form. Eventually they find many ways to control environmental factors, whether these be playthings, playmates, or adults. Still another facet is mastery of a situation or experience. Children play out their experiences in order to become masters of them. They do this in many ways, perhaps most commonly through dropping the passive role played in the actual experience and assuming an active role — often that of the person who, in the child's mind, has been the aggressor. This is particularly true when the experiences have been unpleasant ones. For example, the child may play out a visit to the doctor's office, where some of the associations were necessarily unpleasant. In re-enacting the experience, he himself becomes the doctor, and he assigns to a doll or a playmate the role of patient. In other instances, the child may play out to a happy solution an experience that in reality was unpleasantly resolved. The first day at kindergarten or school may have been full of terror for him; in re-enacting it he may play the role of the teacher and enforce obedience on the other players, but on the other hand he may play out a scene wherein the teacher and the other children show their love for him by gifts of candy and toys. Adults sometimes fail to realize the trauma associated with some of the experiences of children and the resultant need to assimilate them in small doses through play. Gradually, through playful repetition, these experiences are mastered, and the games are abandoned when they have served their purposes. In one sense the practice in mastery of the body, of the environment, of materials, and of situations can be called "physiological growth" and "preparation for life." It is evident also, that the need to master situations reaches over into the areas of wish-fulfillment and fantasy.

Wish-fulfillment is a common play theme of children. They play out what they want to do or to be. They play out their daydreams, particularly when they have been punished for something; they represent themselves as "good children," their parents or other protective adults as "bad," and invent a kind, loving person — like Cinderella's fairy godmother — who will come to take them away. A great deal of this play is related to the child's need for love. Then, too, whereas adults can endure postponement of pleasure, children want their pleasures here and now; they cannot wait, and therefore when an anticipated treat has to be put off — as, for example, when the weather spoils a picnic or a trip to the circus — they secure the experience

through play. Again, when the event is over they repeat it in play in order to recapture past joys and master past disappointments. This sort of play develops the imaginative powers from the stimuli of situations.

While *fantasies* and *daydreams* are, to a large extent, wish-fulfillment, some of them involve unpleasant experiences, fears, and anxieties. For children, the boundaries between reality and fantasy are hazy, and often the two realms overlap. The healthy adult is conscious of the separation of his fantasies from reality, but the child recognizes no such separation in his use of real objects and people. He sees nothing absurd in pretending to be a dog or a horse or a train. A few lines or circles on a piece of paper represent for him wonderful pictures around which he tells an entire story. In some of his fantasies, he puts adults at a disadvantage and triumphs over them. Many of the fantasies of children are woven around the functions of their own bodies and their fears and anxieties in relation to birth, life, and death.

*"Play is a leave of absence from reality, as well as from the superego."*¹ Play provides a wonderful opportunity to do and be those things which are forbidden, for it is after all "only pretend." It gives a chance to express anger and hostility, for in play it is permissible to be "bad." As children grow older and develop a superego, or conscience, which forbids certain forms of activity, play truly becomes a "leave of absence from the superego." Through play they are also freed to express their love for others. Some children are taught that it is not "nice" to express affection openly, but in play they are able to do so. In short, by affording a release from restrictions, play provides a sense of freedom which makes it possible for individuals to express their real feelings of hostility and of love and to do those things which they otherwise would fear to try. This feeling of freedom is also an important factor in the leisure-time activities of adults.

Fun and humor are important aspects of play. The element of surprise — the unexpected, the absurd — is one of the factors which cause laughter. A chance for a good laugh is vital to normal development, for emotional energy is thereby discharged and emotional balance restored. Physical and emotional security is an essential basis for genuine fun and laughter. Emotionally disturbed individuals, for example, are apt to express themselves in nervous hysterical giggles. When the fun and laughter are at the expense of others, they become important channels for the expression of hostility. While children laugh at each other, they love best to mimic and imitate adults, particularly in situations where the adult is made to appear in a ridiculous or humiliating light, and the child in a favorable one, winning out against the adult. Insult to authority is easily accomplished through various forms of humor, as mimicry, caricature, and cartoon.

¹ Robert Wälder, "The Psychoanalytic Theory of Play," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, vol. 2 (1933) no. 2, p. 222.

By their very nature, many of these values of play depend upon a sharing of the experience between playmates. However, the importance of play in *learning how to get along with and to be liked by others* merits special consideration. We have already noted how personality patterns are revealed through play, for it is often an externalized expression of the inner emotional life and the social adjustment. Through their play, children learn that they have to change some of their patterns in order to be accepted by others. The child who will play only when he is "it," or when his favorite game is chosen, learns that the others can get along without him; that at times he must follow instead of lead. The bully learns that he cannot always dominate by sheer force; the group eventually gathers sufficient numbers to overpower him or finds some other way to lessen his control over them. Members of a group have opportunities both to lead and to follow, for the abilities of one person may be most needed in a leadership role on one occasion, those of another when the situation changes. Furthermore, play in group situations provides endless opportunities for the healthy expression of positive and negative feelings, of hostility and aggression, of friendliness and co-operation. Not only may hostility and aggression be expressed directly toward companions, but in many instances actually channeled and released through the activities themselves. The expression of friendliness is apparent in much of the play of children, and a spirit of co-operation grows out of the common need to accomplish a desired end. The function of play that enables people to mingle harmoniously with their contemporaries is a very important one.

We can easily see that all these values are closely interwoven. And as we analyze certain program activities, we shall see further evidence of the important roles they play in the physical, intellectual, emotional, and social development of the growing child and in the maintenance of the health and effectiveness of adults.¹

Countless examples could be given to illustrate these enumerated values of play. We shall give only one at this point to demonstrate the difference between the outer form of play, seen by the observing adult, and the inner emotional content that motivated the outward expression.

The other day I was at the home of a friend who left me alone in the living room while she went into the kitchen. Leading off from the living room was a bedroom and I could see the dresser and the reflection of the room in the mirror. In front of it was my friend's eight-year-old-daughter, playing alone. I could hear her talking to herself and see her making motions in the mirror. She first pretended to comb her hair, put on lipstick, and adjust her clothes as though she were wearing a long gown. She tilted her head back and looked from beneath her eyelids as though she were meeting

¹ For more detailed discussion of some of these values of play, see bibliography, pp. 658ff.

someone. I heard her say, "Oh, thank you, do you really think I'm pretty?" She strolled back and forth with a very grand air, primping and smiling all the time, and it was evident that she was pretending to be a beautiful, well-dressed lady. She kept up an incessant conversation with herself, giving herself compliments and praise and in return thanking herself for them. She seemed to be enjoying the experience immensely, but dropped her pose immediately when her mother called her.

It would be a mistake to see this eight-year-old merely as a vain youngster. As it happens, she is very intelligent, but large for her age and rather homely. Although her mother plans her clothes well in order to make her appear smaller, she is quite self-conscious about her height and weight. But her greatest difficulty is centered in the fact that she has a four-year-old sister who is tiny and adorable and over whom everyone makes a great fuss. If visitors remember to compliment the older child at all, it is upon her grades at school. She is taking refuge in books and becoming serious. This information about the eight-year-old throws considerable light upon the inner emotional conflict which motivates her actions. The play before the mirror is fulfilling several purposes for her — fantasy, wish-fulfillment, even leave of absence from reality and the superego.

Social group workers often notice that some children do not play in ways suitable to their chronological age. While this failure may be due to a lack of mental ability, it may be related to emotional problems, for neurotic children may adopt the form of play of any age. Some children cannot seem to play at all, or appear able to play only when certain rituals are observed, or engage only in certain forms of play. Some children can play alone but are unable to play with other children. Failure to play with others may stem simply from inexperience; in this case, the disability vanishes when the child is helped to feel comfortable by a friendly child or adult. On the other hand, a child's inability to join in the play of others may be caused by deep-seated difficulties rooted in a conception of himself which makes it impossible for him to subject himself to the reactions of others. The social group worker is concerned about such children and might well adopt for his creed this statement by Alschuler and Heinig:

We must realize that play is the child's whole life. . . . Whether we plan for it or not, and no matter how much or how little we plan for it, our children are bound to play and develop. But through the things we know and the things we do, we can guide and build their play experiences so that they become constructive, persistent, and socially sound young persons. . . . It is our business . . . to create the kind of play life that makes wholesome, sound living not only possible but natural and easy.¹

¹ Alschuler and Heinig, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

HOBBIES, LEISURE TIME AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Recreational activities are as significant to adolescents and adults as play is to children. Even though full physical development may have been reached, it is still important for the individual to have avenues of expression for interests and needs appropriate to his stage of maturation. While this attitude toward the place of recreation in the whole life-span has an increasing number of adherents, it is by no means a universally held concept. There are still people who feel they have to find excuses for participation in an activity which has no other excuse for being than that of providing a genuinely good time. Disapproval, in the Puritan tradition, of recreation for its own sake becomes an even more rigorous concept when applied to the industrial society of our own day, for the division of labor and the mechanization of its processes provide little opportunity for the expression of the needs and interests of the "whole man." Thus recreation has become an important factor in the lives of adults, not only because of cultural change, but also because of our greater understanding of the means by which the individual maintains physical and mental health. As this understanding becomes widespread it creates a conflict of norms within present-day society. On the whole, there is general acceptance of the need to provide recreational outlets for children; but up to the present time there has been only partial acceptance of an equal responsibility to provide recreational programs for all people regardless of age, social status, or other factors of difference.

Significance in Lives of Adolescents and Adults

Until there is widespread recognition of play as a vital human need for adults as well as children, many who would most benefit from its values will suffer feelings of guilt which will interfere with their ability to participate freely in recreational activities.

In play we are more truly our natural selves than in our work; yet we feel a threat to the civilized superstructure of the personality in the act of play for this very reason. It is too tempting, too unrealistic. And of this sense of guilt, the larger part comes from the voice of conscience, an echo of parental prohibitions which are displaced to society, the government, and the voice of science. If therefore those who stand in the position of parental figures to society formally sanction the indulgence, it loses a part of its burden of guilt.¹

Records of adult groups show that many times the members set up elaborate "educational programs," frequently planned months in advance, but

¹ Karl Menninger and Jeanetta Lyle Menninger, "Some Tentative Conclusions," Part XI of "Recreation and Morale," *Menninger Clinic Bulletin*, vol. 6 (1942), no. 3, p. 102.

planned in accordance with what the members think they *ought* to be interested in, rather than with their *real* interests. In some groups this feeling of obligation to certain areas of interest is so strong that the members will hold rigidly to their plans unless the worker is able to help them relax and feel that the agency sanctions programs more closely related to their true needs and interests. Often, however, the planned program is merely a façade, a bow to the social norms for adults; under its protection the members have a wonderful time engaging in disguised play activities. Most communities expect adults to be interested in home management, care of children, civic and world affairs. Some members of every community are genuinely interested in such so-called adult activities, but the movies and other spectator amusements attract a far greater number of people than the groups organized as channels for social improvement. Society needs adults who are able to carry responsibilities, but adults can meet responsibilities only when they are emotionally as well as intellectually prepared and free to face them. Persons who have not had sufficient opportunity as children to express themselves in play carry that need into adulthood; and unless they have the opportunity to meet this need as adults they are incapable of participating in groups where the central focus is on the interests and needs of the group-as-a-whole and of society.

The craving after the fun and relaxation which play provides is shown in the behavior of many adults in group situations. A certain Fathers' Club provides a vivid illustration of this point. The age-range was thirty-seven to seventy, and all the members had gone to work very early in life. Shortly after they were organized they planned a party for themselves. They asked the social group worker if they could have ice cream at their party "just like the kids had," and they expressed more pleasure about this part of the program than any other. In another club composed of mothers, the worker's proposal that they discuss the behavior problems of their children was met with only polite acceptance, and when the women came together they showed little interest in the program as planned. After a few weeks, when they felt more secure with the agency and with the worker, we read their attitude in the record as follows: "This is our time for fun and recreation, our day off from the family. We never had a chance to really play, for we married young and have been bringing up children ever since." Both these adult groups, like other similar groups, moved quickly through some of the simpler forms of play. With the partial fulfillment of the needs indicated by their desires for play, they were able to find satisfaction in other forms of recreation and in programs which were meaningful to their own lives and to the wider community.

Other evidences of unsatisfied play needs among adults are found in the

initiation ceremonies and antics, the rituals and costumes of organized groups, and in the behavior of adults when protected by large crowds, as in conventions and other situations when they are lost in a mob. Margaret Lowenfeld makes clear the importance of play to the life of an adult when she says that when play is viewed

as an essential function of the passage from immaturity to emotional maturity, then any individual in whose early life these necessary opportunities for adequate play have been lacking will inevitably go on seeking them in the stuff of adult life.

Though he must do this, he will be unaware of what he is seeking. Emotional satisfactions, which the mind has missed at an earlier period to which they properly belong, do not present themselves later in the same form. The forces of destruction, aggression, and hostile emotion, which form so powerful an element for good or evil in human character, can display themselves fully in the play of childhood, and become through this expression integrated into the controlled and conscious personality. Forces unrealized in childhood remain as an inner drive forever seeking outlet, and lead men to express them not any longer in play, since this is regarded as an activity of childhood, but in industrial competition, anarchy, and war.... The nature of this logic [underlying fantasy] is, however, at utter variance with the logic of the conscious mind, and man's disharmony with himself is due to the fact that he is unaware of this situation; that, once childhood is over, he takes his games for reality, his fantastic conceptions of the world for political sanity, and his momentary myths for considered thought.¹

Club and activity groups for older members provide opportunities for play that help the members to grow emotionally and socially, and thereby perform a valuable function in the life of the community. Adults need to find in their activities some of the same satisfactions that children find in their play: mastery over self and over materials, environment, and situations; wish-fulfillment; some fantasy; some escape from reality and the superego; fun and laughter; and the norms for establishing helpful social relationships. Every member in the group does not always need every one of these values or need a particular value to the same extent as every other member. Certainly the social group worker must be as sensitive to the reactions of adult members to activities as he is to those of children, for it is through understanding what the activity means to them, and giving it social sanction, that he helps them use play activities to meet their needs. He enables adults to find satisfaction in growing from one stage of development to another through helping them engage in activities on the level which they have attained *at the time*.

¹ Margaret Lowenfeld, *Play in Childhood* (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1935), pp. 324-325.

The values of activities for adults are pointed out by Rubenstein and Novick in their article on the treatment of war neuroses. They say:

Activity groups lend themselves to those patients who, because of their conflicts and blocks in verbal discussion and expression, find it easier to adjust to special activities where their energies can be channelized in concrete and tangible ways. Patients with such symptoms as apathy, depression, difficulties in expression, difficulties in speech, as well as those patients with dull intelligence, tended to adjust to activity groups. A patient tends to be motivated in observing tangible results. In such activity groups, emphasis is not placed on skill *per se*. The activity is important only as it relates to the individual's problems, becoming the area around which the patient can express himself, test out his potentialities, and tend to regain his self confidence. In addition, the patient can learn through practical experience how rapidly he can once more perform responsible functions.¹

It is our experience that, with the substitution of the word *member* for *patient*, these conclusions apply equally well to the activity groups and clubs sponsored by social agencies. When the interest centers first around the activities, members have a chance to find those which relate to their problems and meet their needs; to express themselves through unverbalized activity; and thus to gain in self-confidence. Members who have difficulty in relating to other people are particularly helped through activities which can be done on an individual basis at first, because by these means they can gradually develop a place for themselves in the group.

The relationship between emotional illness and the ability to participate in activities provides social group workers with some interesting points to consider. A study made at the Menninger Foundation² points out that few of the patients with mental illnesses have ever been able to develop hobbies to the extent that these were of value to them. James Mower, in his report on a study of an equal number of maladjusted and relatively well adjusted persons, says that there seemed to be a noticeable lack of interest in hobbies among the maladjusted, and that existing hobbies were seldom consistently pursued. He felt that this inability to find satisfactory sublimation would in itself seem to indicate a predisposition to maladjustment. He noticed also that the members of the normal group were able to pursue their hobbies with far more vigor and energy, doubtless because they expended less energy

¹ Victor Rubenstein and Abraham Novick, "Psychiatric Social Work in the Treatment of War Neuroses — A Coordinated Case Work-Group Work Approach" (typed material). Most of this material was later printed in the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 274-299, under the title "A Case Work-Group Work Approach to the Treatment of War Neuroses." See Chapter 13 for further discussion of this experience.

² Menninger, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

in inner conflicts. He says further that, as a result of each individual's personality adjustment (well adjusted, neurotic, or psychotic),

there is an arrest or fixation of some part of the libido at one or another pleasure-finding stage of development. As a result of these fixations certain character traits appear within the individual and manifest themselves in his interests, pursuits, and distribution of energy. From a mental hygiene point of view, it follows that the development and enrichment of a personality so far as hobbies are concerned should lie in the direction of satisfying the individual's particular needs through activities or interests that turn one's asocial interests and behavior into socially approved channels. Thus, it becomes apparent that all hobbies, special interests or activities cannot be entirely beneficial, satisfactory, or appealing to all personalities.¹

Analysis of Potential Values of Program Activities

If the program of a particular group is to help the members achieve personal and social goals in a satisfactory manner, then the content of the program and the way in which it is planned and developed must be geared to this purpose. The effective use of program, therefore, is more than a trial-and-error process. It is predicated upon familiarity with the activities and their potentialities. In previous chapters we have pointed out some of the basic needs which must be met if individuals are to move satisfactorily through the developmental stages of life. Here we are concerned with the potential values inherent in activities — the extent to which the activities promote physical, emotional, and intellectual growth, give opportunities for social development, and provide situations through which the group-as-a-whole attains practice in planning and executing group projects.

Scientific study of these values is limited. There has been a tendency to talk in generalities about their usefulness in re-creating, in expanding horizons, in developing skill, in preventing maladjustment and antisocial behavior. In many instances, program has been planned and carried out on an intuitive basis with little analysis of the reasons for the results, whether they be good or bad. Individuals have been able, however, to surmount such lack of purposeful planning because of their ability to adapt activities to their needs. Observe a group of people seemingly intent upon the same activity — woodworking, for example. One person attacks his piece of wood vigorously, sawing, hammering, and getting a great deal of satisfaction from the movements used in the process; another knocks an old box apart, seemingly unconcerned by any plan for using the pieces; still another comes along and finds a use for the pieces. One lovingly plans with great detail, measuring so

¹ James W. Mower, "A Comparative Study of Hobby Activities," *Menninger Clinic Bulletin*, vol. 4 (1940), no. 3, p. 83.

exactly that each part fits precisely into its place; another cares little how the pieces fit just so they will stay together for a while; another plans so long and carefully that he never arrives at the point of carrying out the plans. One person sands the surface to a satin smoothness before applying the finishing stain or paint, while another hopes that the paint will cover up the roughness of the wood. Some individuals get great satisfaction from hammering nails into wood; others prefer the more quiet method of drilling holes and driving in screws. Some are delighted with the stiffness and rigidity of the wood while others are easily discouraged by its inflexibility. Thus within one small group there may be as many different approaches and methods as there are individuals present. Each is using the activity in relation to his particular pattern of personality, his interests and needs, and is seeking from the process and the material the satisfactions most helpful to him at that particular time. One caution cannot be overemphasized, however; we must not draw final conclusions from observing an individual's choice of activities and manner of using them. Use of activities affords only one clue to a personality — although a very valuable one — and must be considered in relation to other parts of the whole.

Reasons for Likes and Dislikes in Program Activities

Social group workers are well aware of the values that adults seem to gain from group life but most of the material about the values of recreational activities is written in general terms. In an effort to determine the specific qualities of certain program media, a group of second-year students specializing in social group work carried out a study in which each tried to analyze his reasons for preferring the activity he liked best and for disliking the activity which had the least appeal for him. The writers have since continued this study among their first-year students; and although the reactions of only about two hundred young adults are thus far represented, there have resulted some significant data bearing on the causation of likes and dislikes in program activities. The factor of individual differences in personality development is very apparent: the same activities were liked by some people, disliked by others; the same activity met different needs for different people.

The reasons given for the *enjoyment* of activities were very numerous but can be classified under eight headings.

- (1) The pure fun and relaxation, the sense of freedom and joy secured through participation in the activity.
- (2) The release of physical and emotional energy. This release of physical energy brought relaxation, and the various forms of physical movements made it possible also to obtain release through the expression of feelings of aggression, fear, hope, and joy.

(3) The sense of power secured through gaining control of the movements of the whole body and through gaining control of the hands in such processes as crafts; the sense of power secured through making materials do what one wished. A factor in the feeling of control over materials was an actual enjoyment of the texture of certain materials, such as wood, clay, finger paints, metal, cloth. The feeling of power was particularly apparent in the sense of achievement resulting from contemplation of the concrete result in such activities as arts and crafts, the dance, drama, and writing. Closely related to this sense of achievement was the opportunity for the expression of self through these activities. Some students who felt that they had little real talent reported that their sense of accomplishment was very great when they discovered some medium which made it possible for them to achieve. An important related factor was the individual's opportunity to show his skill to others.

(4) The chance to escape from one's self and from the reality of the moment, to make use of imagination and to express fantasy, to have experiences not possible in real life. Drama, the dance, reading, and music were particularly mentioned in this respect. Some said that these experiences helped them to gain a new perspective on life and to return with vigor to the routines of daily living.

(5) The opportunity to find adventure. Some liked activities which were new and exciting, which required daring and provoked thought.

(6) The opportunity to find security. Some preferred activities which were familiar, definite, and governed by fixed procedures — in short, those providing security rather than adventure.

(7) The element of sociability, the opportunity to meet new people, to make new friends. Here activities with the opposite sex were mentioned as an important part of life. Emphasis was placed on the value of certain activities in making it possible for the individual to fit into the pattern of the group, to contribute to the whole, to secure that "we feeling" so necessary to being part of the whole.

(8) Pleasant associations with past experiences were important factors in reasons for liking certain activities. These associations consisted primarily in pleasant relations with people: playmates, friends, family, teachers, leaders, or other adults.

The reasons behind the *dislike* of certain activities were more difficult to locate, perhaps because of the desire to suppress or repress unpleasant feelings. They can be summarized under seven headings.

(1) Some "serious-minded" people could not enjoy "just fun," and disliked activities which had no apparent objectives and did not advance knowledge.

(2) Many students related their dislike of an activity to the fact that when first introduced to it they had found it beyond their physical skill or

mental ability; they expressed particular aversion to activities which highlighted their lack of skill, put them "on the spot," or eliminated them. The dislike was related here not only to lack of skill but also to the emotional reaction which makes some persons feel awkward and inept when they are singled out. Competition was also given as a factor, especially the kind of competition where the fate of the team depends upon the efforts of the individual, and his fate upon the team.

(3) Some disliked activities requiring use of the imagination and those with subtle implications, such as guessing games and tricks.

(4) Some disliked activities which require accurate measurement, precision, thought, patience, concentration, and repetition. They found such activities monotonous, and easily became bored.

(5) Some disliked the feeling of certain materials, such as wood, clay, finger paints, metal, cloth.

(6) Some disliked any activity which placed emphasis upon the completion of an article.

(7) Again the associations with the activity were very prominent. Among factors which contributed to their dislike of an activity but which were not related to the activity *per se*, the students listed the following: their own former unsuccessful attempts, the connection in their minds with people whom they disliked, the artificial enthusiasm of the leader who proposed the activity, the way the activity was led, the fact that they were forced to participate.

Many interesting points arise out of a thorough study of this material. In the first place, it will be noted that there are variations and contradictions *within* both lists of reasons, and further, that the same factors occur as causes both of "liking" and of "disliking." Some liked freedom, others liked limitation and precision; some disliked freedom, others disliked limitation and precision. Some liked activities permitting self-expression, others liked to escape from self. The same materials were liked by some, disliked by others; emphasis upon a completed article was liked by some, disliked by others. These differences indicate the great variations in individuals, even within the same age-range. Each individual reacts to program media according to his physical and mental ability, special aptitudes, stage of emotional and social development, mood of the moment, and previous experience.¹

This material also points out how the same activity may meet one need for one person and an entirely different need for another person. Thus one program may successfully serve varying needs for a group of people at one and the same time.

The data also imply that all these reasons for liking or disliking activities are expressed in terms of feelings or emotions, thus indicating the close rela-

¹ This bears out the statement quoted from Mower; *supra*, p. 211.

tionship between physical movement, mental activity, and the emotions. According to J. Louise Despert, it seems reasonable to assume that these three factors are closely connected:

Human experience involves activity on three levels: neuro-muscular, mental, affective. There is a close interaction between these three functioning levels. Activity may be minimal at any or several of them, but all of these levels are always involved. Experience at any given moment cannot be isolated from previous experience . . . it is reasonably certain that the connecting link is affective. For purposes of convenience, one may consider the whole functional constellation as a circuit which can be excited at any time, at any point. Activation at the emotional level is a matter of common observation and experience: feelings of hostility initiate acts (motor expressions) of hostility. . . . It seems reasonable to assume that stimulation at the motor level of function should arouse the whole complex.¹

The students' reasons for liking certain activities will be seen to correspond closely to the values enumerated for children's play, thus bearing out our earlier statement that activities for adults have many of the same values as those for children.

It would also appear that the influence of previous experience, whether "good" or "bad," on present attitude toward an activity is almost invariably related to the skill or lack of skill of the leader who presented that activity. This conclusion has far-reaching implications for program planning as discussed in Chapter 5.

Disregarding, for the time being, the factors of individual difference and the ways in which each person makes use of program, we shall now examine a number of activities, in order to indicate their inherent values for individual members and the group-as-a-whole. Brief examples of the use made of them by group members will serve to highlight the values. In some instances the role of the social group worker will inevitably enter into the picture. We shall first give a brief description of the possible forms which the activity may take, discuss the general values, and then turn to more detailed analysis in order to point out the specific values of a given activity. It is impossible to discuss here every area of program in which group members may be interested. Games, rhythm, the dance, and music, story telling and dramatics, the arts and crafts, nature, campcraft, and trips have been chosen because it has been found that program most frequently centers in these areas. The pattern for analysis, however, will provide the reader with methods for analyzing other areas.

¹ J. Louise Despert, *Emotional Problems of Children* (Utica, N.Y.: State Hospital Press, 1938), pp. 28-29.

The Values of Games

MANY GAMES are centuries old and undoubtedly began as dramatizations of hunting and tracking, of buying and selling, of warfare, of family life, and of various ceremonies centering around coming of age, courtship, marriage, and death. The same game may be found in many communities, even in many countries, sometimes under one name, sometimes under another. Such a game provides a common element or bond to bring together diversified groups of people.

Games vary so widely in extent of activity and degree of complexity that there are some to arouse the interest of every age-group. Some games can be played by one person alone; some by two or three, and so on up to a large number of players. Games cover a wide range of physical exertion and ability, mental activity, and social co-operation. There are games that are excellent for developing the body and increasing neuromuscular control; others are concerned primarily with the development of the mental powers; still others place emphasis upon co-operative teamwork. A study of game books discloses many bases of classification. These classifications help to indicate the kind and degree of activity involved and the age-groups and situations for which the games are suitable. It is necessary, however, for the social group worker to analyze all the finer nuances of the values which these games hold for the particular individual member and for the group-as-a-whole. A game requiring a certain stage of physical growth and ability may be beyond the intellectual capacity of the members. Or the members may be able to reach the physical and intellectual requirements but be completely unable to meet the emotional demands or accept the degree of social responsibility entailed. Thus several considerations must be kept in mind: the physical skill and mental ability required for successful participation; the degree of organization needed, that is, whether the game is a simple one calling for little or no co-operation among the players or a highly complex one involving numerous special roles and mutual interdependence; and the amount of

emotional development needed — the extent of the demands made on ability to share and to "give and take." Often completely unforeseen developments and player reactions necessitate immediate and skillful adaptation of the game or the substitution of another. Hence the worker must be able to analyze both the game and the situation in order to see the problems involved.

Games can be divided quite simply into two categories: first, those where a song or story determines the action, such as "Farmer in the Dell," "Did You Ever See a Lassie," and "Gypsy"; second, those where skill and competition determine the action such as "Duck on a Rock," "Run Sheep Run," "Dodge Ball," and the more complicated sports of tennis, badminton, football, and basketball. There is overlapping, however, for skill and competition are involved in some singing and story games, while song and drama often have a place in competitive games. Games where song or story determines the action are the first type used with little children as they begin to play together in organized form. As they grow older, skill and competition enter in and become very important, particularly for the social development of the growing youngster.

Cutting across these two categories, and including games from both, one may make another broad classification which includes those games in which the primary purpose is social recreation, sociability, getting people acquainted, and helping them to have a good time together. The ingenious worker adapts many activities for the purpose of getting people acquainted and establishing an atmosphere for fun, friendliness, and relaxation in which people feel at home. Such activities are often called mixers, party games, ice breakers, or get-acquainted games. They are usually simple in social organization, and competition is minimized. Because the rhythmic element is an effective aid in the socializing process, many games have been developed that are accompanied by music or singing. In addition to these mixing games, other activities such as play party games,¹ simple folk dances, dramatic games like Charades and "Conversation Piece," and group singing are used effectively. Social dancing, though popular with adolescent and adult groups, does not aid socialization unless the group members are helped to mingle with one another, perhaps by such devices as the Paul Jones, circle two-step, tag dance, and broom dance.

It is little wonder that many persons who are attracted to the profession of social group work are overwhelmed by the need to know the variety of program media used in the group process. This is particularly true in the consideration of games. This subject, upon analysis, however, is less difficult than it appears. While games are unlimited in number and variety, they

¹ See Chapter 8, p. 246.

can be classified in a relatively simple manner. The worker must learn certain basic principles and be able to make the adaptations necessary to fit the age grouping and the occasion for their use.

ELEMENTS OF GAMES

The word *game* implies (1) certain patterns; (2) certain activities; and (3) certain rules and procedures to which the players must conform in order to play. These patterns, activities, rules, and procedures make the game, and in them inhere the values for the participants. When the worker becomes familiar with these three areas and their values, he can classify games and select those best suited for use with a particular group. The complicating factor is that once a game is in progress, all three are at work in an interacting process. The worker has an unusual opportunity to observe the group members during this process. Personality patterns stand out vividly, and individualized and group needs are clearly revealed.

Values Inherent in the Patterns of Games

Certain universal patterns, designs, or formations occur in games the world over. Many of these patterns developed from the dramatization of an event now long forgotten although the design remains. These patterns present a way of acting, a way of socially behaving, that is a valuable experience in the group life of individuals. In the first place, the patterns (in a vast majority of games) cannot be formed unless there is a group to form them; second, the game is not much fun unless each one co-operates to play his part; and finally, each feels the support or lack of co-operation from the others in the progress of the game.

Patterns or formations are divided into (1) those where the arrangement of players is fixed and (2) those where the players are scattered over the playing area with no special positions assigned. In the first category, formations used are (a) single circle, (b) double circle, (c) single line, (d) double or multiple lines, (e) team alignment. The simplest form is the single circle, with all the players acting in unison, but independently. In this formation, it is easy to see the actions of all the other players. The double circle seems to come next in order of difficulty. Single and multiple line formations are more difficult to maintain and the action is harder to follow. Team alignments are extremely simple in the beginning, with each team confined to a particular area of the playing space. Very quickly, however, the development of team games moves one team into the area belonging to the other, and in the more complicated games of baseball and basketball the game begins with players of opposite sides intermingled in the same area.

Games with no fixed arrangement, as some tag games, involve more danger to the players and demand greater alertness. In many such games, an element of security is provided by a rule that the runner is safe when touching wood, stone, or taking a certain position. In tag games demanding greater skill, there is no safety device.

All these patterns are increased in difficulty by the addition of two factors: (1) changes in the formation during the progress of play; (2) the development of special roles. A single circle game may maintain its formation for quite a period of time, but suddenly the entire group may be called upon to run in many different directions before regaining places in the circle; or change of action may call for a double circle, a line, or the scattering of players. Changes of formation come very quickly in such games as football and basketball.

In the development of special roles, one player only may be singled out; or two or more players; or even an entire team. The development of special roles reaches a high point in team games where each player has certain defined responsibilities. The elaboration of special assignments correspondingly increases the dependence of the players upon one another and demands co-operative play. All the finer points of the gradual development of co-operative play — which begins with small units of two or three players — cannot be discussed here.

Within the patterns of games lie potential values for the participating members. Some feel most secure within set forms and fall readily into a pattern; others rebel, and refuse to accept these limits, demanding always to play a game where limits are few and team play almost non-existent. There are games to fit each personality pattern, but part of the group experience consists in learning to adjust to different kinds of patterns. The limitations set by the patterns often provide security for the shy individual, who gains confidence to move into less defined ways of acting; the aggressive individual, through his desire to play the game, finds himself drawn into the pattern of the whole. Members have opportunities to express directly or indirectly their preferences and dislikes for other players, gain status through demonstrating their abilities, secure experience in fulfilling leadership roles, and use the game for the expression of a variety of emotional needs and as a means of developing emotional stability. The demands made by the patterns of games, especially those having specialized roles, help the players develop the ability to co-operate with others and to subordinate their own immediate desires for the good of the whole.

Values Inherent in Activity or Skill Factors of Games

Within the pattern of each game, certain activity skills are utilized by the

players. These can be classified as (1) those involving primarily the physical body and its apperceptions and (2) those involving primarily the mental powers.

Foremost in the use of the body is *running and chasing*. Games of running and chasing provide an outlet for the desire for motor activity so evident in younger groups; they organize — in increasingly complex form — the apparent need to run and chase, to "let off steam"; they provide for the expression of likes and dislikes, since members enjoy chasing and catching not only those whom they dislike but those whom they like; they give immediate satisfaction, for achievement consists in tagging another player or eluding the chaser; they give the players a chance to gain a skill which is an important factor in more complicated team games; they provide for acceptance of members because of their skill.

Second, is the skill of *handling a ball* or other object which can be thrown and caught, used to knock down other objects (as in bowling), or hit with a bat (or tennis racket, hockey stick, golf club, and the like). The progressive degrees of skill needed for the various movements — rolling, throwing, catching, batting — can be analyzed.

Social group workers know that the presence of a ball in the club room means that practically nothing but playing with the ball can be accomplished. The fascination of this type of play equipment is further attested by the prevalence in street play of such improvised substitutes as tin cans and wads of paper and cloth. Each player can easily measure the development of his skill and thus can check his own progress. One of the most valuable satisfactions obtained in this area is the opportunity to release hostile feelings by throwing the ball at an object or person. In games where the object is to hit a player with the ball — as, for example, in "Dodge Ball" — safeguards must be strictly maintained in order to prevent bodily injury. Often those least suspected of harboring hostile feelings will throw the ball with sudden violence. Some groups demand games of this kind continually because of their need to release such feelings. Our experience seems to indicate that games in which the ball is thrown at another player often build up more hostility, while those in which it is kicked, thrown at inanimate objects, bounced against a wall, or hit with fist or bat produce relaxation.

A third use of the body is the *inhibition of impulses*. This is an important factor in such games as "Simon Says," "Redlight," "Ten Steps," "Statues," "This is My Nose," and "Musician." In the last two the conditions are more difficult, for not only do the players have to inhibit their natural inclination to imitate the leader but they must substitute the proper movement. These games help the individual gain bodily control, often of the finer muscles; develop the ability to be independent and not follow blindly;

and build up the ego, especially when there is a chance to triumph over the central player.

Fourth, is the use of the *sensory powers* — primarily sight, hearing, and touch, and occasionally taste and smell. While important in all games, the sensory powers are particularly emphasized in such games as "Hide the Thimble," "Hide and Seek," "Magic Music," "Blind Animal," and "Hollywood Rhythm." These games are especially valuable for younger children who are still learning primarily through the senses. Older groups like them also, partly for the satisfaction obtained through integrating various bodily faculties, and also for the elements of trickery, suspense, and fun. These games are valuable preparation for the "sense memory" techniques of dramatics.

Use of the intellectual or mental powers is an inherent part of all games, but some are based entirely upon the ability to remember sequences of words or to associate objects or symbols with ideas. Cards, checkers, chess, dominoes, and similar games are primarily intellectual games. They all involve a certain psychological ability to deal with abstractions. A slightly different use of mental powers is called for in games based on language, such as guessing games.

Ability to comprehend the meanings of words and directions is, of course, vital to any activity, but games whose main element is language impose certain psychological demands, in that word meanings must be comprehended and abstractions dealt with, as in games like "Teakettle," "Magic Writing," "Earth, Fire and Water," "Running Artist," "Mental Whoopee," and some forms of Charades. The element of trickery is more pronounced in such games and makes them more interesting to some people. Mental or intellectual games are liked by some groups and thoroughly disliked by others. Some persons experience emotional blocking when such games are even mentioned; some particularly dislike card games, thinking them a waste of time. These dislikes are often due to previous failures and consequent feelings of inferiority associated with such games. Because of the interest stimulated by the radio quiz programs, intellectual games are now more popular than they used to be. Incidentally, success in some of these games does not always depend upon intelligence, although they are usually not preferred by those with low intellectual capacity. Other classifications could be added, such as games dealing with dramatic, musical, or nature content. However, careful analysis of such games indicates that the content is not necessarily the main element and that these games usually fall into the above categories. While almost any game makes use of a variety of forms of activity, there is usually one factor that is most prominent.

These activity skills of games provide unlimited potentialities for develop-

ment in the motor, sensory, and intellectual areas; for the expression of feelings of friendliness and love, hostility and hate; for emotional satisfaction through the acquisition of skill and the achievement of a place in the group.

Values Inherent in Rules and Procedures of Games

The primary value derived from rules and procedures is related to the emotional-social development of the members. Every game has certain rules which must be obeyed; certain procedures which must be followed. These include such things as (1) taking turns; (2) accepting the boundary limits; (3) accepting elimination from the game or inactivity for a period of time, usually as a result of the player's lack of skill; (4) fitting into changes of position in the formation, either through choice of another player (sometimes the captain), through chance, or through skill or lack of skill; (5) accepting decisions made by the worker or team captain; (6) playing fair and observing the rules.

Some groups seem to care little about rules and concentrate on evading the customs and limitations of society. Groups of this kind violate rules in games, but they will have some standards which they consider "fair play." In any group, approval or disapproval by the group-as-a-whole is quickly apparent when an individual accepts or rejects a rule or procedure of the game.

The expression of social approval or disapproval evolves along with the increase in difficulty of pattern, in degree of skill needed, and in the number of special roles. This approval or disapproval is shown through the assignment of special roles, through the award of points or other recognition for skillful performance, and through the imposition of penalties or the limitation of privileges for inferior performance or failure to obey the rules. In the simpler games, the individual alone carries the responsibility for his failures but in the more complex ones the responsibility for his performance is increasingly shared by others. When the individual is the only one who suffers, his lapses usually have little effect on his status in the group. But when the whole team is penalized because of his performance, then the inferior player is invariably condemned by his teammates. The individual also benefits from the abilities of teammates: in the simpler team games, through adding the points accumulated by individual members; in the more highly organized ones, through participation of the whole team in the scoring play. The ways in which social approval or disapproval is expressed are important points for the social group worker to consider in choosing games, for the status of members is often related to their skills in games.

Some members find it difficult to make the transition from games where being the "center" is the desired role to games where this position is ac-

quired through lack of skill. Even when the real object is to avoid being the central figure, many individuals persist in their desire to be "it" because they still connect social approval with this position. Ability to distinguish between the values in operation in these two types of games depends not only on age but also on the development of conceptual ability. Sudden movement from one type of game to the other should be avoided unless the worker is confident that the participants are capable of making this transition.

In every game, some elements of pattern, activity skill, and rules and procedures are closely interwoven. The way in which they are interwoven and the many factors at work in the group must be considered in order to evaluate all the potentialities of any one game. In some games — principally the mental type — where the actual physical formation of the players seems to have little bearing on the play, it is the psychological relationship of one player to the total group or of one group to another that is the factor of organization involved. This becomes apparent when detailed analysis of a game is made. As a guide to the social group worker in choosing games suited to the needs and abilities of his group, the following outline for game analysis is suggested:

- (1) What patterns must be formed in order to play the game? What relationships do they provide among the players and what degree of cooperative play do they demand?
- (2) What activity skills are required, and what degree of skill is necessary?
- (3) What special rules and procedures are involved? What are their emotional concomitants?
- (4) What are the potential values of the game to the individual participants?
- (5) What are the values to the group-as-a-whole?
- (6) What can the worker learn about the members and the group-as-a-whole during the course of the game?

GAMES AS AN ELEMENT OF PROGRAM CONTENT

These elements of games affect the processes at work in the group, and the group processes in turn affect the game. While a particular game can usually be effective in achieving a particular purpose, such as increasing the status of one member or integrating the group, other factors in the group may be strong enough to negate the effect of the game. In discussing the general values of games, therefore, we shall give examples which bring out some of these factors.

Characteristic patterns of behavior are revealed through games. Thus, in order to assess individual and group needs, the social group worker, as a par-

ticipant-observer, seeks to answer such pertinent questions as: Are the members able to fit into the structure of the game and to behave in accordance with its demands? Can they see the form of the game and carry it through? Can they keep a rule and see the reason for it? Or are they completely unable to play any organized game, so that every attempt ends in a formless "rough and tumble"? Are there members who insist upon always being the first, who will play only if they are captains, or if their favorite games are played? Do they refuse to play if assigned minor roles? Are all members able to accept responsibility for their actions in the game, or do some blame their failures on factors other than their own lack of skill or judgment? Do some players push themselves beyond the limit of their physical endurance because of their desire to be considered good sports? Are some players unable to make a rapid emotional transition from one kind of game to another? Are there some who accept uncomplainingly the minor roles in the games, even though this may mean punishment of some kind? Do they actually find some personal satisfaction in filling such roles; for example, are they unconsciously seeking punishment for some real or fancied misdeed? Are there players who are always the butt of tricks and pranks, the scapegoats of the group, who take all the ridicule? Are there those who always act the clown, whose antics entertain the group but interfere with the game? Are the members really interested in being with and playing with the others? Or are they possessed by the feeling that they are different and thus cannot join in with the rest? Can they subordinate their wishes to the wishes of the group; identify with the group; get security from the group and thus feel free to play? Are the members able to play co-operatively together, uniting for a common purpose? Does the overall pattern of behavior vary with the presence or absence of one individual or subgroup? Does it change from week to week or even within the span of one meeting?

The answers to these questions will give some indication of the stage of emotional and social adjustment attained by individual members and by the group-as-a-whole. Constant recurrence of certain behavior patterns indicates the need for further knowledge of both the members and the processes at work in the group. The behavior patterns presented in games may indicate neurotic trends in individuals and in the group-as-a-whole. With some groups, it is difficult, and often impossible, to find games that will be more interesting and absorbing than other activities which are less socially acceptable. Many individuals who find satisfaction in pre-delinquent or delinquent actions need more personalized help than a substitute activity provides. The worker, therefore, must be able to evaluate the extent of the difficulties indicated by the behavior patterns and help the member to recognize his need and to use the appropriate service of other agencies. All these ques-

tions are pertinent to the illustrations given later, and should be kept in mind along with those specifically discussed.

The possibilities for physical and intellectual development and for memory training through games are very apparent, but the actual steps in the development of physical skill and co-ordination and the integration of motor and mental powers must be understood in order that individual variations may be met. Certain physical and intellectual handicaps are readily noted. Overweight limits ability to participate in running games; fallen arches slow the runner; underweight brings quick fatigue. Organic difficulties may be suspected when acute shortness of breath, extreme paleness or flushing of the skin or blueness of the lips is noted. Fatigue, mental and emotional as well as physical, shows up in constant quarreling. The extent of ability to comprehend the rules, to reason and make judgments becomes apparent when the game calls for quick decisions and changes of action. Degree of judgment is revealed as the players decide when to run, whom to chase, when and where to throw the ball. In fact, physical and intellectual reactions are so apparent that the worker quickly identifies the members who need special consideration and help, and he adjusts his role accordingly. Less easily recognized are the needs relative to the emotional development of the members. It is important for individuals to have opportunities not only for expressing their feelings but for controlling them as well. Games are invaluable media for meeting these emotional needs. Not only do they provide channels for the expression of feelings but the very forms themselves often help the members to limit and control expression of their feelings.

The tension built up around a disagreement among the members or some other happening which has caused ill feelings is relieved by games which generate fun and laughter. One group came into the club room still arguing about something that had happened outside. The worker suggested the game "Ocean Waves," which created much laughter and permitted some legitimate pushing and shoving; then he quickly suggested "Rabbit, Gun, and Men," which put the group into gales of laughter as they went through the motions of the game. When very active groups are in a combative mood, dual combat stunts often help to release feelings, cause fun and laughter, and arouse interest in acquiring the skill or trick required for the stunt.

Sometimes a noisy group can be quieted or clannish subgroups brought together through the use of a game. One social group worker successfully used the game of "Numbers" when the members were in a shouting mood and tended to stick together in their subgroups. In listening to hear their numbers called the members grew more quiet; and the form and the rapidity of the game mixed the subgroups effectively.

Many individuals use games for the expression of basic emotional needs.

Arthur Timme¹ points out that "the core of self-preserved behavior is aggression against other individuals and the outer world." He thinks that a great deal of this aggression can be diverted into the less aggressive behavior of sports and games; that games provide a safety outlet for unutilized aggression; that many people can, as spectators, so identify with the players that they are able to release some of their aggressions in this way. He warns, however, that spectator-identification is not sufficient; that people must have opportunities to participate in activities as well as to observe them.

Dr. George E. Gardner claims that one of the tasks in the development and maintenance of mental health in children and adults is the establishment of an inner control of aggression. He states that in the early years the child demonstrates his aggression toward persons whose role it is to see that he follows the customs and mores of the group. At first his hate and his desire to inflict pain are directed toward them as people.

Gradually, however, in the middle years, that is, from six to twelve, this personalized aggression becomes directed against a more generalized set of people, such as opponents in games. The game becomes a stimulus for aggressive behavior, and primarily, of course, at first toward the person who is the "opponent." He learns that his aggression can be expressed against "generalized persons" only in accordance with certain protective and protecting rules and regulations. From time to time, the "game" or the "society of the game" breaks down or is disorganized by the fact that the boy [the individual] under pressure of thwarting or being outpointed returns to an infantile expression of aggression, which is directed toward a single person. In the more mature stage of development, he is aggressive (in sportsmanlike fashion) only toward the game requirements themselves.

Society, even for the young boy [child], provides restricted and controlled milieu for the expression of aggression, where aggression is held to be satisfactory by society as well as satisfying to the boy. Society also provides satisfactory settings for the expression of aggression to adults . . . we do not aim to stamp out these instinctual drives in the interest of mental health but to control and divert them in ways which will help us strike the best bargain with society.²

Thus, games provide an acceptable release for feelings that are not acceptable in their original form. A great deal has been said about the inevitability of war because of the need of an outlet for frustration, repressed hate, and aggression — a channel for man's basic urge to pugnacity and self-assertion. The value of games for the release of these feelings is evidenced in the fact

¹ Arthur Timme, "The Significance of Play and Recreation in Civilized Life," *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 18 (1934), no. 1, pp. 51-57.

² George E. Gardner, "Mental Health Problems of Normal Individuals," *Texas Trends* (Publication of the Texas Society for Mental Hygiene), vol. 4 (1947), no. 4, p. 8.

that many of the games that children delight in playing fall into the category of fighting and warfare, sometimes thinly disguised as "Cops and Robbers," "Capture the Flag," "G-Men and Bandits," but often actual games of war. During the recent war years children played war with the Americans on one side, the Germans or Japanese on the other. Group records show that friends play on opposite sides and after such games continue to be the best of friends. Many of these games represent resistance against various symbols of authority. They also provide valuable channels for the release of feelings of hostility engendered through the necessary adjustment to the process of sharing. It is vital that children have an opportunity to release feelings of hostility and friendliness in these games and thus learn how to handle their ambivalent feelings. Failure to have these experiences paves the way for difficulties at a later age. There seems to be evidence that many adults whose emotional expression has been blocked in childhood release this drive through direct exercise of power over people or inanimate objects. All adults, too, need to express ambivalent feelings, and the games which they enjoy, whether team games, table games, or card games, provide this opportunity.

Table and card games are in themselves a pattern of war, or aggression and resistance. For instance, in discussing the game of chess, Dr. Karl Menninger says:

All authorities agree that chess is a miniature war in which the aggressive patterns characteristic of different personalities are clearly discernible in the nature or style of play adopted. . . . There are the strong attackers, the strong defenders, the provocative players, the cautious players, the attack-from-behind players, the so-called classical and romantic styles of play, etc.¹

He also indicates the identifications which it is possible for the players to make with the chess pieces:

. . . the King alone is immune to capture or loss, and the whole object of his antagonist is to force him into helpless immobility. The aggressor has defeated him but has scrupulously refrained from injuring him. Perhaps this subtle difference in the type of aggression has something to do with its attraction for its devotees. The chess player entraps his adversary rather than bludgeoning him. . . . The pictures of two individuals sitting peacefully regarding a piece-studded board before them are exceedingly misleading. Silently they are plotting (and attempting to execute) murderous campaigns of patricide, matricide, fratricide, regicide, and mayhem.²

¹ Karl Menninger, "Chess," Part VI of "Recreation and Morale," *Menninger Clinic Bulletin*, vol. 6 (1942), no. 3, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*

This description of chess may explain its great attraction for adolescent boys; the struggle to win independence from parents and other adults — and even, in some cases, the reactivation of the oedipus conflict — may unconsciously be expressed through the game.

Examples of the use of games to release hostile feelings are numerous. In the following one, we see a child, who is repressed by a dominating mother, finding in the group games expression for feelings he dares not release toward her.

Jackie, aged eight, was completely dominated by his mother and dared not be anything but a "good boy." At the agency, however, he started fights with the other boys and soon was disliked by all of them. He did manage to remain in an activity group. Every day he picked up the ball and asked if they couldn't go to the playground. There the boys participated in "Dodge Ball," "Murder Ball," "Poison Snake," "Jump the River," and "Tug of War." While all the boys enjoyed these games, Jackie got particular gratification from slamming the ball at objects and at the other boys and from the pushing and shoving that was a legitimate part of the games. Gradually his inner tension relaxed, and he became a more acceptable member of the group.

In a club of girls, ranging in age from eleven to thirteen years, the continuous competition for leadership between Beth and Ruth Ann found some release through a vigorous game of "Snow Ball."

Nominations for the representative to the Interclub Council were in order. No one but Ruth Ann was interested at first, but when Beth saw Ruth Ann's enthusiasm for the job, she "threw her hat in the ring" and was elected. The meeting ended with a game of "Snow Ball," Ruth Ann and Beth managing to be on opposing teams. At every opportunity Ruth Ann threw the ball at Beth in an attempt to put her out of the game. Beth retaliated by throwing the ball at Ruth Ann. They seemed to be carrying on their competition in the election held earlier in the meeting. By the end of the game, however, their anger at each other seemed to be dispelled, for they left the agency arm in arm talking gayly together.

Some groups have a favorite game and refuse to play any other. Even if they try others suggested by the worker, they still must play their favorite at every session. Since the worker is concerned with broadening the scope of the interests of the group members, he analyzes the elements of the game in order to discover what needs it is meeting and develops other suggestions for program that will help satisfy the same needs. In almost every instance, this game so enjoyed by the members is one permitting the expression of aggression in some form. "Scatter Dodge Ball" is one of these games.

In a group of ten- to twelve-year-old boys, no other game could take the place of "Scatter Dodge." Great hostility was expressed through throwing the ball as hard as possible. Inevitably the smaller boys were eliminated first, and one day the worker suggested that they have some races while they waited for the "Scatter Dodge" game to be finished. This developed into relay games and they kept on playing while the larger boys continued "Scatter Dodge." The latter were disappointed because the loss of numbers shortened their game and removed their "easy victims."

The next week the session began with relays, at the suggestion of the smaller boys. The big boys entered in and the whole program was devoted to different kinds of relays. This was particularly helpful to two of the smaller boys who previously had feared being hurt in the "Scatter Dodge" game. Here they proved to be the fastest runners and as part of a team participated throughout the program. The two biggest boys were captains and did a lot of ordering around, but their domineering was set at a minimum by the very conditions of the game; no one person could win alone and the co-operation of all was needed. Even the speed of the larger boys in running meant little in the "Hop" and "Wheelbarrow" relays. The relay games met the need of these boys to release aggression but in ways that did not harm the smaller ones.

In a group of girls, aged eleven to fourteen, the "Scatter Dodge" game became an expression of the hostility engendered by inclusion of two "outsiders" in their play. A summary made by the worker shows how quickly the situation developed.

When the girls were deciding on the game to play, I tried unsuccessfully to divert them from the usual decision of "Scatter Dodge." As we were playing, two Negro girls came to the door and asked to join in the play. One member said, "We're having a meeting"; another one, "Come on in." The majority said nothing which was in reality a negative response. The two Negro girls did not feel free to join the group, but they had enough feeling of consent from the members to come into the gym, get a ball and start a game between themselves. The balls of the two games became confused, and finally the club felt the urge to invite the visitors to play with them in order to avoid complications. Some of the members also had an honest desire to include them. The game took on a new emphasis with the increased skill brought to it by the visitors.

Soon I realized something had changed in the game. One Negro girl was at one end of the gym, the other at the opposite end. Instead of a game of individual competition, it had become a game between two teams: the two Negro girls against the six white girls. Since the two Negro girls were better players and physically faster than the others, they controlled the game. The club members ran from one end of the gym to the other like a flock of sheep. Hostility was expressed in the way the ball whipped back and forth

between the two girls in control. When the ball fell into the hands of a club member, she was usually at a loss to know what to do with it. Should she throw it at one of her own group as she was in the custom of doing in this game or should she try to get one of the girls who were trying to put them out? The club members' confusion became obvious as they threw wildly with no gain of any kind.

Again the structure of the game changed. The two Negro girls evidently decided to concentrate on one girl in the club, unfortunately the one with the least status in the group. The rest of the club, who had been inadequate to meet the hostility of the two visitors, picked up on this action, and the entire group concentrated their feelings on one member. The ball was sent toward her with viciousness and she soon became aware that all efforts were bent toward putting her out of the game. She became self-conscious and cringed when the ball came toward her. There was the fear of physical danger and the threat to her pride through being eliminated, but her greatest fear was that she was standing alone against her group and the two girls she had defended. For she was the member who had said, "Come on in," and the one member who had expressed interest in having Negro girls in the club when the matter had been discussed in previous meetings. This all happened very quickly, and I saw that the one member needed protection and that the group needed help in limiting their feelings. I gained possession of the ball and suggested that we now play some other kind of game. The two visitors and one of the club members protested, but the majority were glad to change to another activity.

The club members, in their frustration at being unable to fit into the change in the game introduced by the visitors, easily turned to a scapegoat on whom to vent their anger. Their action was made easier because the Negro girls themselves chose someone with whom the club members might easily have been angry, for she was the one who had expressed a liking for Negro girls. In a sense, they held her responsible for the situation in which they found themselves. Nevertheless, at a certain point, they evidently became afraid of their hostile expression and were relieved to have the worker help them set limits. Their inexperience in playing team games undoubtedly played a part in their inability to organize themselves as a team to meet the superior skill of the visitors. If they had been able to do so, the competition itself might have helped both groups to work out their feelings without concentrating on one member.

Dodge Ball was a favorite game with an activity group of seven- to eleven-year-old boys, whose first few sessions made the recreation room into a battleground. The behavior considered "natural" in the particular community was carried over to the play activities. Charging, kicking, hitting, punching, and piling-on were part of every game. There was little evidence

of any standard that would serve to protect the younger and smaller members, and those who were unable to compete on a physical basis soon withdrew. The worker immediately modified the program, setting up several principles for the choice of games. As the members showed little capacity to relate to each other, he chose games requiring a minimum of co-operation which yet permitted physical expression of hostile feelings. The games were limited to a few favorites as the resistance to new content of any kind was vehement, partly because of a strong inclination to reject any evidence of authority. "Dodge Ball" was the preferred game; no degree of skill was involved at the outset; the objective was clearly to hit the players as hard as possible; to knock them off their feet was considered the greatest achievement.

For this reason the worker gave particular attention to the youngest and smallest members. By direct suggestion it finally became possible to divert interest to those who were the most rather than the least skilled at evading the ball. The form of the game was in this way changed. The refrain, "Why do ya hafta pick on the little kids," heard more often as time went on, reflected the development of new standards. Although these boys were greatly interested in basketball, it was beyond their physical ability or emotional development. Hence the combination game, basket-football, was developed to meet their need to emulate the older boys of the neighborhood. There was a gradual introduction of "rules" over the course of a two months' period, at the rate of one new rule every other session. Gradually, this group of boys developed skill in co-operative play suitable to the norm for their age group and formed new standards of fair play.

Soccer is another game which calls for aggressive tactics. It was the favorite indoor game of a club of thirteen- to sixteen-year-old boys. This club was an assortment of very disturbed boys, most of whom had delinquency records. These boys were incapable of having any sort of business meeting and any such attempts ended in destructive behavior. Extreme physical activity was their only interest.

The rules they would accept were very simple, as a result there was much pushing, pulling, holding, tripping, general roughhousing, and swearing. The worker's position as referee was completely ignored at first. The only way that he could get order out of chaos when arguments occurred was to secure possession of the ball and help the boys make a quick decision in order to get on with the game before it fell apart.

This was the first activity that had really engaged the interest of the boys so it was continued week after week. From the complete loss of self in the game and the aggressive behavior, there was evidence that it met the needs of these boys to work out some of their hostile feelings. In addition, it was the only activity which brought participation of all the members. Gradually the worker introduced more rules, talking over each with the

members. As time went on, the game developed patterns, and team play was occasionally used. The role of the worker as referee was recognized, and the boys looked to him to make impartial decisions when disputes arose. Argument became infrequent as the boys concentrated more on the object of the game; pushing and holding lessened as the members developed skills in volleying, dribbling with their feet, and feinting to deceive the opposition and draw the goalie away from his goal. In general the game released tension, gave satisfying outlets for hostile feelings in an organized form, and led to the development of physical skills and to some co-operative effort.

It can readily be seen that these boys were not able to participate in play at the emotional level expected from their age-group. They did make some progress in co-operative play and particular individuals found satisfaction. For example:

Hal had at one time been the indigenous leader of the boys, but his leadership was in question at this time, due partly to the disintegrating process going on in the group. Hal was small for his sixteen years, and he was also in conflict about his feelings toward his father who had deserted the family and was considered a failure by the mother. Consequently Hal went to any length in order to compensate for his size and to prove that he was not a failure like his father. Usually he did fail, but on one occasion he succeeded in winning the approval of the rest of the boys through his role as the goalie for one team. His team said that he wouldn't be any good at it, so Hal set out to do his very best. Amid a lot of yelling and swearing, Hal shouted, "O.K., let 'em kick it down here, I'm not afraid of 'em!" Many times he said in some form, "I'm not afraid," and proceeded to demonstrate that he was as tough and as good as any player by stopping any attempt by the opposing team to make a goal. Hal had a chance to prove to both himself and the other boys that he was capable of holding a position of leadership.

However, these boys, who found satisfaction in pre-delinquent and delinquent street activities, needed more personalized help than they were able to secure through games or any other activity.¹

Insistence upon playing a certain game is often rooted in the dynamics of the life of the particular group. Sometimes when the members do not know each other too well, they concentrate upon a game which is known to everyone as a means of keeping contact with something which is familiar. The game provides security and a bond which holds them together in the beginning, and the members cling to it because they do not feel secure enough in their relation with each other to participate in new and unfamiliar games.

¹ See Pyke's Pack (Chapter 12).

They use the game to solidify the bond of the group and when they arrive at the stage of feeling at home with each other they are able to turn to other activities. Thus when a group insists upon continuing a favorite game over a period of weeks, an analysis of the dynamics of the group process is in order. The worker is often fully aware that this game is not meeting the needs of all the members or contributing to the group-as-a-whole. He recognizes the need for change, but his efforts to introduce more helpful activities are fruitless unless he takes the group dynamics into account.

Many times, also, the game is one which makes it possible for the group to maintain its social organization; for the indigenous leaders to maintain their roles as leaders; for the underdogs to be kept in place. Of course the indigenous leader is going to oppose any new game which threatens his status, particularly if his position is maintained by fear rather than real acceptance on the part of the other members. Any new game where other members have chances to star or play important roles constitutes a threat to him.

In one group of boys, eight to ten years old, "Floor Hockey" was the favorite game week after week. In this community, the older boys (thirteen to fifteen years old) were organized on a gang basis and the younger ones were just becoming aware of the community pattern. The older boys played "Floor Hockey" so the younger boys chose it too. They used the game to build up and solidify the gang pattern. Hank, the indigenous leader, who was feared rather than liked by the other boys, assigned the positions each week, always giving the same one to each member and keeping for himself the prominent position, the one that would keep him on top. If one of the others emerged from a subordinate role through ability or made more goals than he did, Hank became angry and started a fight as a means of forcing that member to remain a follower. In short, Hank used the game to maintain himself as leader.

The degree of acceptance accorded each member is frequently revealed through games. Even very young children point to their friends when they have the opportunity to choose someone to succeed them in the central role. Any game calling for partners or teams gives the members a chance to choose those whom they wish to be near. There are many reasons for these choices: some members have skills which make them greatly desired as team members; others are so well liked that their skill in the game is a minor factor in the choice; others are so feared because of superior strength or other attributes that they are quickly chosen as allies; still others possess equipment, such as a football, which insures their inclusion in the game.

The importance of the feeling of being accepted cannot be overemphasized. The desire to be noticed, to have physical contact with another person, to be chosen and to be wanted, is partially fulfilled in games. Feelings

of friendliness that the members are unable to put into words are easily expressed through games. Many times the fact that the game has placed a member in a position of choosing the next person to be "it," or a partner, or teammates, gives him the daring to indicate those whom he likes. In one group, Marie, the quiet, withdrawn member, was given the central role by the worker. When the time came for Marie to choose her successor, she turned to Ruth with a smile and said loudly, "I choose Ruthie."

Children, and adults too, whose overtures of love have been rebuffed find ways of covering up their feelings and desires. Sometimes members say that they are not interested in playing. Their indifference is often only a pretense; they want to play, but fear that they will not be accepted by the group as players. This defense is very common among individuals who live in institutions.

In one institution for boys, Jake, aged sixteen, hid his feelings under a tough exterior. He had formerly been a "fringe" member in a group of older boys, tolerated to the extent that they let him tag along on their delinquent expeditions. In this new setting, Jake was unable to participate in activities with the other boys and could not even talk with them.

A social group worker, noticing Jake's isolation, endeavored to engage him in conversation but got nothing but monosyllabic answers. All attempts at friendliness met with gruffness and surliness. Jake had built a shell around himself for protection. The boys he had formerly trusted had let him take the blame. One day when a downpour of rain prevented the plans for a swim, the worker suggested some games. Jake responded with his customary "No." But he did not leave the room. He sat in one corner apparently reading a comic book. The worker started "Numbers," a game demanding alertness on the part of the players but also evoking fun and laughter. New players can be inserted at almost any time, and soon the worker noticed that Jake had slipped quietly into the circle and secured a "number" for himself. The worker made a point of calling Jake's number as quickly as possible, and soon he was, for the first time, participating in an activity with the other boys, laughing and shouting with them in great glee. When the rain stopped and it was possible to go swimming, Jake did not want to go, and he succeeded in getting some of the boys to stay and play with him.

This one experience did not completely change Jake's customary behavior. It did demonstrate to the worker that Jake's outward behavior was merely a pretense; inside he wanted to be like the others, to enjoy the same things they did, to be part of the group's activity and to get a feeling of acceptance through having his "number" called in the game.

Ability in games often gives the members a feeling of acceptance and thus an increased confidence in participating in other areas of group life. For example:

Don, twelve years old, was slightly withdrawn and for the most part found it difficult to engage in the activities of the group. One day, however, he was quite successful in making baskets during a game of "Twenty One" and received praise from the other members and the worker. At the very next meeting when the boys were making plans for a party he participated in the discussion and was able at one point to oppose the indigenous leader.

Often the worker helps members to be wanted by the group through discovering special ability in some area or through teaching them the skills necessary for the group's activities.

In a group of adolescent girls, the worker discovered almost immediately that Tessie was withdrawn, shy, and socially very inadequate. Through various means, she discovered also that Tessie was very intelligent but was unable to relax enough to participate in the activities of the group. One evening, the worker decided to try the game of "Mind Reader," using Tessie as her confederate. Tessie was thrilled to be chosen and played her role perfectly with a minimum of instruction. The next week the worker taught two similar games, "This and That" and "What Time is It," again using Tessie as a helper. She gave such a good performance that the group members were impressed with her, particularly since they were unable to guess how the tricks were done. Tessie began to gain confidence in herself and blossomed forth until she no longer sat quietly in her shell but giggled with the others, sharing their fun and secrets.

Special abilities are often discovered by the worker through the use of games. For example, the game of "Trades" (or "Lemonade") reveals dramatic ability or special interests; "Hollywood Rhythm," a keen sense of rhythm on the part of some members. Some games bring out interest and ability in singing, dancing, crafts, and many other areas. The worker can turn these discoveries to good account, not only in helping the members who show these abilities to become more accepted in the group, but in following these leads for future program suggestions.

Games reveal attitudes of the players as well. "Twenty Questions" provides the worker with clues not only to the kind of people who have special interest for the members — such as athletes, movie stars, singers, artists, doctors, and so on — but also to special things that interest the group about these people, such as fame, money, or special accomplishments in the fields of art and science. One group of adolescent girls playing this game chose Dr. Dafoe, and in their questions and answers revealed their interest in and lack of knowledge of the birth process. Many wishes and desires which the members cannot put into words are revealed through their actions in such games as "What I Like" and "What I Want to Be." The values and norms

of the family and the community, as accepted or rejected by group members, also come to the fore. In playing "Lemonade," children of industrial workers have been known to depict a picket line instead of the usual everyday occupations.

The development of leadership is one of the most valuable potentialities of games. Some members, in the beginning, need the security derived from a definite form where everyone acts in unison. Games wherein the group is divided into smaller groups, which alternate in performing the same or a similar action, are steps forward. Ruth, one of the shy members of a group of ten- and eleven-year-olds, was able to gain security in circle and dancing games in which everyone was doing the same movements. From this she moved into participation in "Lemonade" and Charades. She soon felt that she was really part of the group of laughing, singing girls and was able to take on special roles.

Games wherein one individual has a special role give practice in assuming a position of leadership and then relinquishing it to become part of the total group again. Gradually, even the shy members gain confidence in their ability to carry some of the responsibilities of leadership. They are able to assume committee responsibility and may be chosen as officers when their real abilities are thus discovered by the group. The more complicated team games give the participants unlimited opportunities to act as leaders. All games with special roles provide outlets for those who want to be the center of the stage. At the same time, such members learn to take their turns with the other members and to play for the good of the whole group.

For some group members, games provide their earliest opportunity to make decisions and to settle conflicts in a democratic manner. Often the worker has to guard against having all the decisions made by one individual or small subgroup. When conflicts arise over "fair play," it is the worker's role to enable the members themselves to make the decisions. This democratic process is one with which most groups need considerable help in order to function successfully.

Dr. Ira Wile emphasizes the values of games for adolescents when he says that "Through his games the adolescent manifests increasing awareness of others. . . . One learns to play the game of life through learning to play the games of life. . . . They form a parade ground for testing out initiative and courage, leadership and social relationships. . . . Gradual withdrawal from infantilism promotes co-operative participation in social play."¹

Game rooms for adolescent boys and girls provide excellent "parade grounds," especially in the field of social relationships. They are also good spots in which to discover the individuals who are having difficulty in estab-

¹ Ira S. Wile, *The Challenge of Adolescence* (New York: Greenberg, 1939), p. 264.

lishing relations with their peers and with the workers who represent authority. Although game rooms are used to some extent by club members, agency participants with no club affiliations are apt to be the most frequent habitués. Many of them are individuals who cannot fit into club life because personal needs make their behavior unacceptable to other members. In the game room, many of them learn to become part of a group. Small groups form around a common interest and disintegrate just as quickly, so that relationships are almost constantly changing; but often a group of people establish more permanent relations which lead them to form a club of their own. It often happens, too, that game room participants become acceptable for membership in agency groups which are already organized. The worker in the game room is on the alert to keep satisfying activities going, help individuals to fit in, and encourage budding relationships.¹

Chuck, aged sixteen, always attended the game room sessions for high school boys and girls. In the words of the worker:

He will hover around, always on the alert to cause some trouble either to the other people present or to the workers. He will roughhouse with the boys, sprawl on the benches and thus keep others from using them, snatch off the other boys' caps and pull the girls' hair as he goes by. He likes to challenge authority by smoking in the worker's presence and keeping his hat on while in the agency. He seems unable to think of any constructive activity in which to engage himself. He finds difficulty also in relating to the girls, avoiding them or teasing them and ridiculing the other boys who are not so backward as he in relating to girls. He needs reassurance and help so that he can take the steps between childhood and manhood without undue difficulty.

This reassurance and help the worker gave in several ways. She ignored his infractions of some rules, for she recognized his conduct as not only a show-off resistance to authority but also a bid for attention; on other rules she took a firm stand, tacitly expecting from Chuck certain responsibilities and forms of behavior. She used certain program content to give him assurance of her acceptance and to help him become better liked by the other members. Chuck was good at pool, checkers, and card games, and she would draw him into a game with her. As others gathered around to watch, she would include them in the game also, withdrawing herself as soon as things were moving along well. Chuck found it possible to relate to the girls through simple card games and before he knew it he was talking easily with them. Within four months, he had progressed haltingly in his relations with

¹ Harry Bray, "A Study of the Facilities and Functions of the Social Game Room in Seven Agencies Practicing Group Work," thesis, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, 1942.

others to a point where he no longer broke windows nor prowled about the room but instead was able to sit quietly with a group around a card or game table. Eventually he became a member of the canteen, where he learned to dance with the girls.

It is important for boys and girls to learn how to work and play together as companions in activities other than social dancing. A game room is one of the places where this learning can take place. Mitzi was "boy crazy" and would do almost anything to attract their attention. The worker stressed activities in which Mitzi could have the companionship of the boys on an impersonal basis. Ping-pong, table-football, and pool caught her interest. As the boys shared these activities with her, they gave her plenty of good natured "ribbing" and defended themselves against her advances. In turn, her desire to participate with them in these games helped her to control her behavior.

It is sometimes necessary to adapt a game or other activity to the needs of the group in response to a particular situation. The following example shows the skillful way in which a social group worker made a game out of a situation which might otherwise have resulted in a fight between two groups of boys. In so doing, he enabled his own club to release their anger at the intruders through the medium of the game; provided opportunities for the development of special leadership roles and for the division of leadership and responsibility in accordance with the abilities of the members; and made the most of an especially effective setting for the use of motor activity and sensory powers.

During a hike which our club took recently, the boys were compelled to improvise a game in order to meet an unforeseen situation. As we reached the top of the hill, Harry and Nick came running toward us and excitedly told us that another group of boys was following us. When they came in sight, we saw that there were six of them and the leader had a bee-bee gun. I went over to them and suggested to this group of older boys that there were so many paths in the woods that we could easily keep out of each other's way. The older group said that they were going straight ahead; but later one of our boys, who had "scouted," brought word that they had stopped at the end of the path and were spying on us. They were evidently intent upon annoying us. The boys had made special plans for their trip but decided to change them. We capitalized on the densely wooded area and several of the boys took out their pocket knives and began clearing out a small area for a Command Post. One boy, Charles, was selected to occupy the Command Post with the worker and receive the reports from the scouts and the runners. The most active, energetic, daring boys chose to be the scouts and runners. The Command Post was protected by four guards who were placed in a semicircle, twenty-five feet from it. These boys were the

larger, less energetic ones of the group. They were charged with the safety of the Command Post and its occupants in case the scouts should be overwhelmed by the "enemy."

The two scouts had to approach as close as possible to the "enemy" without being detected and determine their activity. They were accompanied by two runners who in turn would carry the report of the scouts to the Command Post. The scouts and runners were cautioned that if their movements were discovered by the "enemy" they were to report immediately to the Command so that the Post and its guards could be withdrawn to another area.

The success of the game hinged on the agility and cleverness of the scouts and runners. If they remained undetected by the "enemy" our position was tenable. The object of the entire game was to maintain the security and secrecy of the Command Post and not to allow the "enemy" to detect us in the woods. Each role played successfully meant that the interruption and annoyance originally feared from the "enemy" would not occur and that we would be able to return to our previously planned games.

Thus we see that it behooves the worker to do more than just "fill in time" for an hour or so through using games. He should base the selection of games on a careful analysis of the demands made by their patterns, activity skills, and rules and procedures; exercise skill in introducing and leading games; observe the group at play and further analyze the situations that arise, in order to make any necessary adaptations and changes. In this way he is able to make the use of games a valuable tool in helping the members to develop as individuals and to participate in group life.

Criteria for Selecting and Leading Games

Criteria for the selection of games grow naturally out of the material discussed in this chapter. They are grouped here according to the various factors which the worker must keep in mind: the individual members, the group-as-a-whole, the agency, the community, and any other factors that affect the particular situation.

I. *The Individual Members*

In thinking of the individual members, the worker chooses:

1. Games that do not overtax the physical development, yet provide for continued development.
2. Games that are within the intellectual grasp, yet provide opportunities for greater use of the mental powers.
3. Games that are related to the stage of emotional development and provide for release of feelings, yet necessitate the direction and control of emotions.

4. Games that are suited to the social development, yet provide for growth in ability to co-operate, to take responsibility, and to accept consequences.
5. Games that do not isolate individuals because of certain physical, intellectual, or emotional inadequacies, but that help each person to function to capacity.
6. Games that make use of special skills and abilities.
7. Games that provide opportunities for leadership.

II. *The Group-as-a-Whole*

In thinking of the group-as-a-whole, the worker chooses:

1. Games that include all the members, and thus are adapted to the age-range, the number of members, and the various factors of difference represented in the group.
2. Games that are suited to the sex of the members of the group. This choice is influenced by health and safety factors and the prevailing attitudes in the community toward what is suitable for boys, for girls, for men, for women, and for mixed groups.
3. Games based on previous experiences which have developed certain activity skills and particular attitudes toward certain kinds of games.
4. Games that are related to the purpose of the group and to the particular occasion.
5. Games that provide for fun and a good time.
6. Games that fit the mood of the group — that will change the mood, if necessary.
7. Games that provide for release of feelings by channeling them through the activity rather than directing them upon particular individuals.
8. Games that are suited to the structure of the group and effective in maintaining or changing this structure in accordance with the desires or needs of the group.
9. Games that help the members work together.
10. Games that provide competition, that help the members learn how to win or lose and still maintain relations with each other or with outside teams.
11. Games that provide practice in leading and following.
12. Games that provide the members with opportunities for making decisions.
13. Games that help the members bring their standards and values in line with those of the agency and the community.
14. Games that give the members support, making them feel free to differ with community standards which are no longer applicable.

III. *The Agency*

In thinking of the agency, the worker chooses:

1. Games that further the purpose and philosophy of the agency.

2. Games that are within the limits of the equipment and facilities.
3. Games that are suitable to the particular space available for the activities of the group in relation to the health and safety of the members.

IV. *The Community*

In thinking of the community, the worker chooses:

1. Games that make use of the facilities and resources of the community.
2. Games that take the group out of their small community into the wider one.
3. Games that help the group work out tensions that have their counterparts in the immediate and the wider community.
4. Games that are in accord with or do not deviate too widely from the accepted mores of the community; hence games that help the group gain status.
5. Games that help the group to change their pattern of accepting neighborhood patterns which deviate too widely from the accepted social norms of the wider community.
6. Games that give the group support in their desire to change the community standards if such change seems appropriate.

V. *Other Factors that Influence the Choice of Games*

1. The time of day, and the members' other activities or occupations during the day.
2. The weather and its consequent effect upon the moods and abilities of the members.
3. Events in their personal lives that affect the members' moods or behavior.
4. Events of the world at large that affect the attitudes of the members.

Leadership of Games

While most game books¹ give excellent instructions for teaching and leading specific games, we should like to emphasize some general procedures. The worker must be able to lead games so that the members enjoy playing and gain as much value from the experience as possible. Therefore

1. The worker must like the game. Even though he may not personally enjoy playing it, his awareness of its values for the members gives him a professional attitude toward its use that will enable him to be enthusiastic.
2. He must know the game so thoroughly that his attention can be centered upon the members and their reactions during the process of play.
3. He must be able to accept being at times the center of attention as he explains the game and enforces the rules.

¹ There are innumerable game books, many of them related to special age-groups, settings, and occasions. A few representative titles are listed in the bibliography, p. 660.

4. He must explain the game clearly and simply and get the group into action with a minimum of discussion.
5. He must be ready to stop for further explanations or the addition of rules when necessary.
6. He must be able to analyze and teach the elements of the game.
7. He must know ways of moving the group from one formation to another with a minimum of confusion.
8. He must apply the necessary limits in order to make it possible for the game to be played, protect the facilities and equipment, protect one individual from the group, protect the group from one individual or sub-group.
9. He must recognize the need for adapting the game or changing to another game in order to protect the well-being of the members.
10. He must be able to use the equipment and facilities of the agency in such a way that (a) he keeps overabundance from being harmful, through his wise use of the limits, and (b) he keeps undersupply from being detrimental, through his creative use of substitutes.

8

The Values of Rhythm, the Dance, and Music

RHYTHM

RHYTHM IS ONE of the most individualized attributes of human beings. Fundamentally, it is efficiency of movement; rhythm, or the lack of it, is apparent in every movement of the body. Each person's timing of his movements differs in some respects from the timing of every other person. Each has his characteristic rhythm of walking, running, dancing, talking, or engaging in craft work or any other activity. The rhythm of each person is the direct expression in co-ordinated fashion of the interacting physical, intellectual, and emotional aspects of his being; and since the "being" of every individual is continually changing, the rhythm of each individual varies as the forces within him vary.

Changes in the rhythm of the body organs — as evidenced by the rate of pulse or breathing, for example — are often the first indications of illness. A person is seldom conscious of his physical processes until the rhythm of their functioning is disturbed. Changes in mood also induce changes in rhythm. Anger, rage, self-assurance, timidity, uncertainty, discouragement, excitement, and joy are expressed through the posture of the body and the rhythm of bodily movement. The social group worker soon becomes familiar with the characteristic rhythm of each member and notices when that rhythm changes. The change may indicate only unfamiliarity with an activity, or it may stem from some more fundamental physical or emotional stress. As the member becomes secure and familiar with an activity, his tenseness usually disappears and his bodily movements and manner of handling equipment and materials become free and easy. When a member seems lacking in rhythm (or co-ordination, or efficiency of movement), the worker seeks to discover whether he has certain physical defects; helps him develop his muscles; helps him learn and practice the activity until he becomes skillful enough to win acceptance from the group. But if tension of the body still

persists, so that the member is unable to fit into the rhythmic patterns of the music, dance, or other activity, experience indicates that some basic emotional tension is the cause and that he needs more personalized help.

Groups, too, have characteristic rhythms; and the rhythmic norm peculiar to any given group varies in accordance with the fluctuating rhythms of its constituent members. The rhythm of a group is an important factor to be considered when new members are recruited and when some individuals are having difficulty in accepting or being accepted by the group-as-a-whole.

While rhythm is basic to all forms of music and the dance, and is one of the reasons for the appeal of these activities to all age-groups, it is also fundamental to other activities. It is the basis of many movements in crafts. The alternate tension and relaxation required in handling tools results in the development of rhythmic movement that is part of the fascination of crafts. Dramatics employs rhythm, not only in the speaking voice (particularly noticeable in choral speech), but in movement as well, in order to depict a character or set a mood. In all sports, rhythm is important. It controls the timing of the body movements which connect the racket, the golf club, the baseball bat, or the foot, with the ball; makes possible the shifting line of defense on football field or basketball court, the perfection of movement in track events. Athletes seldom associate this sense of movement and timing with rhythm in the usual sense of the word, for many persons with excellent rhythm in sports become tense when they think of dancing or moving in rhythm to music.

It is easier to learn an activity if the rhythm of movement needed is first sensed in the muscles. Of the faculty of learning the accent of any physical act, especially those in which momentum plays a part, Joseph Lee said:

You cannot be a good carpenter, blacksmith, pianist, you cannot row or paddle or play golf, until you have formed an accurate image in your mind of the time length and sequence of those motions of which the special skill consists. To learn how to do a thing is to train the mind and muscles not merely to the form of the required movement, but to its swing and ictus. . . . Rightly to perform any physical act you must, as we say, first get the hang of it. You must know before you start just how it ought to feel, the rate at which the momentum should accumulate, and just where the stress of it should come.¹

There is something about rhythm that binds people together. Activities involving rhythm are particularly useful in helping groups of people become acquainted. Lee mentioned social fusion as one of the functions of rhythm:

Rhythm is the great get-together agent of the world, the mightiest ally of

¹ Joseph Lee, *Play in Education* (New York: National Recreation Assn., 1929), pp. 156-157.

the belonging instinct . . . there is nothing that produces such identity of thought and feeling, and such consciousness of it on the part of each. When people sing or march or dance together, each knows with accuracy, as in the ring game, what all the rest are doing and are going to do and in great part how they feel about it; and each knows that the other knows — and so on, to the depth that the song or movement goes, the mutual understanding is complete. And it goes deeper as the rhythmic influence continues — a ripple, a wave, a ground swell, until the whole emotional being of each member of the company swings to the same pulsation like a tidal wave.¹

Thus rhythm is a stimulus to participation. As such, it can be used to the disadvantage as well as to the advantage of individuals and groups. Rhythm is misused when whole groups of people are swayed to a cause about which they have little knowledge and of whose ultimate effect upon their lives they have still less understanding.

THE DANCE

The fundamentals of rhythm develop naturally into forms of dance. Throughout the ages, dancing has been a universal mode of expression for human beings. It is a particularly effective medium because it uses the whole body as an outlet for an idea or emotion. It has been described as one of the forms of art to which people turn when words are inadequate to convey the emotional content and overtones of a certain situation.

A dance reflects not only the experiences and feelings of the particular group who originate it but also the general spirit of the times. A correlation has been found between dance forms and the historical, religious, and cultural development of the countries in which they evolved. Different peoples have developed characteristic dance rhythms — so much so that we can speak of a Spanish rhythm, a South American rhythm, a Viennese waltz rhythm. Further, the degree of sophistication of a group is shown in the subtlety or frankness of dance expression: the stately court dance and the rollicking peasant dance; the grand cotillion and the square dance; fox-trotting and "jitterbugging."

The dance, in one sense, is a fleeting art. Unlike the arts of design, its true form cannot be spread on canvas, modeled in clay, or carved from wood or stone, to be viewed at leisure; unlike music, it cannot be captured on a record for future listening. It must be seen in action, and the movies have not yet fully succeeded in reproducing its sense of movement and its three-dimensional form. But while some forms of the dance accomplish their purpose by entertaining the spectator, or communicating ideas to him,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-161.

many are intended for personal participation. Only through participation can the essence of the rhythms and patterns of these forms be experienced.

It is difficult to describe to someone who has never danced, the relaxation and exhilaration that come through engaging in any form of dance that suits one best. It is one of the best of all hobbies for completely liberating the mind from preoccupations and depressing moods. It has been used many times to maintain a precarious equilibrium and to stave off mental illness.¹

In this chapter attention will be given to play party games, folk and square dances, modern dance, social dancing, ballet, acrobatic, tap, chorus, and line dances, and the special values and disadvantages of each will be considered.

Play Party Games, Folk Dances, and Square Dances

Play Party games, folk dances, square, barn or country dances, sometimes called "dances of the people," are valuable program media. They call for the participation of a group; most of the rhythms and steps are simple enough so that almost anyone can learn them easily; skill of individual performance is not so important as in other forms of dance; partners can be changed frequently as part of the procedure of the dance; the patterns and designs are pleasurable and give individuals a sense of belonging to a whole and contributing to the accomplishment of the group. In group dances of this kind the individual is able to keep his own minor variations in style and still be a part of the larger whole. A sense of freedom, relaxation, and sociability is a natural concomitant of these forms of the dance.

Many folk and country dances came into being as rites or celebrations connected with the life experiences and occupations of human beings: birth and death, courtship and marriage, coming of age, sowing and harvesting, hunting, weaving, milling the wheat, gathering and treading the grapes. Play Party games were originated by the young people of America's pioneer days as a substitute for dancing, which was considered an "instrument of the devil" and thus was forbidden by the elders. The formations are very similar to those of the country and square dances; partners are either unnecessary or very frequent changes are made so that continued "pairing off" is rare; the players accompany themselves by singing, thus the "wicked" fiddle is absent. The original purposes of all these dances are seldom consciously considered today by the people who dance them. (One exception is Play Party games; some groups of young people today see them as a solution to the ban placed on dancing by their families or churches.) For the most part,

¹ Edward Greenwood, "Dance," Part V of "Recreation and Morale," *Menninger Clinic Bulletin*, vol. 6 (1942), no. 3, p. 79.

they are danced and enjoyed because the rhythms and patterns are pleasing and because they satisfy a basic human need to respond to rhythm in a group design, a need which transcends the limits of time. Malinowski¹ emphasizes the role of dancing in establishing social cohesion and binding the group together with strong unified emotions.

In some countries, solo dancing has been developed into a highly technical skill. Group dances, however, predominate; and they are naturally of more value in social group work. Many countries have dances for groups of men alone; for example, the Morris and Sword dances of England and the Cossack dances of Russia; there are also some dances for women alone. But for the most part the dances of the people were designed as group dances with men and women dancing together; and for the purposes of social group work this type of dance provides a meeting place where boys and girls, men and women, can participate together in an activity where each has a definite part.

Unfortunately, many persons express dislike for such dances. Some associate folk dances with the gymnasium period in school which they disliked; some depreciate them as the customs of "foreigners"; to still others, themselves with a foreign-nationality background, folk dancing is part of that former culture which they want to abandon in their efforts to become "American." For these reasons, it is sometimes wise not to label the activity as "folk dancing" until the group has participated with enjoyment. American square or barn dances usually have more status, particularly since they have been popularized through Broadway hits, through the ballet and modern dance, and through the many recreational groups which have developed all over the country. Only as people have fun participating in one or another form of folk or square dancing will they overcome their attitude of dislike. And these dances are meant for participation and not for the entertainment of an audience, although there does seem to be value for observers also. Some people congregate at folk dance parties and square dances and are the last to leave though they never dance. These observers are gaining something from the vicarious experience; they are getting some kinesthetic feeling as they watch the others sway with the rhythm and move through the patterns of the dance. Many of them would like to take part but are prevented by certain inhibitions. They may feel that they lack rhythm and skill of movement; they may be unable to overcome a feeling of guilt induced by previous prohibitions placed on dancing; or they may fear to experience the release of feeling which is possible through dance movement.

Confronted with a wide variety of dances from many countries, the social group worker may become confused unless he organizes his search for those

¹ Bronislaw Malinowski, "Culture," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 3, p. 644.

best suited to particular groups. We have found it helpful to classify dances according to any or all of the following elements: number of dancers required; formations; characteristic rhythms, figures, patterns, or the like; traditional steps; and sociability.

I. Number of Dancers Required

1. *Solo Dances.* Usually considerable skill is required. They are good for star performers, but do not promote sociability, and in fact are seldom usable with groups.
2. *Couple Dances.* Although most dances require a number of couples, each composed of a man and a woman, many of them can be done by a single couple. Even these, however, are usually participated in by a number of couples in single or double circle or line formations. Often couples change partners for the repetition of the dance, although this is not an integral part of the steps and the form of the dance.
3. *Group Dances.* The basic principle of group dances is the necessity of having a group, not only in order to experience the feeling of the dance, but actually to form the patterns demanded by it. The group may be composed of three, four, six, eight, or more people. Each member of the group usually has some form of contact with other members during the course of the dance. This may take place through progression down the set or "visiting" around the circle or square; exchange of partners; grand right and left; weaving; reeling; and many other methods. For most group dances couples are necessary; but in some — for example, Noriu Miego, Seven Jumps, the Kolo dances of southeastern Europe, the Horas of Palestine, and many of the Play Party games of America — partners are not necessary to do the figures or steps of the dance. Some dances provide for unequal numbers of men and women by having each man take two women for partners, or each woman, two men partners. In all group dances a minimum of three or four people are needed to do the dance. Very large groups of dancers are usually subdivided.

II. Formations

1. *Single circle* is a very common formation. Usually the dancers all face the central spot and join hands, forming a single circle facing the center. They may also face either to the right or left and progress in that direction; or partners may face each other for the movements of the dance. As in the case of games, this is the easiest and most unifying formation.
2. *Double circle* is also very common. Couples stand side by side with the girl most commonly on the right of her partner. The usual line of direction is around the room counterclockwise (except in many of the French dances). The girl is thus on the outside where she and her costume can be seen to advantage. Partners may face each other in the double circle, or one couple may face and dance with another couple. The double circle

formation may be maintained throughout the dance, with the dancers interweaving in some way; or, for parts of the dance, the total group may break up into smaller units of four, six, or eight. The dancers may move from the basic formation into a single circle, lines, or other formations.

3. *Longways*. This type of formation may start with all the men on one side and the women on the other, or men and women may alternate along each line. The basic principle is that each couple shall have the opportunity to be "head couple" and to play a special role. Thus each couple moves to the head of the line through some method of progression.
4. *Square Formation*. This form appears in the dances of many countries and is not limited to the square dances of America. It is a device which, by limiting the number of couples that may participate in a given dance, divides the larger group into a number of smaller ones and thus promotes sociability. In the small group, each dancer or couple often performs alone through some method such as "visiting" around the set. The formation itself is seldom maintained in the figures except as a designation of each couple's "home spot" and as an enclosure for the group of eight dancers. The figures themselves involve circles, stars, weaving, and many others. Some square dance calls end with a figure that will unify all the squares in the hall into one large group. Some new calls provide for "extra girls" by assigning two partners to each man in these squares.

III. Basic Rhythms, Figures, and Patterns

1. *Rhythms* — Certain rhythmic combinations are common to the dances of many countries. For example, the rhythm 1, hold, 2, hold, 1, 2, 3, hold, is common to "Herr Schmidt" (German-American), "Jump Little Joe" and "Strut Miss Lizzie" (American), "The Straw Cutter" (Austrian), "Noriu Miego" (Lithuanian), and the "Beseda" (Czechoslovakian).
2. *The Reel* — as done in the "Virginia Reel" also occurs in "Weave the Wadmal" (Danish), "Down the River" (American), "Kynkeliepakk" (Finnish), and others.
3. *Weaving or Waving* — occurs in "Weave the Wadmal" (Danish), "Waves of Tory" (Irish), "Italian Quadrille" (Italian), and in many squares such as "Dip and Dive" (American).
4. *Right Hand Star* — is found in "The Little Mill" (Latvian), "Mutual Love" and "Green Sleeves" and many other English dances, and in American squares.
5. *The Double Star Formation* — is found in the "Texas Star" (American), the "Beseda" (Czechoslovakian), "Italian Quadrille" (Italian), and in a variation in the "Windmiller" (German).
6. *Grand Right and Left and Ladies Chain* — are found in dances of many countries (America, Germany, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Argentina). Ladies Chain also occurs in some French dances.

Detailed study of the dances of many countries will turn up additional common elements.

IV. *Traditional Steps*

While the fundamental means of locomotion — walk, run, skip, hop, leap, gallop, slide, jump — are most commonly used in these dances, certain traditional steps are found in the dances of almost every country. There may be some slight change in rhythmic emphasis and style, but the basic step is still there. The waltz is used in dances of Germany, Spain, Czechoslovakia, America, and other countries. The polka is universal, for it is found in some form in practically every country. The mazurka is used in Polish, Czech, and Swedish dances, and even in the American version of the Varsovienne. Sometimes the step will be called by some other name, but an analysis reveals its origin.

V. *Sociability*

This is an important consideration for the worker who is interested in promoting social contacts among the members. Any device or pattern which changes the existing one promotes social contacts by changing the group configurations. Changing partners, changing couples in a formation of four dancers, grand right and left, ladies chain, reeling, weaving, waving, and serpentine are a few of the figures and changes that promote sociability.

The worker may have any one or all of these five points in mind as he selects dances. This kind of analysis helps him to figure out the degree of difficulty of each dance in relation to the skill of group members and to plan a program that not only continues to hold the interest through variety and familiarity but develops progression in skill of performance.

The emphasis upon the common elements of dances from many countries is not meant to eliminate differences. The dances of each country — in fact, often of each section of a country — have a certain rhythm and style all their own. These differences should be maintained in order to safeguard the individuality of each country and its contribution. We believe, however, that one of the ways of helping people to appreciate each other and become friends is to emphasize "likenesses," thus providing a common bond. When members find that the dances of others contain steps and formations similar to those with which they are already familiar, they are then more apt to be accepting of differences.

Values as an Element of Program Content

Thus Play Party games, folk and square dances have many values for the development of individual members and for the group-as-a-whole. Such dances can be simple enough in steps and formations so that anyone can participate, and yet provide scope for interested persons to develop a high

degree of skill. Hospital group workers have arranged square dances in which patients on crutches and in wheel chairs could participate. Some dances do not require partners and it matters little if the dance starts with all the boys on one side of the circle and the girls on the other. For the most part, contact with partners is not so close as in social dancing and lack of skill or a misstep does not seem so disastrous. Provision for change of partners eliminates the necessity of dancing with one person for a long period of time. There are opportunities for a single individual or couple to take the lead or to star for a brief period, to stand out from the group and then become part of it again. Constant interweaving of the dancers fosters social contacts instead of the isolation so often apparent in social dancing. The pattern of the whole group is a satisfying experience for the participants and at the same time each one can add his own particular style or variations to the movement without disrupting the pattern; thus individual and group are integrated. Freedom within a form or pattern provides security. The individual is submerged to some extent in the form, and the shy person can participate more freely. Individuals also have a chance to show preferences for others as they choose partners or make up a set. Joy in the dance and pride in accomplishment are often shown as a group breaks into spontaneous, enthusiastic applause at the end of a dance. These dances create a special atmosphere which is friendly, sociable, and accepting of others in the group.

It is easy to see that these dances serve a valuable purpose in helping to ease the social situation, especially with adolescents and young adults. Social dancing requires more individual skill and closer contact with the opposite sex than some members are ready for. Many groups find that folk and square dances are fun to do, provide an easy way to participate in activity together, and serve as a transition to the more difficult social dancing.

A group of adolescent girls spent much of their time in club meetings talking about boys and how to get along with them. One evening they decided to dance, and on the way to the recreation room they passed a club of boys who the worker knew were interested in the girls. The worker took the initiative and asked the boys if they didn't want to come along; the girls quickly seconded the invitation. The boys trailed along, but when they reached the room the worker immediately saw the need for some device to get the boys and girls dancing together. She therefore suggested some Play Party games which mixed the group and set a friendly atmosphere. After a period of social dancing, the worker suggested another circle dance for a closing, and both boys and girls found this an easy way to break off the relationships of the evening.

A group of older adolescent girls wanted to give a dance but were worried about meeting boys and getting them to dance. On the evening when plans

were to be made for the dance, the worker brought some square dance records along with the popular ones. At first the girls were amused by this music, but when the worker mentioned how much fun square dancing was, they became excited about having a "Hill Billy" dance. They learned some of the dances and planned refreshments and decorations in keeping with this idea. The club decided to have their dance the same night as the bi-monthly square dance held at the agency. They made plans to come early, practice in their own club room first, and then go to the dance upstairs where there would be a "real caller" and an orchestra. On the night of the dance, the group was at first reserved and stiff, as the girls had feared. The worker taught a simple mixer and the informality of the dance put the group at ease immediately. After the short practice period, the group went upstairs for the square dance, where they had a wonderful time. The evening ended with social dancing and by this time the boys and girls were thoroughly acquainted. Besides having importance for the whole group, this occasion was particularly helpful to two of the girls who had not been popular with boys and had tended to withdraw from activities in mixed groups. The form of this dancing drew them into its infectious gaiety and both found partners for social dancing later in the evening.

At their first party with boys, the Peppy Pals asked their worker to teach the whole group some of the Play Party games and dances they had enjoyed in club meetings. "Bingo" and "Skip to My Lou" proved to be effective get-acquainted games but "Strut Miss Lizzie" was the favorite of the evening. In this game, each individual (or each couple) has a chance to dance down the center alone in any style he chooses. The variety of movement devised by these boys and girls was expressive of each individual person. The worker noticed two boys who kept shifting to the rear of the line so they would not have to be in the limelight. Finally, however, they achieved the most original dance movements of the whole group. After this chance for individuals to star, the worker called a circle dance where all moved in unison.

A group of young men decided to have a party and invite girls. The worker discovered that their experience with girls was quite limited, and his advice was in great demand as plans for the evening were made. Among other suggestions, he pointed out the value of square dancing as a mixing device. When the members picked up this idea, he taught some of the simpler calls. The members practiced for several weeks, and at the party they proudly guided the girls through the figures of the dances.

Many groups plan a large dance and then get panic-stricken when the time arrives. All their plans for mixing the group vanish from their minds; the girls sit primly along the walls and the boys huddle together at the doorway ready to make a dash for freedom. Many social group workers find that organizing a Grand March in such a way that no one has to choose a partner,

and following it with Play Party games and square dances, gets the evening off to a good start. After such a beginning, one boy said, "I've had a wonderful time. I never tried to dance with a girl before in my life but by the time I got through those square dances I had danced with eight of 'em. After that, it was a cinch!"

Sometimes these dances can be used to facilitate another activity. This was true with a dramatics interest group made up of adolescent boys and girls.

The worker noticed that the boys sat on one side of the table and the girls on the other. He started a discussion about what they wanted to do in dramatics but was unable to get much response from either side of the table. The interest of each subgroup was in the other, even though they tried to disguise it. Realizing that this was not the time to get ideas about dramatics, the worker suggested that the group play some games which would be of use later on in their dramatics. Making no attempt to divide the group into couples he started out with "Shoo Fly," having all the boys on one side of the circle and the girls on the other. Paul was reluctant to join, calling it "sissy stuff," but Harry urged him and he joined in. The worker then moved to "Oh, Susanna," which required partners, but by this time the ice was thoroughly broken, and with a little help, boys and girls alternated around the circle. Sally kept going the wrong way in the grand right and left, and three of the members showed her how to do it. When they finished, Paul was the one to ask for a repetition. After these two dances, the group sat down at the table in an entirely different configuration, and plans for the dramatics proceeded rapidly. At later meetings they often asked for a repetition of these and other dances.

In many instances the worker can successfully use one member who has skill in dancing to demonstrate a dance or teach the others.

Gerda, the isolate in a club of thirteen-year-olds, arrived early for the club meeting. The worker, who had noticed her excellent sense of rhythm and skill in dancing, asked her if she would like to learn a new folk dance, Koorobushka. Gerda learned the dance easily, and when the rest arrived, the worker demonstrated the dance with her and then had her help the other girls. Gerda, usually a silent, unresponsive member, had something to talk with the other girls about, and her confidence in her ability freed her to become a participating member of the group.

There is something about laughing together that promotes friendliness. These dances promote laughter. Mistakes are fun instead of tragedy, and all participants are so busy laughing together at their mistakes that each forgets himself. This is particularly true with mixed groups of boys and girls, which are ordinarily tense and self-conscious. It was also true with one group of adolescent girls who were always bickering among themselves.

These girls had come to the conclusion that their club was "no good" and that they had better disband. The worker, aware of the immaturity of the girls and their need to continue their relationships in this particular group, suggested that they have one more meeting to try out some new ideas for program. Among the suggestions she made were Play Party games and square dances accompanied by singing. These appealed to the girls, for some of them liked to sing. The next week the worker taught some easy dances first, gradually leading the group into a complex square dance. Mistakes were many, but the girls had such a good time laughing at themselves that a new feeling of unity developed. At the close of the meeting, they voted to continue their club.

It is not always possible to have an accompanist or a record player for dancing. Many folk and square dances, however, can be accompanied by singing and thus are possible even when special equipment is lacking. In this way an opportunity is provided to use another skill, and the participants achieve a sense of unity through dancing and singing together.

One group of young adults was greatly disappointed when the record player broke in the middle of the evening. They were in the mood to dance and nothing else would do as a substitute. The worker suggested dances to the songs already known by the group, such as "Oh, Susanna," "She'll Be Comin' Round the Mountain," "The Russian Peddler," "Rosa," and a Palestinian "Hora." The members enjoyed this singing and dancing so much that they decided to include some of these dances regularly in their program.

Sometimes the inclusion of a nationality dance among those taught by the worker makes it possible for a member to mention that his parents came from that country. This is usually said *after* the group has thoroughly enjoyed the dance. Often the worker introduces such dances because he is cognizant of the backgrounds of the members and is using this means of giving status to the contributions of particular nationality groups. In one instance, the use of such material made it possible for a member to claim a heritage of which the worker was unaware.

The worker taught the Palestinian Hora which the girls learned easily and enjoyed doing. Then Marcia said, "Why, that step is just like the Kolo my father taught me!" She went on to say that her father had been born in Serbia and had been the star dancer in his village. This was a surprise to the worker, for no mention of any nationality background had been made on Marcia's registration card. Here Marcia saw the similarity between the two dances; and because the worker introduced the step and the group enjoyed the dance, she was able to speak of her own background with pride. She proceeded to show the girls the formation used in the Serbian Kolo.

Members often learn dances from their parents and teach them to the group when they feel that the others will enjoy them. They are also quick to see parallels between folk and present-day dances.

When the group was learning the Koorobushka (The Russian Peddler), Peggy exclaimed, "It's just like the Conga!" "Yes," said Gerda, "It's one, two, three, hop, instead of one, two, three, kick, but it looks the same when you do it." "And it's a lot more fun," said Peggy, "for it's got more kinds of steps."

In some agencies there are adult groups composed of members with a specific nationality background. For these adults, the songs and dances of their original homeland may have a special appeal. Some of the members know all the intricate steps and are able to teach them to the rest of the group and to the worker. Sometimes they can do the steps, but are unable to teach them to anyone else. The worker's ability to analyze dance steps is very important in such cases, for he can thus help the members to be successful teachers and the group to have a good time.

In one adult group, composed of members from many different countries, folk dancing was a favorite activity. The worker helped many of them teach their dances to the others. After a number of weeks spent in enjoying each other's dances, they told the worker that they wanted to learn a real American dance — a square dance. Some of the members could understand and speak very little English and the fact that they had to respond to "calls" made the process difficult for them. But they were filled with pride when they mastered some square dances; they seemed to feel that, by learning dances which to them were typically American, they had become more truly American.

There is a growing interest in the type of Folk and Square Dance Festival where groups from all over the city or the county come together to dance. A special committee chooses the dances and each group learns them in its own group meetings. When all the groups come together, there is apt to be not only a wide age-range, but great variety in cultural and economic levels and nationality and racial backgrounds. The program of dances is planned so that there will be constant intermingling of the participants. For some this is an entirely new experience. At festivals of this type, social group workers have noticed dancers of all ages and from many varied backgrounds meeting and dancing together with freedom. Because the dancers are all familiar with the steps, they are able to dance together and maintain the pattern of the whole group. Friendships are formed between people who have never seen each other before — friendships that are maintained through visits and occasional participation in other dances. Something about the

atmosphere created at these festivals makes the contact with others pleasant and binding.

One group of young adolescent boys from a middle-class neighborhood had an interesting experience at such a festival. They wanted to attend, but first said that they would only watch; then they decided that they would dance with their worker as partner; finally they decided that they would dance in the dances their worker was to lead. The second dance on the program was "The Wheat," a dance for threes in which the two outside dancers move on to a new central partner for the repetition of the dance. Two of the boys started with their worker but at the first change, found themselves on either side of a Negro girl who calmly swung them through the steps of the dance. Then before they could quite realize what had happened they were moved on to a new partner, this time a white girl, whom the boys later discovered lived in the area known to them as the "mill district." By the time they returned to their original partner they had danced with people from all over the city. From that time on, the boys participated in all the dances. On the way home, they asked their worker many questions about the people at the Festival. Through conversation with those present, they had discovered that the participants came from many parts of the city and belonged to clubs "just like ours." The worker helped them to express their feelings about dancing with the Negro girls, and the boys said that they felt queer at first for they had never been that close to Negroes before. But these girls were good dancers and seemed much like other people they knew. The worker led the conversation to other people whom they had always thought different from themselves, and through the discussion these boys began to get an appreciation of others.

Many new interests develop from these forms of dance. From them can grow an interest in music of all kinds; in singing songs that accompany the dances; in listening to records of folk songs and ballads and orchestral compositions which use folk songs or rhythms as a basis; in playing an instrument which can be used to accompany the dancing, such as a recorder, guitar, fiddle, accordion, or some special folk instrument. Interest develops in visiting other groups, such as square dance or nationality groups in the city or barn dances in the nearby countryside. Ever widening horizons open to individuals, leading to new friends with similar interests.¹

Criteria for Selection

The criteria for choosing forms of dancing and specific dances center around many of the same considerations as for games. Some of these are the age of the participants, their sex, degree of skill and ability, attitude toward dancing and previous experience, and the size of the group. The prin-

¹ For selected resources in this area of program, see bibliography, pp. 661-662.

cipal factor to be considered is the special purpose of the particular group; it may be exercise, sociability, a special project requiring special dances, preparations for a party, or the party itself. No dance form is guaranteed to fit a particular type of group. The worker combines his understanding of the individuals in each group and of the group situation with his knowledge of dances, and on the basis of his professional wisdom chooses those forms best suited to the needs of the group.

Modern Dance

Creative dance, usually called "rhythms" when used with small children, is often designated as "contemporary" or "modern" dance when used with older children, adolescents, and adults. It is primarily a means for the communication of ideas, thoughts, feelings, and emotions; a communication through movement of the experiences of human life and of people's reactions to the modern social scene. Therefore it explores the depths of experience rather than the surfaces; it tells of war and danger, hunger and strife, prejudice and international politics as well as fun and good times, emphasizing the significant happenings of a constantly changing world.

Modern dance includes three areas of experience: (1) rhythmic and music fundamentals; (2) movement fundamentals; and (3) dance composition.¹

In discussing *rhythm*, we pointed out that each individual has his own rhythm of moving. However, those who wish to communicate through dance forms, must have such bodily control that they can respond to many rhythmic patterns; step out of their own rhythm and mode of movement into other kinds in order to present many ideas and feelings.

Movement fundamentals provide an excellent method of gaining body control; they improve the general health, emphasize good posture, and strengthen the arches, helping individuals gain poise and control of all their movements through space. Modern Dance is a particularly good form of exercise for adolescents, for it makes use of both physical and emotional energy in a controlled manner. The leader must have knowledge of the human body and the way in which its various parts function in order to avoid physical harm to the dancers. Thus, unless the social group worker has had special training, he is not competent to carry on the more advanced forms of this medium. He may be able to help a group in the beginning stage and arouse interest in further exploration with a specialist in Modern Dance; however, the beginning stage may include the development and presentation of original dances using simple movements.

¹ There are many leaders in Modern Dance, and each one has a philosophy of life which influences his techniques of developing bodily skill, the content of his dances, and his methods of choreography. See bibliography, p. 662, for references in this area.

Dance composition, or choreography, is the area where the dancer utilizes the body, the mind, and the emotions. For while the theme of a dance may originate in the emotions aroused by some idea or experience, the dance form itself must be built intellectually. It is necessary to analyze the subject material; experiment with all possible natural movements; make selections from these movements, and then put them into rhythmic, often abstracted movement, and into design in space. First expression in dance may well be labeled "self-expressionism"; but the dancer is quickly helped to think through his feelings and objectify the emotion in a more abstract form which is common to many people rather than to his personalized feelings alone. Through this process, the individual not only releases feelings but is helped to some extent to deal with his problems.

Dances created by groups often provide for the different levels of skill attained by individual members. At times, even the least skilled member may have his moment to stand out in performance. Others may take a minor role in the dance itself, but they contribute invaluable suggestions for content or form.

Discussion and decision-making are vital to the composition of a dance. Each member may have ideas, and while he may have to give up a "pet idea," the final content and form of the dance represent the integration of the ideas of many people — the goal of the whole group. The individual, through this planning process and in the performance of the dance, feels the strength that comes from the group-as-a-whole. This feeling is particularly evident in dances where the total group moves as a unit. Even relatively inexperienced dancers who have a real conviction about the theme of their dance can work out an effective presentation requiring little skill in movement.

Thus many values are possible through the sessions where the members learn rhythm, music, and bodily movement, and have an opportunity to express ideas and emotions in dancing and dance composition. Most groups, however, want to see if their attempt at communication has succeeded; to discover the reactions of others to their dances, especially if the subject matter is related to significant problems.

Modern Dance is an excellent medium for the presentation of social content. Its form lends itself to the expression of the feeling tones necessary to solutions, for its use of abstractions can present, in generalized terms, ideas and feeling tones that cannot be so well expressed in words. Many groups are eager to dance "social content" and need help in avoiding the pitfalls of this area.

John Martin, in reviewing Doris Humphrey's dance-drama, "Inquest," enumerated some of these and pointed out how Miss Humphrey

makes real the anguish of an innocent individual and identifies us all with both the anguish and the injustice behind it. But she has been wise enough not to spend her choreography in anger and rebellion; instead she has kept so beautifully within the bounds of simple, compassionate unfoldment in sound esthetic terms that the anger and rebellion belong to the spectator.¹

Modern Dance: Values as an Element of Program Content

Excerpts from records illustrate some of these values. Lottie felt self-conscious because of her height; Ann's social experience was limited; Shirley lacked words to express her ideas and feelings.

Lottie, aged thirteen, was taller than the other girls her age. She came to watch the dance group but seldom participated. One day when the girls needed another dancer to complete a formation, they insisted that she join in. Her movements were stiff at first, but as the worker helped her to feel that her height added to the effectiveness of her movements, she relaxed and moved with poise, no longer stooping to conceal her height. She confided later that her withdrawal from activities had been caused by her embarrassment at being taller than the other girls.

Ann had little acceptance in the dance group, for she clung to the worker and the other girls thought she was spoiled. Although Ann was twelve years old — the same age as the others — she had had little opportunity to be with children her own age and did not know how to get along with them. But she had a lively imagination and whispered to the worker many ideas for dances. Occasionally the worker passed her suggestions on to the other girls, but she felt that this was not the best way to help Ann win her way in the group. She therefore encouraged Ann's natural ability in dancing, and soon the other girls recognized and praised her skill. As she began to feel accepted, Ann made her suggestions directly and took part in the planning of the dances. Later in the year she was elected president of the club.

In a group of young adults, Shirley, the member with the least educational background and the fewest cultural advantages, found expression in the dance for feelings and convictions which she could not put into words. She developed the ability to use words as well as her body; she became the best dancer in the group and contributed many ideas for dances. The other members accepted her leadership without hesitation, included her in their other activities, and would not give any program without her.

Co-operation for the good of all — not competition for a dominant role — is the foundation of Modern Dance. Debby soon discovered this:

Because of her social prestige, Debby was accustomed to being the center of attention and the boss of the group. But in the dance club, she dis-

¹ John Martin, in his column, "The Dance," *New York Times Theater Section*, Sunday, March 12, 1944.

covered that other members had ideas, many of them better than hers; that her training in ballet and tap did not make her the outstanding dancer in this group. Debby soon realized that skill, ideas, and imagination — not prestige — counted in this group. This was a hard lesson, but with the help of the worker and the other members she came to be a contributing member of the group.

The value of Modern Dance for the expression of feelings was evidenced in Peggy's use of this medium.

Due to financial pressure in the home, Peggy left school early and took a job as a waitress. She became interested in dancing and finally joined the dance group. She never said a word in the group discussions; she went out of her way to avoid speaking to the worker, and if the worker addressed her directly she would blush and find an excuse to leave. But Peggy's body was a fluent instrument which responded to her will, expressing all variations of mood. The worker could tell exactly how Peggy felt as she moved in the group. She was particularly effective in dances that demanded movement showing extreme emotion. There was no question but that Peggy was using dancing as a way of releasing her feelings. Gradually she became able to put her feelings into words, and the worker learned that Peggy felt resentful about her lack of education and consequent inability to get a better job. Her family still needed her assistance, but the worker helped Peggy make a long-time plan for special training. Later she secured a better position in the same firm as some of her friends in the club.

Although the most intensive work in Modern Dance is carried on in classes, interest groups, and dance clubs, social club groups sometimes turn to it for specific purposes. One group of youngsters said that they had no interest in singing and that dancing was "kid stuff." However, they liked to have amateur shows with acts that involved singing and dancing. Individual members came to the worker for help outside meetings, and she helped them make up dances. Another group made drums for a rhythm orchestra and were then eager to make up a club dance to the drum accompaniment; the drums and the dance unified the members for the first time. Dramatics and music often lead to experience in Modern Dance; and very often when groups find that dance movement adds to their dramatic productions, they go on to gain further experience in this area. Modern Dance, in turn, can arouse many other interests, not only in music and stagecraft, but in various forms of art.

Students of social group work have found that Modern Dance is at times a more effective medium than words in depicting feelings, emotions, and ideas. One group composed a dance showing the social group worker helping both the shy member and the aggressive one to become part of the group. Different rhythms for the group-as-a-whole, for the shy member, and for the

aggressive member illustrated how different kinds of people influence the rhythmic life of the group so that it becomes more interesting. In another dance, stylized rhythmic movement was used to show the operation of prejudice in securing employment. Groups of various ages, nationalities, races, and religions were shown being accepted or rejected for employment.

Sometimes the ideas of a dance group stimulate the entire membership in the development of an all-agency program.

In one agency the December holiday season was annually observed with some celebration whose particular form varied from year to year according to the ideas of the membership and the staff. The overall plans were made by a representative committee to which each club, interest group, and class sent a member.

Jean, the representative from the Dance Group, reported back to her group that no plans for this year's program had yet been made but that the committee wanted suggestions from each group. Marie said, "Six weeks isn't very long to get ready. What dances do we know that would fit into such a program?" The girls started to enumerate them. There was a Bach Chorale that would do, and they were working on "Angels We Have Heard On High." Molly said, "But what about the Negro Spirituals we love to do? They won't fit!" And Marie said, "We've been spending most of our time on that dance we call 'Conflict' and the one about race prejudice; they don't fit into 'Peace on Earth,' do they?" At this point, Eleanor spoke up: "I wonder if they don't. Seems to me we shouldn't concentrate on saying that everything's all right in the world. We know it isn't." There was silence, finally broken by Ellen: "I think that's a good idea. Why don't we suggest that we show first of all the ideal of 'Peace on earth, good will to men,' as told in the Christmas story, and then have a second part showing what we're up against?"

The idea caught fire and ideas flew thick and fast. "We'll have to have some words, too," said practical Penny; "then if they don't understand our dances they'll have *some* idea about them." Miriam suggested that they could have some songs, too. "What about the singers I hear on Thursday evenings? They could sing the Bach Chorales and the Carols and the Spirituals while we dance." The discussion ended with the appointment of Ellen as an additional representative from the group to the central committee.

Jean and Ellen presented these ideas to the subcommittee on program. At first, some of the members thought that they were not in keeping with the holiday spirit, but when they began thinking over their own difficulties they changed their minds. As one member put it, "It's nice to pretend, even for an evening, that everything's beautiful and lovely, but you know the next day that nothing is changed. Maybe we can make some other people think about our problems."

So plans moved ahead. The dance of "Conflict" became "War"; the dance on race prejudice was finished; another dance group composed of unemployed girls finished a dance they called "Insecurity"; a special dance called "Greed" was composed; the Negro spiritual, "Lament—I'm Troubled in Mind," was declared compatible with the general idea; a large group from the dance classes learned the dance to "Angels We Have Heard on High." Many other groups were drawn into the project: the singers learned the songs that accompanied the dances; the daytime women's club dyed inexpensive unbleached muslin and made costumes; a small committee planned the setting, and one member painted stained glass windows to give a cathedral setting for the first scene. There was a constant flow of ideas back and forth between the dancers and the program committee. For a while, the ending had everyone blocked. But "We can't leave people with the idea that nothing can be done." Finally, new words were written to a spiritual and called "We Are Building a New World," and a large group of club girls worked out a simple dance depicting the co-operation of everyone in working toward a better world.

Still the transition into the final dance was not satisfactory to the group. Then the choral group brought a suggestion — the Hebrew song, "Dawn of Hope." The Jewish members felt that this song fitted in perfectly; the other members liked its mood; and so it became the transition from despair to hope.

The program committee took over the responsibility for the script and decided there should be two readers. They outlined the ideas they thought should go into the script, and after writing part of it as a group, delegated its completion to one member. Finally, after one joint rehearsal, the project was presented at the Holiday Festival as "Shadows Across the Path of Peace." This project illustrates many of the potential values of Modern Dance. Each participating individual contributed ideas for the content. In this process some members had to give up some of their ideas for the good of the whole as decisions were made about what to include. Many levels of skill were represented among the dancers and singers. The members with the most skill had brief moments when they stood out from the group; certain groups had dances alone; at times the whole group worked as a unit. The inexperienced dancers were kept within their abilities, and because of their conviction about the ideas they were presenting, they were able to project to the audience. Each participant felt that she was a part of the whole and received recognition from her friends for her performance. The Dance Group members became an integral part of the agency through this experience. They got satisfaction also from being able to integrate some of their favorite dances into a common project and from composing new dances related to their personal problems but expressing common needs. They interested other people in the activity so absorbing to them and helped a large number of people to have a valuable experience through the medium of audience participation. Their part in the program gave

them recognition and status with other dancers in the city. Later in the year, they were asked to give the program as a benefit performance at a downtown theater.

Though the roles of the workers in this project have not been particularly stressed, it is apparent that they gave technical help and encouragement along the way. The worker in charge of the dancers helped them to put their feelings and ideas first into words and then into dance form; the song leader arranged the songs to fit the voices of the choral group, helped them learn the songs, and co-ordinated the singing with the dancing; the crafts worker helped the scenery makers and the costume designers and sewers. In fact, every worker in the agency participated in the planning and execution of the project.

Modern or creative dance also makes a valuable contribution to therapeutic programs. One adolescent girl with a diagnosis of schizophrenic tendencies had a favorite exercise: starting from a curled sitting position on the floor, with a strong, quick extension she raised her body to a straight line, supported only by one arm and one foot. She was able to express her feeling about this movement in words: "I feel as though I am lifting my whole self up out of something." Her interest in this type of movement is noteworthy because of the tendency of schizophrenics to reflect their disturbances in whirling or spiral forms in both physical movement and art work.¹ This girl was eventually able to join a dance group, contributing ideas and participating in a public performance.

Bender and Boas give the following values from their work with emotionally maladjusted individuals: (1) it calls for utilization of primitive motility reflex patterns, auditory reactions, optical patterns and spacial relationships; and permits of many types of movements, especially repetition; (2) it stimulates and finds expression for primitive and deeply buried fantasies, allows the individual to give expression to personal aims and capacities and also to personal conflicts; (3) it reveals the individual's social problems and allows of new social experiences; (4) it gives the individual the satisfaction of expressing deep instinctual drives, of achieving new inter-human contacts and original esthetic experiences.²

Modern Dance has not been included in the programs of groups to the extent that its potentialities justify, and social group workers should explore this medium in greater detail.³

¹ Lauretta Bender, "Childhood Schizophrenia," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 17 (1947), no. 1, pp. 43-48; Austin Des Lauries and Florence Halpern, "Psychological Tests in Childhood Schizophrenia," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 17 (1947), no. 1, p. 60.

² Lauretta Bender and Franziska Boas, "Creative Dance in Therapy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 11 (1941), no. 2, p. 244.

³ For resource material, see bibliography, pp. 662-663.

Social Dancing

Skill in social dancing is an important attribute for any individual from pre-adolescence through old age. It is almost a prerequisite for acceptance in adolescent and young adult groups. It is an activity where "boy meets girl and girl meets boy." The individual to whom social dancing is forbidden by parents or religion finds himself a fifth wheel at school and an outcast from the many parties where dancing is the main activity. The girl who dances poorly becomes a wallflower, and the boy who steps on the girls' feet finds it difficult to get partners. Hence social group workers frequently help individuals and entire groups to gain the skill necessary to feel at home when dancing is the program activity.

In one group, Tessie was the only member without older brothers and sisters. The other girls had learned to dance at home, but Tessie had not had this opportunity. One afternoon when the girls started to dance, the worker noticed that Tessie retreated to the record player and was endeavoring to make herself useful in changing records. When it came time to change the next record, the worker asked Tessie to dance with her. Tessie was able to say that she did not know how, whereupon the worker said she would help her and that the club was a good place to learn, since all the other members were trying to improve their dancing. Tessie was skeptical about her ability to learn, but she was dancing with the other girls before the afternoon was over.

Workers often discover that the members causing the most difficulty in the group are those who feel inadequate in social dancing and who therefore make fun of the members who can dance.

An outgrowth of social dancing is often an interest in social manners. Adolescent groups, particularly, have a real desire to know how to behave at social functions, though they are reluctant to admit their lack of knowledge. Many workers have helped groups develop the social manners which make them acceptable in the larger community.

While social dancing is an activity which lends itself to acquiring many socially desirable skills and habits, it must be recognized that some groups in many communities disapprove of this activity. The disapproval is based on the assumption that social dancing is a first step toward immoral relationships between the sexes. To some extent this objection to social dancing arises out of the nature of the rhythms used for the dances. Rhythm is a powerful force in social dancing, and it must not be underestimated. Dr. Ira Wile points out well both its positive and negative aspects.

The rhythmic play of adolescence shows a large measure of sexual content. The pleasurable stimulation of the dance is satisfying in its own right,

but the increased opportunity for bodily contact leads to its further significance. The informal social dance of a small group or of a dancing class, and the larger organized benefit dance offer many opportunities for the promotion of social relations. Both may foster sex attraction on a high ethical level or they may be precursors of sexual adventure. . . . Jazz, swing, and their temporary specialties are far more expressive of the inner adolescent urge than the stately measures of the minuet.¹

Social group workers are well aware that a different atmosphere is created by a waltz or a simple syncopated melody than by music having a markedly rhythmic beat. The essence of this problem, in our estimation, does not lie in social dancing itself, but rather in the *use* which the agency, in the person of the worker, makes of this medium. The worker helps the members to understand themselves and to use their understanding to control their behavior; to enjoy both the waltz and the syncopated rhythms as expressive of the various needs of human beings who have a responsibility to meet the norms of socially approved behavior.

A canteen group had decided to oppose the norms of the community and to continue their dance sessions during Lent. Although they had come to this decision after consultation with the agency workers and community leaders, there was still some feeling of guilt over this revolt against tradition. At the first session, the members seemed reluctant to start dancing, but eventually most of the boys and girls were on the dance floor. When their favorite record — one with a very emphatic, primitive rhythm — turned up on the juke box, they broke loose with stamping, cheering, and vigorous dance movements. They wanted it repeated over and over. While the worker realized that this record was a symbol to them of their revolt against authority, she knew that it was important for this group to be helped to limit their expression of revolt and she accordingly set limits on the number of times it could be played during the evening. The members themselves soon recognized the need to accede to community standards to the extent of conducting a quiet, orderly dance.

Disapproval of social dancing presents individuals, particularly adolescents, with an artificial, extrinsic limitation which denies them the kind of experiences through which they come face to face with the problem of adjustment of the sexes in group situations where the understanding help of adults can be given when needed. Because community sanction is essential to the practice of social group work, workers serving communities which choose to deal with the symptom (social dancing) rather than the cause (need for help in heterosexual development) have a particularly difficult situation to face. In such situations, the worker may feel that his first responsibility lies in

¹ Ira S. Wile, *The Challenge of Adolescence* (New York: Greenberg, 1939), p. 271.

helping the leaders of the adult community toward a better understanding of the emotional needs of the human being and thus toward a fuller acceptance of a program that will meet the needs of young people.

Dances, which are favorite projects both as social events and as fund-raisers, provide a varied experience in planning and organizing, in making decisions and carrying responsibility. Preparations for a dance may draw on several areas of skill and interest: posters, invitations, and decorations may require some crafts work; refreshments may necessitate some cooking or other food preparations; a program of entertainment may call for dramatics, music, games, or special dances. Expenses must be calculated; and if the dance is a money-raising project, plans for spending the proceeds call for careful deliberation. And most valuable of all, the whole experience gives the members a chance to learn to work together and often serves to integrate the group.

Fads and fashions in social dancing come and go, and it may be impossible for the social group worker to keep completely up-to-date in his own dancing skill. However, if he is well grounded in rhythm and music and the basic steps, he can help the group in the beginning stages and prepare them for a special teacher, if necessary. He will also be able to analyze the latest steps and see the relation between these and the older forms of dancing. (For example, familiarity with the polka and with the folk dances which have intricate arm movements and changes in the relationships of partners helps in the analysis of "jitterbugging.") By pointing out these similarities to the members, he can heighten their appreciation and enjoyment of folk and square dancing.

It is extremely important for the worker who plans to help the members learn to dance to be able to use the group method of teaching as well as the individual one. Concentration upon one individual may mean losing the rest of the group.

The Fighting Marines, a club of fourteen- to fifteen-year-old boys, wanted to learn to dance and therefore were given a woman leader. No progress was made in the first meetings, for the boys felt embarrassed and reluctant to dance with the worker. Every session turned into a roughhouse instead. Finally, the boys decided that those who wished to dance would come half an hour early. At the next meeting, all but two of the boys were on hand five minutes before the time set for the practice session. At this point, the worker should have assumed a teaching role and started the class using the group method. However, she asked first if they all wanted to learn to dance; then *how* they wanted to proceed. One boy suggested that she take each one separately and teach them that way. The others agreed, for after all they had no knowledge of the best way for them to learn. Mike, who knew something about dancing, volunteered, and the worker taught him

several steps. But then no one else would dance. Perhaps they feared that they would not do as well as Mike and therefore would be subjected to the jeers of the others; perhaps the idea of dancing close to a woman — who was also their worker — kept them back. At any rate, the session failed completely and the usual program of rough games ensued.

We do not know whether the group method of teaching¹ would have succeeded with these boys. Certainly it would have swept the entire group into action immediately instead of focusing attention on one boy, and it would thus have enabled them to participate with less embarrassment.

The social group worker's recognition of the importance of skill in social dancing helps him to understand the needs of members who demand constant repetition of this activity in every meeting. Acquisition of personal skill in social dancing is one step in freeing members to include other areas of activity in their club programs.

Ballet

This form of dance is such a highly specialized one that the dancer must attain considerable skill before he can gain real satisfaction from participating in it. From the point of view of individual development, creativity, and self-expression, it is our belief that rhythms and creative dance are better suited for the growing youngster. Certainly ballet is not the best form for the first participation in dance by most adolescents and adults. Its rigidity of training and conformity to pattern and design do, however, provide security for the person who needs the support of prescribed forms. For some, this insistence upon conformity is a valuable discipline; for others, it may emphasize an already existing pattern of conformity.

There are times when a member's ability in ballet gains for her the admiration of others. It has been our experience that it usually remains admiration only. The very quality of the movement seems to set the ballet dancer apart from the average group. Perhaps because it seems primarily to be an exhibitionistic technique, it makes the member seem too different from the others. Because each situation is unique, however, no generalizations can be made. In one group, a member's ability in this form of dance did help her somewhat in her relations with the others.

Rose was a member of a formed group of eighteen- and nineteen-year-old girls, most of whom were employed as household workers. She was shy, had little to say in the group, and was unable to relax and enjoy their fun. Several times she mentioned that she could "dance on her toes" so when the girls were planning program for a party both the girls and the worker urged her to dance for them. Her performance was about average but she

¹ For resource material in this area, see bibliography, p. 663.

did look pretty in her costume and make-up and the girls complimented her on her appearance. For the first time, she smiled at them, and later in the evening she participated a little more freely in the games.

But because ballet is primarily a spectator event, perhaps the greatest values are for the audience. It is excellent for vicarious experience in the world of fantasy and make-believe and for escape from reality.¹

Acrobatic, Tap, Chorus, and Line Dances

Acrobatic dances are for the most part purely exhibitionistic attempts to distort the body, with little attention given to the rhythmic element. They are closely related to the tumbling stunts which children love but which require adequate supervision to prevent harm to growing bodies. People are fascinated by the movements of acrobatic dancing, yet sometimes repelled when the distortions become too extreme. Because of the "show-off" techniques involved, this form of dancing often appeals to the person who feels a need to call attention to himself. When kept within limits and executed by a group, unusual and interesting effects can be achieved through perfect skill and timing. The observer is fascinated by this perfection of timing and by the element of danger.

Tap, chorus, and line dances require skill in movement and precision in rhythm and timing. In a sense, they are in tune with the tempo of the day. Tap dancing requires the use of the finer, accessory muscles and thus is really difficult for the average child to master. In chorus and line dances, hours of hard work are necessary to perfect movements that synchronize with those of the other members. However, simple movements can be effectively combined with songs in a musical play. The necessity for discipline in movement and for conformity gives the group a sense of working and moving together as a whole. Tap, chorus, and line dances are sophisticated forms of dance and are more suitable for older groups than for children.

The various forms of dance vary greatly in their techniques and purposes. Fundamentally, they have great emotional appeal because of the rhythmic element which motivates the movements of the dancers. The worker whose group members are interested in dance must be clear in his thinking as to the values for growth and development of individuals and be able to foresee the possible disadvantages in each form for a particular individual or group. In its group forms, dance is especially valuable for socialization and unification of the group.

¹ The complete story of the development of the dance cannot be understood unless the history, development, and influence of the ballet are included in the survey. See bibliography, p. 66r.

MUSIC

Music is a universal language which needs no translation nor explanation, an ideal medium for facilitating quick contacts among people. It has unique power over the emotions and can sway people toward gaiety or sadness, toward pugnacity and conflict or friendliness and peace. It can be unifying or disrupting; it can promote integration or disintegration.

Singing in groups, participating in rhythm bands, listening to records, making up tunes and lyrics, playing instruments — all find places in the programs of groups, and the worker with skill in music can easily recognize signs of latent interest and help the members to make music part of their program.

The worker does not need to be a musician to help the members enjoy singing, playing in rhythm bands, and listening to records. However, his own leadership is improved and he can help the members use their abilities with the group if he has some factual knowledge of the fundamentals of music. This includes such information as: the construction of the major and minor scales and the old modes; the use of note values to indicate the rhythm; the placement of notes on the staff to show the trend of the melody or harmony; the effect of time signatures and phrasing on the music. This knowledge helps in the analysis of dance steps, in transposing melodies, and in research for new songs and dances. Co-operative work with musicians, as accompanists or special music leaders, is facilitated when the worker can "speak their language."

Group Singing

Singing arises spontaneously while groups are doing crafts, dancing, hiking, or sitting around a fire. Such spontaneous singing gives evidence of good feeling. There is a great difference between singing oneself and listening to others sing. As one group member said, "When I listen, only part of me responds; but when *I* sing, the whole of me is in it." Individual imperfections are lost in the group and each member gets satisfactions which cannot be secured from individual performance. This is very apparent in rounds and part singing.

Each song has a mood which affects the singers; one may be calming and relaxing; another, stimulating; still another will weld the members together. These effects are related to the particular qualities of the rhythm, melody, or harmony dominant in the song and to the associations which the members have formed with it. Within one group, there may be as many associations as there are members; a comic song may have unhappy associations for one, while a sad song recalls an amusing incident to another. It is difficult to be

sure of the effect that will be created, but although the associations may differ widely, the response is indicative of a common "feeling tone."

Songs are ready-made daydreams and are invaluable for expressing feelings and emotions, ideas, hopes, and aspirations. They provide opportunities for people to say what they cannot express in ordinary language, or perhaps do not have the courage to say. This is one of the reasons for the drawing power of the current popular songs as well as of the old folk songs, many of which deal with the same content, for the feelings and hopes of people remain unchanged through the years. The worker will find singing really "comes from the group" when the members feel free to sing the latest hits as well as the folk and other type of songs.

These common interests of human beings, as expressed in songs, center around love and romance; ambivalence of feelings; wishes; desire for adventure and freedom; fun and nonsense; difficulties of living and working; defiance and aggression. The worker will find that analyses of the songs themselves and of the members' reactions to them are tools in increasing his understanding of the interests and needs of those with whom he is working.

People of all ages enjoy the romantic, but adolescents are particularly captivated by this theme. Popular songs and folk songs alike emphasize the importance of love. Some songs also express the ambivalent feelings people have toward each other; for example, "You Always Hurt the One You Love" and "Sometimes I Love You, Sometimes I Hate You." In the South African lullaby, "Seimbamba," the mother expresses both love and dislike of her baby, threatening him with physical harm if he does not go to sleep.

In a club of thirteen-year-old girls, this was Marilyn's favorite song. She sang it over and over with the record. Marilyn was often late to club meetings because she had to put her little brother to sleep before she could leave home. The worker realized that Marilyn was expressing both her love and her anger at her little brother through singing this song. It gave her an acceptable way of releasing her feelings.

The ambivalence of feelings is also expressed in "The Gay Young Bachelor," "Louisiana Gal," and "Common Bill," for the singers make fun of their sweethearts but love them just the same. Possessive feelings are shown in "Don't Sit Under The Apple Tree" and "Jealous"; cynicism in "Love and the Weather" and "Never Trust a Man"; competition in "I Can Do Anything Better Than You Can"; unrequited love in many songs and ballads.

Wishes are predominantly related to love but some songs are full of fantastic desires; for example, in "Big Rock Candy Mountain" the singer wants "cigarette trees and lemonade springs."

Desire for adventure and freedom predominates in some of the cowboy songs, pioneer ballads, and sea chanteys; these are favorites with boys' groups, for they satisfy a desire to be far away and have exciting adventures.

Fun and nonsense songs abound in both the popular and folk field. Groups of all ages like these songs, but school-age children particularly respond to them, perhaps because they fit in with the love of secrets and code languages. Many of these songs appeal to the sense of humor because of the ridiculous, diametrically opposed statements, like those in "A-Joggin-Along." ("I courted a rich widow, worth nothing at all" and "One bright summer day, in a cold winter's month, a-rakin' up hay.") Songs which add movements are valuable for relaxing the singers and adding fun to the singing.

Songs describing the difficulties of living and working are many. At first, they were created to accompany work movements in order to make the labor easier to bear and to keep the total group in a rhythmic pattern necessary for the accomplishment of the work. Hiking and marching songs, rowing songs, many of the sea chanteys, some of the cowboy, lumberjack, and Negro work songs are of this type. "Canoe Song" is a good example, for the rhythm fits the swing of the paddles and the words express the need to work together. Often the words are not related to the work to be done; the pleasures of life are common material. But inevitably there crept in tales of the conditions under which the people lived and worked. At first, these ideas were carefully concealed, but gradually feelings of oppression and the reasons for these feelings came into the open in words. Present-day conditions — the dust bowl, mine disasters, atomic energy, the rising cost of living, housing conditions and evictions, race and nationality conflicts, problems of teachers, the "doings" of Congress — are not neglected by the song and ballad makers. Labor union members have written songs related to their struggles to secure better working conditions. While many of these songs are serious in nature, some of them present their comments in ways that will first draw laughter and cause fun, turning attention to the serious undercurrent of the problem by implication only.

Many of the songs of working and social conditions express defiance and aggression. However, many popular and folk songs are also full of "blood and thunder" and shooting, which satisfy the expression of these feelings. A number of songs use words that are banned by social custom, and some groups get satisfaction in expressing their resistance to authority through singing them. Sometimes the words themselves are entirely innocent, but the rhythm and repetition make them sound risqué, as in "Helen" and "Three Fishermen." Still other songs lend themselves to the substitution of unacceptable words for the original ones; for example, "Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here." In any song, groups often substitute words which to them

seem daring. One group of boys, within the protection of a large gathering, lustily sang "Donkey Riding" and substituted the word "jackass" for donkey. "The Foggy, Foggy Dew" is an example of the type of song that has just enough hint of unconventionality to be fun. Groups evolve many parodies which are indicative of the need to be daring and to appear sophisticated and risqué.

Yes, songs are ready-made daydreams. Throughout the ages, man has used song to express basic emotions of joy and sorrow, love and hate, fear and insecurity, hope and faith. He has turned to melody and harmony when words alone proved inadequate as a vehicle of expression. Because the basic emotions and experiences of people are the same the world over, regardless of nationality, race or culture, there are common elements in songs no matter what the country of their origin. These similarities in words, melodies, and feelings can be used as a first basis for helping one cultural group to appreciate and become friends with another.¹ It must be emphasized, however, that enjoying the songs — and the dances — of other people gives no guarantee that the "other people," as persons, will be liked any better. Yet songs and dances do provide a common interest, a topic of conversation, which may expand to become a bond through which people of differing backgrounds and experiences come to be friends.

Because the social group worker is concerned with helping people to have better relations with each other, he takes all these considerations into account when he is choosing songs. He avoids songs which deprecate or poke fun at people because of their differences, and if such songs turn up in the repertoire of the group, he can help the members see the social effect of singing them and stimulate consideration of the feelings of those whose behavior and customs are different. At all times when the worker is choosing songs, his choice is related to his understanding of the individual members, their backgrounds and their attitudes toward these backgrounds, and the values held by the group and the community.

Group Singing: Values as an Element of Program Content

Group records reveal innumerable instances of the values of group singing. The ability of one member often increases his acceptance by the others and stimulates the group-as-a-whole.

Margie had little status until the members discovered that she had a beautiful singing voice. When she sang, she encouraged them all to join in with her. She had an excellent background in music and later arranged some songs for the group to sing at a special program. The ability of the group increased so that they were asked to sing at an outside occasion.

¹ For resource material on songs and song-leading, see bibliography, pp. 663-664.

This group, which had been considered most disruptive, became an accepted part of the agency and their behavior changed as their acceptance changed.

We hesitate to use the following example, for one of the "stereotypes" in common usage is that "all Negroes can sing"; but in this instance Meg's ability did contribute to the total group.

In a group composed of an equal number of Negro and white girls, the white members happened to be more articulate in expressing their interests and more skilled in activities than the Negro girls. The worker tried many ways of discovering skills that would give the Negro girls more chance to participate, yet at the same time merge the group. The girls were fond of singing, and one day the worker introduced "At the Gate of Heaven," a song with a descant. She had gone over both parts and was teaching one in more detail, when all at once Meg, one of the Negro members, sang the other part in perfect harmony. The girls were enchanted with the effect produced by this blending of their voices. The incident not only increased Meg's status in the group, but helped to unify the girls.

The value of singing in providing relaxation was evident as the Bluettes, a group of adolescent girls, prepared for their Christmas party with boys.

The girls had planned to arrive early in order to have time to fix the table before the boys arrived. But they were delayed, and when they did come the member who had the plans for the decorations was missing. The girls were excited and worried about their plans and worked feverishly. Tension was high; but the worker started to hum a Christmas Carol they all knew. The girls took up the humming and sang the carol. As one song followed the other, the group worked less nervously and with more assurance. The table was ready on time and the girls were relaxed as they greeted their guests.

Another instance in the life of the same group highlights the use of singing to resolve a conflict situation.

The girls were endeavoring to concentrate on a special project but were constantly interrupted by a group of older boys who wanted to take the club room for their own use. The girls retaliated by pushing and shoving the boys toward the door. The girls were really angry and it looked as though a regular free-for-all would develop. At first the worker started to stop the fight and then instead started a favorite song of the girls—"We Shall Not Be Moved." The girls joined in, improvising new verses to fit the situation. The boys were caught off guard and stopped to listen to the words. The atmosphere changed from one of hostility and anger to one of good humor, and the boys left the girls in peace.

Many groups decide to have a club song. This may take the form of writing words to already existing melodies; but often, with help from the worker or a talented member, they compose the music as well. A club song makes the members feel closely related to each other and sets them apart as a unit as effectively as badges, sweaters, letters, or other symbols of distinction.

In the middle of the year, the Bluettes wrote a club song which expressed appreciation of the members, of the worker, and of the group-as-a-whole. The song started out, "Thanks for the memories of every dear Blurette, Whom we shall not forget, We thank you, dear club." There was a verse about the good times they would always remember and another about the worker. One of the most significant verses indicated the support the girls received from the group in their relationships with boys: "There's fun and joy, with every boy, when we are all around, We thank you, dear club." When the members wrote an article about their club for the agency newspaper, all agreed that their song should be included.

Just as the members who sing well receive the group's approbation, so those whose singing has a discordant effect upon the total performance are targets of its disapproval. The ingenuity of the worker is often taxed to find some role for those who "cannot carry a tune." There is no question but that some have better voices than others, but Mrs. Sheehy says: "It is unfortunate that children who use a limited range of their voices are often called 'monotones.' There *may* be real monotones, though in our experience with many children over a period of years we have not encountered a single one."¹

Katherine Ramm² made a study of twenty-five fifth-grade boys and girls who were classified as "monotones." She was interested in discovering whether monotonism might be a symptom of personality disorder or might contribute to maladjustment and whether most monotone children are socially and psychologically maladjusted. The details of this study are of value to social group workers. Although it seems difficult to state whether inability to carry a tune or inability to "let go" comes first, indications of the need for helping such members are apparent.

Rhythm Bands and Orchestras

Though often associated only with kindergartens, rhythm instruments are irresistible to all ages. To the uninitiated, rhythm bands are noise makers only, but making a noise may be just what the individual member or even the

¹ Emma Dickson Sheehy, *There's Music in Children* (New York: Holt, 1946), p. 63. Mrs. Sheehy develops her theme that "sound and rhythm are not in themselves music, but they are the stuff music is made of."

² Katherine M. Ramm, "Personality Maladjustment among Monotones," *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, vol. 17 (1947), no. 4, pp. 264-285.

total group needs. A rhythm band offers a legitimate way to make noise, and great physical and emotional energy is expended through pounding drums, triangles, cymbals, gongs, or the keys of a wooden xylophone. Control and direction of this energy is as important as its expression, and this comes gradually after experimentation discloses the variety of noises that can be produced and the members begin to work out the form and dynamics of their composition. Each player finds that he has a part in the band or orchestra; those presiding at the triangle, cymbals, or gong wait patiently for their turn to make a noise; the drummers have a chance; all learn that the band sounds better if they do not all play all the time. It becomes apparent that sometimes a loud sound is appropriate; at others, a softer, more controlled accompaniment.

One worker brought to the club room some glasses, a sax-a-flute, an old saw, a washboard, a drum, and some nails tied on a string. He was immediately surrounded by the boys, who wanted to know what they could do with all these peculiar things. One of the boys recognized the sax-a-flute and started to play on it; Clyde, who played in an orchestra, started to keep time by hitting the glasses with a heavy key. Soon, weird out-of-tune noises filled the room as the boys began to try out their abilities on the various articles. Before long, they began to work out an integrated accompaniment to "Home on the Range." Later at their business meeting, the boys voted to have a rhythm band as their part of the agency's anniversary program.

The very movements used in playing some of the instruments are so related to the dance that sometimes members take turns being dancers and orchestra, thus adding to the possibilities of expression. Members learn basic rhythmic elements, and when a xylophone or tuned glasses are added, the musical scale becomes important. Here the worker's knowledge of scale formation becomes an asset, for due to the limitations of these instruments, songs and tunes have to be transposed into one key — or two at the most. The members have a feeling of real achievement, as the tunes they know come to life under their fingers. They become acquainted with the tone quality of the different instruments as they choose those best suited to accompany the various moods of the songs.

The story of four-year-old Jimmie indicates how difficult it is to know all the associations which various program activities have for the members. The worker recognized that rhythm instruments had some emotional association for Jimmie, for

whenever the instruments came out, Jimmie retreated to his favorite haunt under the table. From the safety of this "hiding place" he watched the

other children for several weeks. Jimmie's parents were separated, and he lived with his grandmother, who spoke no English; thus it was difficult to secure much information about him. He had been referred to the preschool group from the nursery school where he had caused constant disruption. The worker did not force Jimmie to participate but accepted his retreat from the noise of the band. The first time he came out from under the table, the worker gave him a drum but he gave it to another child and just sat. The next week Jimmie told her, "*My father plays a trumpet.*" The worker found a toy trumpet and Jimmie became an enthusiastic band member. Gradually, from conversation with Jimmie, the worker learned that he has never seen his father who plays in a band in Chicago. But Jimmie has a picture of him with his trumpet and the father writes to him occasionally. The father whom he has never seen is of great importance to this four-year-old, as evidenced by his attempt to identify with the father through playing the trumpet.

Individual members take turns directing the band and have the satisfaction of telling everyone else what to do—a legitimate function of an orchestra leader. Members gain in poise through standing in front of the group and being the center of all eyes. The group gets satisfaction when all the instruments co-ordinate in one composition. Rhythm bands provide unlimited scope for understanding music and developing individual skill. Sometimes the members progress to the percussion section of a symphony orchestra.

The instruments should be of good quality in order to command the respect of the players and make satisfaction possible. Many of them can be made by the members,¹ and available funds can then be spent for the instruments which cannot be improvised satisfactorily.

Creative Music

Creative music, so called because the members are given experience and guidance in creating their own tunes, runs through the two forms already discussed. The extent of this experience is limited only by the interests and abilities of the members and the ability of the worker to help them or to secure a specialist in this area. Some agencies even set up interest groups in creative music. The values of this form of music are more than apparent. Sometimes real talent is discovered and the member helped to go further in the field of music as a vocation. In helping members to create music, it is well to remember Mrs. Sheehy's comment: "What is important is not the preservation of any special song that a child creates, but the preservation of a way of life that will keep on inspiring him to experiment freely."²

¹ See bibliography for resources on making instruments, p. 664.

² Sheehy, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

Listening to Records

Listening to records often accompanies other musical activities. Choral groups listen to records in order to get ideas for their own interpretation of a favorite song, and rhythm bands like to play their instruments along with a record. Just listening, as an activity in itself, however, may comprise an important part of any group's program. Members enjoy playing their favorite records for others and telling what they know about the composer, the artist, and the composition. Adolescents, particularly, are very zealous record collectors and bring their records to club meetings; while they may use the records primarily for social dancing, they are also interested in listening and in comparing the techniques and arrangements of favorite band leaders. Although some people deplore the fact that swing bands are arranging and playing the classics, for many members this is often the first contact with music other than the popular type; interest in these arrangements can lead to interest in the original composition, and thereby to enjoyment of symphonic and concert music. Adult members often bring in records of their own nationality songs and dances, thus presenting leads for program. With all groups, the worker begins with the interests of the members and sees how these suggest other program content.¹

Piano, Ensembles, Orchestras, and Bands

An opportunity to play the piano or any instrument that can be part of an ensemble, orchestra, or band is not usually offered in the program of social club groups. Occasionally a group of older adolescents or young adults who have organized an orchestra form a club which includes other friends who do not play. In one such club, the members fell into two subgroups on the basis of musical skill and the worker had to help them work out a program that was of interest to all. Some agencies, however, have music schools or music departments where members learn to play instruments of many kinds. This is a personal service particularly needed by economically deprived members who otherwise would not be able to develop their talents.

Membership in an ensemble, orchestra, or band requires the height of co-operation with others if the results are to be harmonious. It is a very satisfying experience for the players — one through which the members learn the skill of group membership, the importance of doing their share, as well as the joy of producing music. Sometimes, within a club group, enough members play instruments so that a small orchestra can be developed for special occasions.

Those who can play instruments add a great deal to the program of the group. They accompany singing or dancing and for the time being are the

¹ See bibliography, p. 664.

center of the stage. The worker, however, must guard against the exploitation of such members so that they do not miss out on activities of value to them; their skill sometimes serves to isolate them from actual participation in group activity.

In one group, the worker discovered after many weeks that one member played the piano very well. When asked why she had concealed her skill, the girl replied, "Well, I have never had a chance to learn to dance. Everyone always seemed to be having such a good time, but I always had to play the piano. Now I know how much fun it is, for in this group I have had a chance to learn both social dancing and square dancing."

Music as Therapy

The use of music as therapy with both physically and emotionally ill persons (particularly the emotionally ill) dramatizes many of these values of music. It may relieve boredom, add a stimulating hobby, promote an increased interest in life, or help the patient to maintain or renew contact with reality. But the psychological gains often overshadow the physical ones. Music is also used to calm the patients, and at times to stimulate them to activity. It acts as a means of releasing feelings: we recall the vehemence with which patients in a psychiatric hospital expressed defiance to authority as they sang "Don't Fence Me In."

Workers in hospitals and institutions for the emotionally ill *must* have their focus on the patient and not on the activity: music — or any program medium — is important only as it plays a role in the total treatment program. One worker described a young man who was playing the drum in a rhythm orchestra. He pounded so hard that he broke the head. A grin spread over his face and he calmly got up, found another drum, and resumed his playing in the group. Another worker described the "dance orchestra": in the beginning, some of the patients merely sat holding instruments in their hands; as they became aware of the others around them and able to work as part of the group, she always rejoiced, for she knew that soon they might be leaving the institution, able to function in the world outside.

Experimentation in this field emphasizes a point we made earlier — the difficulty of knowing what associations (conscious or unconscious) each person may have formed with a particular song, musical composition, or even certain combinations of notes or harmonies. Within one ward, reaction of patients to the same musical selection may range from calm indifference to depression or direct and violent expression. Some of these reactions indicate to the therapist where the individual's emotional life is most open to the influence of music or other forms of therapy. The use of music in these in-

stances may help to bring to consciousness some of the repressed feelings and make the patient more amenable to treatment.¹

Similar instances, although not so dramatic, occur in social club groups, and the findings from the use of music as therapy can aid in understanding the reactions of members to music.

There are various forms of music, any one of which may meet the needs of a particular member or of the group-as-a-whole. Three of the most important values are (1) giving a lift to the spirit and making life have renewed interest; (2) providing an expression for common feelings, emotions, ideas, and daydreams; and (3) unifying the members of a group into one whole. More exploration of these areas will yield not only new and interesting suggestions for program but deeper insight into their values for individuals and groups.

¹ See bibliography, p. 664.

9

The Values of Story Telling and Dramatics

STORY TELLING and dramatics are important media for personal growth and social development. They are group experiences that depend for success upon the participation of all the members. By identifying himself with a role, the individual can satisfy feelings difficult to express in "real life" — whether cherished fantasies or basic feelings of friendliness and hostility. Thus, through role-taking, in either story or drama, the individual can become more aware of himself and of the feelings of others. The listeners — or the audience — are not only a stimulus to the role-taker, but themselves gain a vicarious experience through identification with the people and situations in the story or play. The constructive use of a story or drama depends on its content, or meaning, and hence on the opportunities it gives the participants to express their needs and interests. In order to use these media effectively, then, the social group worker must understand both the story or play and the members.

STORY TELLING

Every age-group enjoys some form of listening to or telling stories. Small children love to hear Mother Goose rhymes and fairy tales and to invent stories about themselves and their imaginary companions; children of school age like stories of heroes and adventures; adolescents enlarge and embroider stories of their own experiences; grown men delight in telling "tall tales" of their exploits; at dinner parties and banquets a good story teller is always welcome; and every public speaker endeavors to tell a good story to put his audience in a relaxed and receptive mood. While some people tell stories more effectively than others, the ability to tell a story well is an asset to anyone, in casual conversation as well as in speech making.

In social group work, the role of story teller is not limited to the worker. Members are encouraged to assume this leadership role also. Neither is the term "story telling" used to describe only "formal" narration. The situa-

tion may be most informal; children often beg to tell a well-loved story to the others; in older groups what begins as a conversation may evolve into a story-telling session, as one member recounts an experience and another says, "I heard a good one the other day." In any instance, the worker is always alert both to the behavior of those who are telling stories and to the reactions of those who are listening. Each person may react to the same story in an entirely different way as he relates it to his own life experiences. One has only to examine carefully the pictures taken of children during a story hour to see all extremes of emotion expressed on the faces of individual children listening to the same story. Some appear bored, while others give rapt attention; some are gay and laughing, but others look frightened. An individual's social attitudes also influence his judgment of a story as particularly good or in extremely bad taste. In the same way, the social attitudes of the story teller are reflected in the kinds of stories he tells. For example, people who profess to have "good" attitudes, particularly toward those of other races and cultures, sometimes unconsciously reveal their real feelings through telling stories that place other persons or groups in an unfavorable light. Social group workers often find this to be true when group members tell stories.

There have been differences of opinion as to whether children should hear and read fairy stories. Dr. Sandor Lorand¹ says that fairy tales may have both constructive and destructive values; that they can contribute to both the formation of character and the progress of neurotic illness. They may leave enduring impressions that inhibit normal adjustments. On the other hand, they have many constructive values. They fulfill wishes; they have the same structure as dreams; and their content is really nothing more than the disguised realization of dreams. They were not originated solely for entertainment and even now bring to the fore social situations of common concern.

Though adults may disclaim interest in stories, particularly fairy stories, Dr. Lorand points out that

The elements in fairy tales that adults enjoy is also a subject well worth further study; as is the question of precisely what the adults themselves are acting out in telling the stories or in listening to their own voices. For there unquestionably is an adult attitude to these fairy tales. Although at present considered exclusively children's fare, they have grown out of genuine folklore material which has not come down to us through the generations with the sole purpose of amusing children. On the contrary, folk tales deal primarily with the problems of adults.²

¹ (a) "Fairy Tales, Lilliputian Dreams and Neurosis," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 7 (1937), no. 4, pp. 456-464; (b) "Fairy Tales and Neurosis," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, vol. 4 (1935), pp. 234-243.

² *Ibid.* (a), p. 464.

The ridiculous situations in many of these tales delight both children and adults; Andersen's story, "The Emperor's New Clothes," is a good example. Adults can poke fun at authority through identifying with the unscrupulous men who took advantage of the Emperor (no one in his position should be so gullible!); and children see themselves as the small child who dares to tell the Emperor the truth. Dr. Lorand emphasizes that both the content and the manner of telling the stories have much to do with the states of pleasure or anxiety caused by fairy tales. For this reason, social group workers need to be conscious of both the content and the manner of telling.

We have often wondered to what extent these stories give rise to certain ideas and attitudes: for example, that all stepmothers are unkind and wicked like the stepmothers of fairy tales;¹ that people in authority are cruel; that fathers are either domineering masters or henpecked husbands. We wonder to what extent children's fantasies are related to some of the fairy stories; especially the daydream — common to those who are resentful of limitations imposed by their parents — of other and true parents who will come some day with many gifts to claim them and thus make the false, punishing parents sorry. How many of the romantic ideas of adolescents have their beginning in the deeds of fairy-tale princes who always rescue the fair lady at the right moment? Does the idea that right will triumph and evil be punished begin here? These are all speculations, but they are worthy of consideration when choosing stories for groups. Workers have found that children react to stories of Cinderella, Snow White, and Hansel and Gretel in terms of their own family experiences. The child who becomes very quiet when the tale of a wicked stepmother is told may be the child who has a stepmother and is not having too happy an experience in accepting the substitution, or an unhappy child who wonders if his mother can be his own and yet give him so little love. Consideration of these possibilities will not cause the worker to eliminate such stories but will make him aware of the importance of observing reactions and acting in such a manner as to help the children relieve anxieties. Stories of real men and women and boys and girls of the past and the present are also of great interest to groups and have value in presenting real-life situations. Stories growing out of the deeds of the last war and stories of research in the fields of science, medicine, and industry find eager listeners among all ages, and not only satisfy the need of youth for exploits, adventure, and hero-worship,

¹ The possible influence of these tales of stepmothers is discussed in: Helene Deutsch, *Psychology of Women*, vol. 2, "Motherhood" (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1945), pp. 434-455; Janet Pfleger, "The Wicked Stepmother in a Child Guidance Clinic," *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, vol. 17 (1947), no. 3, pp. 159-184.

but also provide adults with valuable topics for discussion in the social and economic field. And countless other types of stories — too numerous to mention here — are of interest to people of different ages and experience.¹

It is well to observe the kinds of stories that are of interest to individual members and to the group-as-a-whole. Are stories of fantasy or of reality more popular? Do certain individuals ask for particular stories because of the identification they have made with the characters? What comments do the group members make about the characters and situations? Sometimes the members' identification is made evident not in words but through very apparent feelings and actions.

When a group member retells a familiar story the worker has an opportunity to understand the value of the story to that member as a person. Perhaps he knows it so well that he tells it word for word, although there may be some variations and special emphases. Often however, he tells those parts which have made the greatest impression upon him, and the changes he makes in words, phrases, and situations show clearly how he has related his own experiences and aspirations to the story. J. Louise Despert tells how the understanding of workers was deepened by hearing the distortions that the children introduced into their accounts of popular stories.² A careful analysis revealed that the distortions, made quite unwittingly, were in some way related to the child's emotional conflict. A certain "theme" always predominated in *all* the stories told by any one child. From the point of view of content the stories seemed to fall into three groups; they emphasized (1) that which the child was afraid of (anxiety); (2) that which he wished to be, have, or do (wish-fulfillment); or (3) that which he feared he might do (sadism).³ Although these workers were dealing with children with diagnosed emotional problems, their findings — which were checked and substantiated by psychiatrists — give us clues for classifying the kinds of situations all children and adults like to hear and tell about. For similar findings are reported by social group workers. Some members emphasize elements of fighting and quarreling; others always have a wonderful hero who can accomplish anything, or a heroine who is lovely and kind to everyone. Workers are familiar with children and adults who (1) love to tell tales which are gruesome or which depict the anxieties of the characters; (2) recount stories of their own experiences in such a way

¹ Public libraries have prepared excellent lists of stories suitable for various age groups, and librarians are very helpful in choosing stories. Many books not only suggest stories but describe methods of telling them. See bibliography, pp. 664-665.

² J. Louise Despert, *Emotional Problems in Children*, Part I, "The Story, a Form of Directed Phantasy" (Utica, N.Y.: State Hospitals Press, 1938), pp. 7-26. Also in *Psychiatric Quarterly*, vol. 10 (1936), no. 4, pp. 619-638.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

that they are always in the right and other people in the wrong; and (3) tell stories to hurt or belittle others. Many games include telling or inventing stories and thus opportunities for such observations occur when least expected.

Stories can advance or retard interracial and intercultural understanding. Examination of the folk tales of many lands reveals that some of them are very similar. In an article describing some of these similarities, Elizabeth Nesbitt states that

The presence of similar themes and motifs in the folk literature of all races bears witness to the fact that all peoples share the longings, the hopes, and the faith embodied in these stories. Therefore such tales escape boundaries of race and country, and the traditions they bear are the common heritage of men everywhere, an heritage which welds together the human race, and which has enabled it to rise again and again, triumphant over natural and man-made catastrophes.¹

Through such recognition of the common elements in stories of many lands people come to see that certain feelings and ideas and experiences are universal. The choice of stories is important in this connection. If the worker is the story teller, he should examine his tale carefully to be sure that it does not cast an aspersion upon some race, nationality, or culture. It has been suggested, for example, that dialect may create confusion, prejudice, and dislike, because it is difficult to understand. Stories can also be used to forestall prejudice; the presentation in story form of a particular people, their customs, and their accomplishments, can be a first step in building appreciation and understanding. And finally, a number of individuals representing several races and nationalities are often bound into one group as differences are erased through the common bond of interest in the story.

Thus, we see that stories have many potentialities as program content. They provide an opportunity to identify with the characters and situations, fanciful or real, in the story. They bring to the surface the feelings and attitudes of both narrator and listeners, and influence their relations with others. They point up common factors in human experience and help to create a bond among people of differing backgrounds. It is important that all these factors be kept in mind whenever story telling is part of the program.

DRAMATICS

Under the heading of dramatics come such forms as games, pantomimes, improvisations, plays, shadowgraphs, puppet and marionette shows, choral

¹ Elizabeth Nesbitt, "The Art of Story Telling," *The Horn Book Magazine*, vol. 21, pp. 439-444 (November-December, 1945).

speech, festivals, and pageants. All these forms are closely related in that they are means of projecting definite ideas and feelings through action or words, or both. Expression is highly personalized in most forms of dramatics. As a rule, the person himself is the focus of attention, rather than some product of his hands, as in crafts; he plays a special, unique role, instead of participating in common, identical activity with others, as in group singing or dancing.

Because of this personal quality, people either like or dislike dramatic expression intensely, and the social group worker often finds it difficult to help members — especially of older age-groups — feel at ease in this medium in the beginning. There are always some who enjoy being the center of the stage and taking part in plays, but they are not necessarily the ones best able to interpret character; in fact, they often "play themselves," no matter what the character is like, and need a great deal of help if they are to forget themselves and become the person in the play. Those members who hesitate to participate in dramatics often would like to do so, and they need a different kind of help — help to express themselves and their feelings through this medium.

In this chapter, we shall consider briefly (1) dramatic play, (2) dramatic games, (3) pantomimes, improvisations, and playmaking, (4) the formal play, (5) shadowgraphs, puppets, and marionettes, (6) choral speech, (7) festivals and pageants, (8) psychodrama and sociodrama. We shall then discuss some general values of dramatics.

Dramatic Play

The dramatic play of children is a forerunner of the more formal types of dramatics. It is only a short step from this form of play to dramatic games and improvisations. References on play in the bibliography describe dramatic play and point out the values to children in being able to play out their ideas and fantasies about the experiences they are undergoing. As the social group worker watches this form of play, he learns a great deal about the impressions the child is receiving from the world about him and what his problems are in relation to these ideas and feelings. The worker must remember that not everything the children dramatize represents actual fact.¹ For example, the home scenes they play are not necessarily true pictures of their own family lives. The age of the children must also be taken into account, for the stage of emotional development that a particular child is going through influences his choice of content and reactions to it. A little girl who is playing a "mean mother" role may in fact have a rejecting mother; on the other hand, she may be going through the oedipal situ-

¹ See Chapter 6, pp. 203-204.

tion and her portrayal may be motivated by her feeling of competition with the mother for the father's affections.

An illustration of reversal of roles is given below. Mark had always been the "good boy," while Lew had a record of delinquency. Notice also that their play gave them a chance to release aggression on the adult woman worker who represented authority to the boys.

Two quite aggressive boys who were members of a group in a Child Guidance Center played a game with the worker. Mark, aged nine, made a gun out of a piece of wood. Then he came up behind the worker and jumped on her. Lew, aged ten, proceeded to knock him down in order to rescue the worker, but at the same time he yelled to Mark to "grab the keys of the bank." Lew then ran after Mark in an attempt to capture the "criminal." They repeated this scene three or four times, getting an emotional release from playing the roles.

The worker must understand the emotional content as well as see and hear the factual content. Understanding the role of dramatic play in the lives of children contributes to an understanding of the ways in which older groups make use of dramatics. There are many similarities in their choices of content and roles for improvisations and their interpretation of characters in plays.

Dramatic Games

Some games are listed or described as dramatic games: "Lemonade," all forms of Charades, "In the Manner of the Word," and "Conversation Piece" are a few of these. The contribution of all games to dramatics has not been fully realized, although the sense of the dramatic is inherent in almost every game. Timing, so important in knowing just when to run or to chase or to steal bases in a game, is important in dramatics in a different but related form. The players must know just when to say a line or move across the stage, must sense the rhythm and tempo of the words or movements needed to project a mood. Conflict, the essence of drama, is an inherent part of all competitive games. Sense memory, so vital a part of the actor's skill, gets extensive practice in games, particularly in those calling for special use of the senses of sight, hearing, and touch. In many games, such as Charades, pantomime is the central feature; others combine pantomime and words. Games that involve making up a story or a conversation — either individually or in group form — stimulate the imagination and are first steps toward improvisation. The social group worker can adapt many games to help a group develop the sense of the dramatic.

Dramatic games have many values. They indicate to the worker the

members' special interests and abilities in this area and furnish leads for future program content. They are often the first steps toward developing an interest in more elaborate forms of dramatics. Many members who shy away from the idea of "dramatics" thoroughly enjoy dramatic games and gradually become able to participate in other dramatic forms which are of value in their development. Dramatic games are also useful in learning and practicing techniques needed for the depiction of roles in a play. And often when a group has "gone stale" in working on a play, a short time spent in playing dramatic games will relieve tensions, give practice in a needed technique, and help the group to return happily to rehearsal.

Pantomime, Improvisations, and Playmaking

Pantomime, improvisations, and playmaking are considered together here because — as used in social group work — they are usually spontaneous, creative experiences, often serving as preliminary steps to more formalized dramatic expression. For most groups they are of greater value than the formal play. These terms are used to describe both forms and methods, for while they can be highly developed forms in themselves, they also serve as methods or supplementary techniques. The "action" of a formal play combines pantomime with lines; improvisations may be used to help the actors analyze characters and situations; and while playmaking is more a method than a form, it can result in a play, either through pantomime and improvisation, or through writing of lines and development of scenes, or both.

The term "creative dramatics" is often applied to the creative methods of dramatics, but this is an unfortunate expression to use with some groups, for to most people it connotes the creating of plays only out of the ideas and experiences of the group members. For this reason, many people hesitate to join a group or an activity labeled "creative dramatics." They are interested in drama but want the prestige of acting in plays written by "real playwrights" and feel that any other experience is a waste of time. Or they may hesitate to expose their feelings, ideas, and experiences to other members. Actually, however, all forms of dramatics can and should be approached in a creative manner. The production of any play involves analyzing the characters, trying to feel what they are like as persons, why they act as they do in the situations in the play, and how as persons they would react in other situations — a process of re-creating the characters and the situations.

Pantomime is the expression of ideas or feelings through movement of the total body, or its parts, unaccompanied by words. Because it requires no verbal expression and can be practiced by the entire group working in unison,

it makes a good beginning for persons who are hesitant about engaging in other forms of dramatics. The addition of special roles helps them to individualize their pantomime, and the gradual introduction of a single word, a phrase, or a sentence helps them to use words and become more apt at verbal expression. In pantomime the members have an opportunity to make extensive use of "sense memory," and many dramatic exercises can be worked out which give them this experience. But because it is really a rather difficult technique if the entire performance is done in this form, pantomime has its limitations for the average group of drama enthusiasts.

Improvisations consist primarily of choosing and elaborating on "situations," using pantomime, words, movement, or all three. The total situation may be known to the participants — as when well-known stories are dramatized, so that the situation need only be brought to life and the lines improvised; again, only the bare skeleton may be set forth, so that the actors are free to develop the scene in accordance with their own ideas. In either case, improvisation is spontaneous in nature, and this very spontaneity means that highly individualized feelings and attitudes come to the surface. These are easier to handle if the situations and characters chosen for improvisations are outside of, but related to, their experiences; the release of feelings is just as satisfying and relaxing, and no guilt for their actions in the dramatic situation is generated. It is also easy to see how playing the role of an unpleasant person gives the opportunity to be hateful and bad, because it is not the *actor himself*, but the *character*, who is the hateful, bad person. In the same way, for the member who is always quiet and retiring, an outgoing role or one which permits expression of aggression may be extremely valuable. The effeminate boy may effect some change in his personality through playing the rough-and-ready character; the tough boy may become more conforming through playing a conventional part. No conclusive statement can be made as to whether a person should play the kind of personality he himself is or whether he should take roles entirely different in character. There are undoubtedly some times when it is important to have further expression of the personality problem and other times when the limitations of the opposite kind of role are more valuable.

Frank J. Curran, in his article on the use of dramatics with adolescents, applies to dramatics Dr. William Menninger's criteria for mental hospital therapy. It "should supply six needs: (1) to afford an outlet for aggression, (2) to encourage advantageous identification, (3) to permit the atonement of guilt, (4) to afford a means of obtaining love, (5) to encourage the acting out of fantasies, and (6) to afford an opportunity to create."¹ Curran says

¹ Frank J. Curran, "The Drama as a Therapeutic Measure in Adolescents," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 9 (1939), no. 1, pp. 215-231. Quoted from Dr. Menninger's article, "Psychiatric Hospital Therapy," *Amer. Jour. Psych.*, vol. 93 (1936), p. 347.

that he would add to Dr. Menninger's formulations that "all these expressions are of value only insofar as they afford, at the same time, the possibilities for the individual to obtain deeper insight into his own problems."¹

Improvisations — and other forms of dramatics as well — give these opportunities to *any* group. It is the social group worker's basic knowledge of human motivations and his information about the individual members that must guide him in helping the members choose improvisations and roles and in interpreting the manner in which the members act their roles. Many workers see changes in personality taking place as individuals gain release, first through expressing, and then by limiting their feelings, work out some solutions in the dramatic form, and become aware of the need for changes in their behavior.

Story telling leads easily into *improvisation* and *playmaking*, for the group often suggests "playing out" a beloved story. Although many will clamor for the role of the hero or the heroine, there will be others who want to be the wicked fairy, the unkind stepmother, the good hunter, or the kind father. Often those who want to play the parts of the "bad" people in the story are the quiet, conforming members who seem to have no desire even to be noisy in other parts of the program. These roles offer such members a real opportunity for releasing their repressed feelings of hostility, as discussed in Chapter 3.

In a formed group of ten-year-olds, composed of both Negro and white children, the members decided to act out the story of "Cinderella." One of the smaller white girls was chosen for the role of Cinderella, and two of the Negro girls chose to be the wicked stepsisters. Over and over they practiced the first scene (where the stepsisters mistreat Cinderella), finding many ways of making Cinderella do the household drudgery. They explained that they wanted to get this scene perfect before going on to the visit of the Fairy Godmother.

This is a clear-cut example of a reversal of the usual position in which Negro children are apt to find themselves. It provided the Negro members with an opportunity to express their hostility toward white people under cover of the fairy tale. Notice that they evaded the scene where Cinderella is the recipient of gifts from the Fairy Godmother.

In a story-hour group for girls aged ten to twelve, the worker failed to realize that the girls felt guilty about the feelings they had revealed through improvisation.

This group quickly developed into a playmaking group as the girls demanded to act out their favorite stories. This went on for several weeks,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

and then one day Judy said, "Let's act out real things." The worker agreed and told them to go ahead with any ideas they wished, whereupon the girls ran wild in expressing feelings and fantasies in depicting home situations. The worker said nothing, but the girls must have sensed some feeling of non-acceptance of their behavior in the improvisations; for in the middle of a scene where the "mother" was scolding and hitting the "children," all the girls dashed from the room. None of them ever returned to the Story Hour, and they subsequently avoided the worker in the halls of the agency.

Whether the scenes acted out were reality or fantasy is unimportant; the feelings of the actors were real to them and the worker did nothing to help them feel that such feelings were natural or to enable them to work out solutions in the dramatic form. Her failure to do so left the girls overcome with a sense of their guilt.

Dramatization similarly provides adolescents and adults with opportunities to express their feelings both of love and of hostility. Further, it provides them with an opportunity to work out solutions to problems in ways which they cannot do in real life. In one dramatics interest group composed of older high school boys and girls, both worker and members suggested many different situations for practice in improvisation. These situations helped the worker to discover the needs of some of the individual members, and quite often he helped the boys and girls work out their problems through the improvisations. Throughout the record each of these adolescents can be seen gaining in poise and security and finding a real place in the group. For example, the worker helped Dick, one of the members with low status in the group, by making it possible for him to take roles in which he could play an important part.

One evening, however, a new boy, Harry, joined the group; and when Dick, who had been given a minor role, did not pay much attention to the script, Molly (the president) asked Harry to take the part. Dick apparently felt that his place in the group was being threatened by the new boy and began making fun of the way Harry read the part. At this point the other members, particularly Tom, jumped on Dick, and he retired to another part of the room. The reading of the play did not go very well, and finally Dick turned on Molly and said that it was her fault that the club was getting nowhere. Molly told him what she thought of him in no uncertain terms and said that if he didn't like the club he could leave. Dick got his hat and coat and was about to leave when the worker intervened and asked him to stay. The worker then remarked that the play did not seem to be going well and suggested that they work on some improvisations and write their own play. Molly agreed and Dick quickly suggested an idea. "Look," he said, "I'm taking two sisters to a dance. On the way we got lost and the

older sister gets mad at me and bawls me out, while the younger sister keeps interrupting and trying to patch things up." Molly at first ridiculed the idea and then offered to play the older sister. Frances volunteered to play the other sister. Molly really threw herself into her part and called Dick all sorts of names. She was having an excellent opportunity to vent her anger at Dick. Frances tried to fulfill her function of trying to patch things up; but Dick would not let her. He seemed to be enjoying the abuse he was getting from Molly. At this point the worker suggested to a third girl that she call the other members to see the dramatization. It was repeated, but Molly was unable to work up enough anger to do the scene as she had done it before. Frances became more dominant and took over the lead role as the one who patched up the quarrel. When the worker felt that the scene had served its usefulness, he suggested that they take another idea which would include more of the members. Molly suggested a scene in which there were three daughters who were "hard up" for dates and tried to get any man who came into the house. Three girls immediately volunteered to play these parts. The worker suggested that Molly play the mother of the girls, and Molly herself suggested that Tom take the part of the father who invited the boss home for dinner and Dick that of the wealthy and desirable boss.

It can be seen that Molly and Dick were definitely making use of the medium of improvisation to release their feelings and find some solution for them. The advantage of playing a situation different from the conflict within the club — but one which afforded release of similar feelings — is apparent. It is also easy to see how the members made use of the improvisation to meet the six needs mentioned earlier.¹

Some members apparently want to play only roles of fantasy and wish-fulfillment — to escape from reality. Playing such roles does not necessarily reinforce escapist behavior, but is in fact one way of eventually eliminating it. Seldom is the fantasy divorced completely from the real experiences of the person.

In a fairy-tale improvisation, Dickie, a small boy of eight, was playing the part of king of a far-away country. Dickie's father was unemployed at the time, and the family was having a hard time to get along financially. The improvisation included the coronation scene, and in the course of his coronation speech Dickie announced: "After I'm crowned, we'll have a big strike and then everyone will get money and then we'll have a big party and everyone will have all kinds of things to eat."

In this triumphant improvisation we see not only achievement through fantasy, but also sprouts of economic theory.

The social group worker has an active role to play when the members

¹ See p. 288.

continually derive their greatest satisfactions from playing roles completely unrelated to their lives. He accepts the role-playing but gradually introduces other experiences and other kinds of roles and relationships more consistent with reality. Sometimes the worker accomplishes this through becoming an active participant in the improvisations.

Improvisation also helps individuals in their social development, for many of the situations involve social relationships: some of them are imitations of adult life; others are related to experiences that are causing the members difficulties in their social contacts.

In a group of adolescents, the girls were talking about their first dates. One girl wondered whether she should introduce the boy to her parents when he called for her. The worker said that it was natural to wonder about the "right thing to do" and suggested that they practice this situation. After many variations had been worked out, the girls decided that they liked best the idea of meeting the boy at the front door and introducing him to the parents before leaving for the event of the evening. This improvisation was a practical method of helping the girls to feel at home in a new and strange situation.

Another value growing out of improvisations is a sense of the importance of doing one's share; of picking up the conversation of others and reacting to it; of giving others a chance to say something. Thus there develops a feeling of responsibility for carrying one's share in the social situation and for contributing to the content of the experience. This value is also related to the poise and control which individuals develop through participating in dramatic experiences. Frequently an unexpected situation arises during the presentation of any play — someone forgets his lines, or certain properties are missing. If the actors have had experience in improvisations, they are able to "ad lib" and carry off the awkward situation.

Experiments with improvisations merge easily into *playmaking*, for the group may decide to write down some of the lines to use as a guide in repeating certain scenes. The worker, or a member of the group, can help here by recording lines that are particularly good. After this experience, the group may write longer plays, which may be based on a story or on any incident or experience which appeals to the members. Part of the play may be prepared by individual members and submitted to the others for approval; part may be written by the group-as-a-whole. Often one member with particular skill is chosen to do the final rewrite. Individuals also bring in plays which they themselves have written.

Usually the members wish to present their play to an audience, and then many other values accrue. The experience of being in a play is one that cannot be achieved individually. The individual must function as part of

a social group. Learning lines, observing cues, being punctual at rehearsals, giving others a chance to star even if only for a short time — all require social consciousness and regard for others. Many persons are not ready to function at this level, and the rehearsals are filled with difficulties. But when the production is finally achieved, the members gain satisfaction from the accomplishment of the group-as-a-whole as well as from the reaction of the audience to their individual and collective efforts.

While pantomime, improvisation, and playmaking inevitably enter into the other forms of dramatics, they are in themselves forms of great value to the participants. There are numerous examples of the use members make of creative dramatic forms to express feelings, act out fantasies and wishes, identify with special roles, relieve guilt over their behavior, secure approval and love, and develop a regard for the rights of others.¹

The Formal Play

In the formal play, the characters and their relationships, the plot, the situation, and the dialogue are predetermined by the author, not improvised by the group or evolved out of the group's own experiences. The actor may thus find it necessary to assume a role that is quite outside his personal ken — in other words, he is required to put himself into the experiences and feelings of someone else. This is a valuable and often a broadening exercise for him. For some group members, the very fact that the characterizations and situations are predetermined lends security — a security within which they are more able to function freely, since through their interpretations of given characters they are able to release their own personal feelings without fear of self-exposure. But although what they say and do has been prescribed by the author, the manner of interpreting a given character offers them scope for creativity. The actors sometimes get insight into their own behavior and motivations through their identification with the characters. Any play centering around the problems and difficulties of interpersonal relationships can aid in this process.

While the presentation of any dramatic form requires certain disciplines, the formal play makes special demands. The participants must have the mental capacity to memorize the lines in order to present the play as the

¹ Individuals are often stimulated to write plays, stories, and poetry through this experience. Creative writing may also develop in many other ways. An agency newspaper, for instance, often helps members to discover that they have a flair for writing. Occasionally special groups are formed for those members. Workers find that the stories and poetry written by the members are frequently indicative of personal needs. These needs may be served within the group setting through discussion and evaluation of the material, but sometimes more personalized help is indicated. See bibliography, p. 667, for material on creative writing.

author has written it; numerous rehearsals are necessary in order to get the interaction among the actors as perfect as possible; each member of the cast must be able to exercise enough self-discipline and have enough concern for the others to bear his full share of responsibility in the whole.

Thus the formal written play offers many opportunities for the members to feel both *like* and *with* the characters; to feel security within the limits set by the author; to satisfy the ego; and to exercise self-control in the interest of the rest of the group and of the production as a whole. It presents limitations in that its form inhibits some individuals. Because it is inevitably slated for presentation to an audience, the production must be made as nearly perfect as possible; thus many rehearsals are needed, and sets, costumes, lighting, and make-up must be planned. These very limitations, by providing difficulties to be overcome, can in themselves be values for some members.¹

Shadowgraphs, Hand Puppets, and Marionettes

Each of these forms serves, in effect, as a disguise behind which the player can hide and feel free to express his feelings. The way in which any disguise can help individuals to throw off the controls of the superego is well illustrated by the experience of Doris:

Doris was the quietest member of a group of eight-year-olds. The worker was concerned because Doris was such a good, conforming child who never said anything in the group and would engage in conversation with the worker only to the extent of answering "Yes, Ma'am" and "No, Ma'am" to her questions. One day near Halloween the group became absorbed in making paper-bag masks. Doris got no farther than making openings in her bag for eyes, nose, and mouth, but the worker was delighted to see her put the bag over her head and run around the room yelling and shouting with the rest of the children. The paper-bag mask gave Doris security because her face was hidden and she was able to react in a way normal to her stage of development. This one experience helped Doris feel free enough to participate in the activities of the group at later meetings.

Shadowgraphs, hand puppets, and marionettes are good starting points for the shy or inhibited individual, since he himself does not have to appear or even be seen as he manipulates the characters and speaks the lines. (Even though in some forms of shadowgraphs the participant's own shadow is projected, he still feels the protection of a disguise because he is not seen directly.) For this reason, he feels freer to make the character say and do things which he himself dares not say or do in his own right. This expression may take the form of being unkind to another puppet (or shadow)

¹ For resource material, see bibliography, p. 666.

or of showing affection for it; and the projection of feelings of hostility and love is made easier because there is an intermediary figure to take the blame or praise. A great deal of the value to the manipulator depends upon the identification which he makes with the puppet. If he identifies himself with his own puppet and the other players with theirs, he may be expressing his own love and hate toward these others through the lines and actions prescribed by the play. Or perhaps he identifies the puppets with other people in his life experience: father, mother, brothers, sisters, teachers. While the worker can surmise about these identifications, he cannot be sure even with background information about the individual.

Members very easily make the puppet the agent of acts which for one reason or another they do not wish to commit in person:

The worker taught a group of boys how to make paper-bag puppets, then showed them how to make the puppets talk and move. Joe made his puppet chase William, saying, "I'm not running at all, but my puppet is chasing William." The other boys started to chase each other with their puppets, making a game of the play. The worker made some rules and a game of tag evolved, with the puppets as the runners and chasers.

The worker frequently observes the release of feelings that are more vehement than the part really requires:

Betty, an "overly sweet" youngster of eight, amazed the worker by her graphic presentation of the wicked stepsister in a puppet play of "Cinderella." Marilyn, a member of the same group, was chosen to be the angel in the Christmas play because she looked and acted like one. But later in the year when the group was working on a puppet play of "Beauty and the Beast," she took the worker aside and asked if she could operate the "mean sister puppet." Both children displayed such hostility in the portrayals that the worker became conscious of the feelings that lay underneath the pleasing exteriors and provided additional ways in which these feelings could be released.

Bender and Woltmann¹ particularly emphasize therapeutic factors in describing their use of puppets with children. They also point out that "it is not enough for the children to be allowed a free expression of their aggressive tendencies, but that there should always be a solution of the problem with equally free expressions of love."² This is an important point for social group workers to keep in mind, particularly when the group decides

¹ Lauretta Bender and Adolf Woltmann, "The Use of Puppet Shows as a Psychotherapeutic Method for Behavior Problems in Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 6 (1936), pp. 341-354; Adolf Woltmann, "The Use of Puppets in Understanding Children," *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 24 (1940), no. 3, pp. 445-458.

² Bender and Woltmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-353.

to work out improvisations related to their own experiences. It is, of course, true of all forms of dramatics, but expression is apt to be more free when puppets and marionettes are used.

Lyle and Holly¹ discuss the therapeutic use of puppets with adults, and many of their observations are similar to those made by Bender and Woltmann with children. The patients whom they studied used puppets as means of investigating and solving difficulties, dramatizing fantasies in a creative way, and expressing exhibitionistic tendencies and aggressions which could not otherwise be vented. The actual making of a being (the puppet) that walks and talks satisfies the creative urge; the control of the mechanism gives a sense of mastery. Often the patients seemed to identify themselves with the puppets and could not bear to be parted from them. Social group workers, too, have observed the attachment which group members have for the puppets and marionettes they make.

These forms of drama also lend themselves readily to exaggeration and therefore are well suited for comedy, caricature, burlesque, and melodrama. The members feel freer to "let go" and to exaggerate than they would if they themselves were the actors. Sometimes, during the process of making puppets or marionettes or cut-outs for shadowgraphs, unexpected grotesqueries give the members the idea of changing the play from a serious one to an hilarious comedy. This factor of exaggeration in itself provides valuable experiences for the members: in the first place, just pure fun is important in life; and further, when a group composed of "serious-minded playwrights" learns that important points can be better put across to an audience through comedy and satire than heavy drama, they have made a real discovery.

The actual construction of the figures and stage settings is a creative experience in itself. Simple puppets and marionettes can be quickly made, but the more complex ones take time, patience, and skill. It is very unwise to embark upon complicated procedures until the group has developed enough interest to carry it over the long period of construction. Otherwise, the puppets or marionettes may never be finished; or by the time they are completed, interest in working out the script may have been lost. The readiness of the group for long-term projects of any kind must be carefully gauged.²

Choral Speech

Choral speech has qualities similar to choral singing, but is easier for the

¹ Jeanetta Lyle and Sophie Holly, "The Therapeutic Value of Puppets," *Menninger Clinic Bulletin*, vol. 5 (1941), no. 6, pp. 223-226.

² For list of books giving the technique of constructing and operating shadowgraphs, puppets, and marionettes, see bibliography, pp. 666-667.

average group to perform because ability to carry a tune is not required. In speaking, however, it is more difficult than in singing to keep all the voices in unison and to prevent the development of a monotonous rhythm, for there is no set form — the words, phrases, and content must determine the rhythms and tone qualities.

Both prose and poetry can be used for choral speech, and groups often choose to write their own material. One member contributes a word here; another, a phrase there; the least vocal member may unexpectedly add just the right turn to a phrase or sentence. Choral speech material written by a group usually grows out of the members' own experiences and reveals their attitudes and feelings. When what they are saying seems really important to them, they have little difficulty in getting their feelings across to the listeners.

Although there has to be some emphasis upon pronunciation of words in order to get consonance and hence to communicate the message to the listeners, the tendency to maintain the natural method of speaking makes the participants feel that choral speech does not require a special skill. They therefore feel more free to take part in choral speaking than in some other forms of dramatics. As in choral singing, the piece may have sections for voices in unison, for individual voices, and for small groups. The voices are used in statement and response, question and answer, and many other ways.¹ A place is provided for the individual who could not speak lines alone or act in a play. Here he can join his voice with others and so contribute to the whole. Because there are words, phrases, lines, and even whole sections for individual voices or small groups, recognition for special kinds of voice quality or speaking ability is possible. Thus, in one and the same activity, the individual who needs a chance to star has his opportunity — and has also the experience of group participation. Because everyone is included, group unity results as each member fits into the pattern. Members are very conscious of the "we feeling" as their voices blend together in the words and phrases of the choral speech.

A group of girls in camp had been uncertain as to whether their cabin had anything to present for the total camp program, but they finally decided that they might be able to say something together. They felt inspired to write something themselves, and finally decided to write about having Negro girls at camp. They were interested in this subject, for they had had a pleasant experience in their cabin. Through their choral speech they expressed feelings that they had been unable to express individually. A stronger bond was established in the group through the interdependence required by their presentation.

¹ For detailed discussion, see bibliography, p. 667.

In a camp group of eight boys living together in one cabin, Terry — a very aggressive boy of fourteen — always wanted to be the star. One night the boys asked their counselor to read them a poem they liked, "The Shooting of Dan McGrew." After he had read it through once, the counselor suggested that the boys read it with him. They enjoyed this so much that they repeated the poem several times. This was the first time that Terry had actually accepted the limitations of co-operative effort. The boys read other poems that night and decided to learn one to say for the whole camp. Terry experienced satisfaction from the group production and gained some feeling of being able to accept limits.

Not all choral speech is carried on in a formal, organized fashion. One group of boys, aged five to seven, chanted together the words of a poem related to their afternoon's activity:

While they were putting the paint on their leaves (to make leaf prints), the worker told them a story about the leaves and quoted a poem telling of the wind and the leaves talking together. The boys responded to the rhythm of the lines, saying some of them over and over. They looked out the windows and saw the leaves blown by the wind; they pretended that the leaves were boats sailing in the air; and at the worker's suggestion they repeated the lines of the poem. Several boys who had been unable to participate in the activity began to paint the leaves many different colors. One little boy left his leaf on a twig "so that the wind could talk with it." Speaking the lines together helped to motivate the activities of the afternoon.

Festivals and Pageants

Social agencies frequently celebrate special events with a project which combines the work of all the groups in the agency. This often takes the form of a festival, pageant, or similar presentation which makes use of many kinds of activities in unified form around a central theme. Dance, song, drama, crafts, creative writing, and numerous other interests contribute to the whole. Each group and each individual member within each group has a chance to contribute to the planning of such events, to carry responsibility for a particular portion of the program, and thus to have the experience of feeling part of a larger whole, the agency.¹

Psychodrama and Sociodrama

The value of drama for the resolution of the problems of individuals and groups has long been recognized, but the techniques for this use have been formalized by Dr. J. L. Moreno as "Psychodrama" and "Sociodrama." Dr. Moreno says: "Psychodrama has been defined as a deep action method

¹ See Chapter 16, pp. 594-598 for ways in which such programs are planned and developed.

of dealing with interpersonal relations and private ideologies, and socio-drama as a deep action method of dealing with intergroup relations and collective ideologies."¹ A brief mention of sociodrama is indicated, because it is a spontaneous, unrehearsed form of drama used primarily for the study and treatment of cultural interrelations. As the people in the sociodrama portray *collective* experiences, the spectators therefore gain from their *identity* with the players on the stage.²

Social group workers are very conscious that the tensions arising from factors of cultural difference cannot be dispelled solely through factual information. Because they recognize the conflicts inherent in these factors of difference,³ workers need to know more about this method which not only studies and explores but attempts to change attitudes in cultural inter-relations.

We have already indicated some of the ways in which group members make use of all forms of dramatics to express their personal and social conflicts and attempt to solve them. The worker must be alert to these manifestations of the needs of members and be able to differentiate between those instances where he is competent to help the members work out solutions within the group setting and those where the members should be helped to have individual conferences, either with the social group worker or a psychiatrist, to substitute for or supplement the group experience in dramatics.⁴

Dramatics as an Element of Program Content

Values of special forms have already been indicated. Here some of the values common to all forms will be discussed. Social group workers know the value of the discussions that accompany any kind of dramatic activity. These discussions may center around choice of plays or ideas to be presented, analyses of characters and of the ways in which they should be depicted, the social situations presented, the feelings of the actor-members, or matters of costuming and staging.

Members reveal their own problems as they talk about the characters and situations. They may object to the solutions reached by the various characters in a play, or vehemently support them. Any play dealing with problems and situations similar to the members' own, any play involving

¹ *Sociodrama, A Method for the Analysis of Social Conflicts* (New York: Beacon House, 1944), p. 3.

² Dr. Moreno's use of *identity* instead of *identification* is discussed in *Sociodrama*. For additional publications, see bibliography, p. 667.

³ See Chapter 4, pp. 121ff.

⁴ Many terms are used for dramatic experiences which have as their aims individual, group, and intergroup adjustments: role therapy, role playing, role practice, role testing, role taking, etc.

interpersonal or intergroup relations, stimulates evaluation of their own experiences and relationships. Plays dealing with themes of social significance provide opportunities for the members of any group — no matter what the age — to discuss problems vital to them and to their community.

The members usually begin by commenting on the characters in the play. Gradually they relate various factors in the play to their own lives. They usually talk more freely in the group setting than in individual conferences with the worker. By exchanging ideas within the group they discover that others have the same feelings and problems, and they learn with relief that they are not unusual or "queer."

Attitudes toward other people come out in discussion, too, particularly when choice of plays is the subject. Plays that present certain characters as "types" bring such attitudes into sharp focus. For example, servants are often depicted as ignorant and lacking in culture and are put on a different level than the rest of the cast. In addition, they are usually of some particular nationality or race, such as Irish or Negro. Some members unconsciously make inferences from such characterizations, as: "All Irish, all Negroes, are ignorant and fit only to be servants." The social group worker helps the members to discuss all the factors involved and decide how they will handle these parts in *their* play. Some groups may show a preference for plays which present certain races and nationalities in unfavorable lights; the perennial problem of minstrel shows illustrates this point. Sometimes groups of low economic status want to present drawing-room comedies in which they can play roles depicting the upper economic class. In all these instances, the members need the help of the worker in expressing their feelings and understanding their motivations; in realizing that they may be unconsciously trying to relieve their own feelings of inferiority through presenting others as inferior or making fun of others or identifying with a so-called superior group.

All the social processes are in action. Decision-making revolves around choice of play, selection of members for parts, ways in which characters and situations are presented, and arrangements for facilities, dates, sale of tickets, and publicity. The status of the various members rises and falls throughout the project. Ability in dramatics may increase or lessen a member's real acceptance with the rest of the group, depending upon his ability to accept his own skill and at the same time have concern for the rest of the group. Sometimes the members with the least interest or skill in acting prove unusually apt in management and production, and gain the appreciation of the group in this way. Those who are late to rehearsals, miss their cues, and in general do not fit into the plan of the group, incur the wrath of the group.

Members get real enjoyment from dramatics — an enjoyment that is frequently related to the other values discussed throughout this analysis. Group unity is often achieved, for the group becomes tightly knit when it has had a creative experience in an improvisation or has lived through the vicissitudes of producing a play. The morale of the group is very high when the members finally achieve their objective of "being on the stage" and successfully present their play to an appreciative audience.

Any discussion of dramatics would be incomplete without special mention of its possibilities for presenting social content and social problems and its values for arousing groups to social action. Many groups have a particular interest in this area, and others develop an interest as they discuss the ideas they would like to dramatize. Drama is an excellent medium for the presentation of social problems, for these are born out of conflict — the essence of drama. Members have their greatest difficulty when they try to present solutions in dramatic form, as the drama is apt to fall flat at this point. John Martin's comment on the use of social content in Modern Dance¹ — "the anger and rebellion belong to the spectator" — is equally applicable here. If the members will be content to point out the need for social change in regard to a certain problem, their drama may be the more effective in stimulating varying kinds of action on the part of the members of the audience. It is possible to combine definite forms of social action with the presentation of the problem. One group which dramatized the need for housing gave out post cards in the lobby after the show and urged the departing audience to write their congressmen about pending legislation. The ability to rouse the audience to action is an important consideration in choosing plays.

The audience is an important factor in all dramatic productions. Almost any of the dramatic forms discussed here can be presented before an audience, either very informally or with elaborate staging. At all times, careful differentiation must be made between a "workshop" or "studio" presentation and the "public" performance. The former is supposed to show the members in the process of attaining skill in their roles, while the latter must be as finished a piece of work as the members are able to give. This implies, of course, that the material chosen in the first place must be within the capacities of the members. The presence of an audience stimulates the players to do their best — even though they may suffer from stage fright at first — and they often rise to the occasion and give a performance that exceeds their own and the worker's evaluation of their abilities. The audience is also a sort of mirror in which the players see themselves reflected in their play-acting roles and thereby are made aware of the extent to which

¹ Chapter 8, pp. 258-259.

they have made the characters real to others. When the audience is made up of proud parents and friends, the actors gain status through the mere fact that they are taking part in a dramatic production. On the other hand, when the audience is composed of people who do not know the players, the performance stands or falls on its merits alone, and praise from such a source is particularly valued. Any approbation given the group for its performance makes the members feel more closely united. They realize that the experience could not have been achieved individually. And when the production is part of an all-agency program, they feel more closely identified with the agency-as-a-whole.

The members of the audience have a vicarious experience as they identify with the actors, or the roles, or the situations depicted in the play.¹ To his audience-participation in *any* play, each person brings his own needs, mores, and values which color the conceptions he receives from the play. Analysis of the values to the audience cannot be discussed here. Mention can only be made of some of the general values which group members gain from attendance at plays given by other groups in the agency, Little Theater groups, and professional companies. As indicated, what each individual member brings to the experience determines what he gets from it. Among the values which workers have recorded are the following: the status of the individual performers or of the total company increases or decreases according to the members' evaluation of the performance; interest in drama as program content for their group is stimulated; special techniques of actors are studied and later adapted for use; the content of the play stimulates discussion — and sometimes action; the social norms for approved behavior in public places are often accepted by the members.

The dramatic medium is an invaluable one for personal and social growth because of the opportunity it gives not only for expressing one's own personal experiences and feelings but also for understanding and appreciating the motivations and ideas of others through assuming various roles. The situations involved in the drama also provide new and broadening experiences for the group members. Further knowledge and skill in the use of dramatics as program content will develop out of constant thoughtful experimentation and analysis on the part of all who are seeking to help the individual and the group-as-a-whole.

¹ Reider, Olinger, and Lyle, "Amateur Dramatics as a Therapeutic Agent in the Psychiatric Hospital," *Menninger Clinic Bulletin*, vol. 3, no. 1, (1939), pp. 20-26.

10

The Values of the Arts and Crafts, the Out-of-Doors, and Trips

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS provide program content through which group members can secure a rich experience in self-expression, gain confidence in making decisions, acquire knowledge of design and color harmonies, and perceive the meaning of art in the lives of people of the past and present. Participation can start on an individual basis, since each person is occupied with his own materials and is creating something with his own hands. But because most craft activities are carried on in a group setting, they provide an entering wedge into group life for the shy person, the physically handicapped person, the rejected person — in fact, for any individual who would like to be associated with others but is not quite ready for the give and take of full group membership. Even though each is working on his own article and is paying no attention to the others present, the situation itself engenders some awareness of others and some necessity for co-operation. Members of a crafts group must share working space, tools, materials, and the attention of the social group worker, and gradually each learns to co-operate with others and thus becomes truly part of the group. Group projects often develop, with each member contributing to the whole; and as a result the "we feeling" is intensified. Said a nine-year-old at the completion of a group project, "None of this village belongs to any *one* of us; it belongs to *all* of us!" Because they provide for gradual development of group feeling, arts and crafts classes and interest groups have proved to be excellent organizational forms for combining people of different races, nationalities, and cultures.

The status which an individual achieves because of his ability to design or make a poster, place card, or some other item for a club project is often the first step toward winning the acceptance from others that makes him feel at one with the group. However, the worker must see to it that a

member's special skill does not become a barrier to his participation in the group's general program. For the group may tend to exploit the talented member to such an extent that he is given no opportunity to take part in activities other than his specialty. On the other hand, he himself may be inclined to take refuge in his particular skill and to hold aloof from the broader group program.

Many special values for the individual are inherent in the arts and crafts. There are his sense of achievement and the self-confidence he gains through ability to make his hands do certain things, through mastery of new techniques and new tools, and through increasing skill as evidenced in the results of his labors. Related to these values is the feeling of power he experiences through making materials take on certain shapes and forms according to his desires, through overcoming their resistance to change. On the other hand, he also learns a certain discipline through having to fit into the limitations imposed by the materials themselves. These values he can transfer to other areas of life. His increased confidence in himself and his sense of mastery over materials and techniques lead him to try other things, even though they are new and different. A girl who had refused to make a report in club meeting — she said she was afraid to talk in front of the group — had a new feeling of self-confidence after she had modeled a bowl from clay. "I think I can make that report next week," she asserted. Through learning to fit into the limitations of a craft, members learn to limit themselves in other areas of the group life. One member, who talked so incessantly that general conversation was impossible, learned to control his chatter through experiencing the discipline of working with wood. Furthermore, work in the arts and crafts inspires respect for tools, materials, and facilities, and a sense of the need for their proper care; thus, the seeds of social responsibility begin to sprout.

Many persons, especially adults, find satisfying hobbies and sometimes vocational interests through their experiences in arts and crafts. Although the social group worker is not aiming to develop artists or craftsmen, he is aware of members who show talent and helps them to obtain further training, for he knows that the exercise of a skill is one of the ways by which individuals can reach their maximum satisfaction and adjustment in life.

The arts and crafts have many important by-products. When group members are working with their hands, conversation is apt to flow more freely, and the social group worker gains an insight into their difficulties and their attitudes that would otherwise take many weeks to achieve. As he thus increases his understanding of the members, he may find it desirable to change his method of working with them.

This area of program is an extremely wide one, comprehending many

materials, processes, and products. We shall define it to include all those activities which require the use of the hands and result in a concrete finished product. By definition, then, it includes not only the arts and crafts of design but also such skills as cooking, photography, and some aspects of campcraft. For some persons, the product is of greatest value; for others, the process. The product may be valued by the maker because it represents achievement, or improves his status in the group, or serves as a gift to someone he likes or wants to appease, or contributes to a hobby or even a vocational interest. The attitude toward the product varies according to the chronological age and emotional maturity of the maker, and ranges all the way from complete disregard to emotional attachment as to a part of oneself. Small children are concerned only with the processes and materials and the possibility of using them for the expression of feelings; hence a too early emphasis upon the finished product will stifle creativity. Older children take pride in their growing skill and want the completed article to show as evidence, to give to adults or friends their own age, or to use for themselves. Older adolescents and adults usually have a definite purpose or use for their finished articles. But at any age, there often is more need for experimentation with the materials and the processes than for a completed product.

ANALYSIS OF SPECIFIC VALUES

A consideration of each art and craft, such as painting, sketching, block printing, weaving, braiding, knotting, sewing, and so on through a long list, brings out a great deal of duplication of processes and values. We believe that more will be gained from considering three general areas: (1) design and color, (2) materials, and (3) the processes used in working with the materials. This approach, we have found, simplifies somewhat the multitude of possibilities with which the worker and the members are confronted. It also helps in making adaptations and substitutions when the original plans cannot be carried out because of the lack of materials, tools, or other equipment, or the prohibitive cost of certain materials. Knowledge of the specific values inherent in design and color, in the materials themselves, and in the processes aids the worker, not only in choosing ideas for presentation to the group and in helping the members plan their selection, but in understanding the individual members as they work at arts and crafts.

Because the arts and crafts are such individualized media, they have been used extensively with emotionally maladjusted persons of all ages. Resource material in this area is profuse and will be drawn upon for this analysis, since the findings have been tested with groups of so-called normal

individuals. For example, Maria Brick,¹ in describing the use of art in regular school and camp settings with children up to fifteen, gives many examples attesting to the mental hygiene value of art for all children. She says that it is valuable in both the study of personality and the diagnosis of deep-seated problems; that deeply rooted conflicts show up in art earlier than in overt behavior. Because of its preventive, diagnostic, and therapeutic values, Miss Brick feels that great emphasis should be placed on art, not only in schools, but in all child care agencies.

Values of Design and Color

Design. Knowledge of the fundamentals of design involves more than an ability to recognize such elements as rhythm, line, symmetry, balance, and harmony. It means also a working knowledge of design in relation to life and of the ways in which the members use design to express their ideas and feelings. The social group worker is concerned primarily with ways in which he can help the members feel free to create their own designs in relation to their own personality development. In the average group, the majority of the members say that they cannot draw, and the worker therefore seeks ways of helping them to discover that they *can* create designs. Through finger painting, potato printing, stick printing, building designs from small pieces of colored paper, developing chalk or paint stencils from small units, and even using rhythm and music, the members not only can learn to make original designs but can actually create pictures which are expressive of themselves and their ideas. Workers are concerned with helping the individual to create the way of life that will be satisfying to him and that will be in accord with the mores of the group and of society. Yet at the same time they do not hesitate to help members to depart from established conventions. A continued adherence to patterns and designs evolved by others does not foster the individual's creative ability, either in the arts and crafts or in other areas of living; rather it makes him content to follow the ideas of others without thinking through for himself the best plan of action. The worker recognizes the importance of stimulating the members, advising them on procedures, and giving active help whenever necessary, and he also understands that some individuals need at times the security of a given pattern or form if they are to be enabled to move ahead; but he knows that his most important function is that of helping the members reach a point where they can go ahead on their own without needing the crutch which such patterns provide.

Observations in the use of design center around (1) sizes and proportions

¹ Maria Brick, "Mental Hygiene Value of Children's Art Work," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 14 (1944), no. 1, pp. 136-146.

of paper, (2) use of space, (3) nature of lines and areas, (4) balance, (5) content, and (6) blotting over or smearing.

Studies¹ show that normal children usually prefer large sheets of paper of a conventional shape (rectangle with proportions of about 3:4 or 2:3); neurotic, depressive, anxious ones prefer—or at least use—only very small sheets of paper; and the greatest extremes are found among psychotic children who like either very large or very small sheets of paper, with a striking preference for a long format (1:2 or 1:3).

The use of space varies greatly. Some individuals cover the entire space with their design or even feel free to run off the page. There are indications that these people either function freely in their environment or are too aggressive or insufficiently inhibited. At the opposite extreme, those who limit themselves to a small area are often those who are inhibited and frightened, who relate to only one person or to a few selected pieces of equipment at a time.² Observers have noticed that "rejected and deprived children never use the whole sheet. They cramp their work closely to the bottom part of the page as if there it could more easily slip out of sight."³

Many artists emphasize the fact that there is a limited number of different kinds of lines and shapes. It is the creativity and the personality of each individual which makes something different of these lines and shapes. The nature of the lines of any design is closely related to the rhythmic quality of the movement used: a sharp, accented rhythm brings forth short, straight, or irregular lines; a free flowing rhythm, a curved line or circular movement in the design. It has been found that the use of circles in design is often related to submissive or markedly effeminate behavior, whereas use of verticals reflects the more assertive, dominant, or masculine type of behavior. Children who are involved in sibling rivalry, girls who wish to be boys, and boys who wish to be girls often reflect these feelings in their use of circles and verticals.⁴ In the use of areas, some individuals carefully delineate each area, using white space or a separating color. This may indicate purely an interest in form, but again it may indicate excessive neatness. At the other extreme are the designs of a confused person whose forms "run into" each other.⁵

The members who always use formal balance in their designs, no matter how fluid the medium, are as a rule the orderly, conventional ones; some-

¹ Trude Schmidl-Waechner, "Formal Criteria for the Analysis of Children's Drawings," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 12 (1942), no. 1, pp. 96-97.

² Rose Alschuler and LaBerta Hattwick, "Easel Painting as an Index of Personality in Pre-School Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 13 (1943), no. 4, pp. 624-625.

³ Brick, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁴ Alschuler and Hattwick, *op. cit.*, p. 624.

⁵ Brick, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

times, however, a person who ordinarily exhibits uncontrolled behavior tries to exert some control by using the formal type of design. On the other hand, the use of informal or asymmetrical balance in design may characterize a completely free and relaxed individual, with inner emotional control, who dares to be different and use more subtle forms; or again, it may be the expression of an unconventional person who refuses to conform to more conventional methods of using design. Individuals who create abstract designs may be projecting a desire to conceal something. Children from broken or especially difficult homes tend to use abstract forms. The nature of these designs — open and free, or closed and repetitive — is often related to the personality. Repeated fixity of pattern may indicate repression; a wild scramble of lines and shapes bearing no relation to each other may indicate lack of ability to concentrate or emotional turmoil. Emphasis upon achieving form in design seems to be characteristic of the person who is striving for self-control and using design as one means to this end. It is important, however, to distinguish between this kind of emphasis upon form and the neurotic's preoccupation with minute and detailed representation.

The choice of subject and the relative sizes of objects, people, animals, and other content of drawings and paintings are often connected with the individual's feelings about them. But while this is an integral part of the design, we feel it is better discussed under the process of painting.

Blotting over or smearing is a technique in some forms of art; for example, paper batik. In some cases, however, it represents a desire to conceal the content and may indicate emotional conflicts or a preoccupation with the toilet training process.

Many of these ideas about the use of design are applicable to any form of arts and crafts. But as a final word of caution, all authorities are emphatic in agreeing that any interpretations of personality and behavior should be made only by integrating all available knowledge about the individual and not by drawing conclusions from any single product in the area of art.

Color. Psychologists have long recognized the influence of color upon the emotions.¹ Some colors are warm, others cool; some give a feeling of happiness and joy, while others cause depression. The use that individuals make of color thus carries deep significance. Observations of both normal and maladjusted persons bring out the relation between the colors used and the individual's current mood or emotional tone. We have noticed that the shy, withdrawn, or very rigid members choose subdued, closely related color harmonies, while the outgoing, apparently well adjusted members prefer vivid colors and contrast them with ease. Apparently it takes a bold person

¹ Harriet and Vetta Goldstein, *Art in Everyday Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), pp. 190-192.

to attempt triad color harmonies, in which it is difficult to get effective results. These observations hold true of choice of color not only for arts and crafts but also for clothes. The quiet, mousy member appears at club meeting in dark blue, brown, or black relieved with white or pale tints, while the outwardly aggressive member dares to wear red, orange, purple, and other vivid hues. Sometimes the response of the quiet members to a vivid sunset or to the flames of the steel mills flaring against the night sky reveals their secret desire to be flaming and gorgeous — a desire which they dare not indulge in their dress or arts and crafts.

In general, the warm colors seem to be related to the expression of emotion and the cool colors to the striving for control. Some assumptions about color¹ have been made: red seems to be the most emotionally tinged color and is associated with both love and hate, affection and aggression; blue seems to be associated with drives toward control but with strong underlying emotions; green seems to be the color least associated with emotion. On the other hand, Rottersman² points out evidence that a group of men who used green ink by preference seemed to be dependent upon their mothers or mother-substitutes. He felt that by using green ink they were struggling to express their independence — their control of a situation. Although this was a small group, almost all of them had neurotic, and a few had psychotic, symptoms. Orange seems to be associated with less violent emotions, such as friendliness and sympathy.³ It is also related to fantasy rather than to overt reactions. Deep purple⁴ seems to be related to social uneasiness, deep thought, worry, or rigid adherence to convention; and the use of a rich yellow to the exclusion of all other colors is almost invariably indicative of the repression of strong sex conflicts.⁵ This is borne out by the fact that people with normal adjustment seem to use very little yellow. There is general agreement that brown and black and their combinations are related to hostility and aggression and intense fears; that they "are associated particularly with deep unconscious components of a depressive nature and have in conjunction with them an elemental suppressed aggressive implication."⁶ There is also a definite connection between the content and the color of pictures: happy pictures are bright-colored; sad ones, dark-colored. Likewise, when people are happy, they use bright colors; when unhappy, insecure, and inhibited, the dark colors.

¹ Alschuler and Hattwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 621-623.

² William Rottersman, "Green Ink; Preliminary Report," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, vol. 100 (1944), pp. 507-510.

³ Alschuler and Hattwick, *op. cit.*, p. 623.

⁴ Ruth F. Shaw, *Finger Painting* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1934), p. 41. Also quoted by Dean Jennings in "Their Fingers Say More Than Their Words," *Saturday Evening Post*, vol. 218 (August 4, 1945), pp. 26-27.

⁵ Jennings, *op. cit.*

⁶ Edward Liss, "The Graphic Arts," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 8 (1938), no. 1, p. 98.

The use of color is illustrated in the following examples:

Bobby, aged four, had been restricted by the worker. Although crayons of many colors were available on the table before him, he deliberately chose a red one and vigorously covered a large sheet of paper with angular red lines. Then he looked up at the worker and grinned. She asked, "Are you still mad at me, Bobby?" and he replied, "Not any more." Bobby had been "mad," but the worker had no occasion to be concerned about him at this point. He had rid himself of his anger of the moment through his use of color and movement.

Mitzi, aged thirteen, always chose purple for her color scheme, no matter what craft the group was doing. While she made beautiful designs, they were always abstract and revealed nothing tangible of herself. Mitzi was quiet and retiring and had little acceptance in the group because of her "queer ways." Here the worker had occasion to be concerned about the member.

Placement of colors may give clues to personality. Consistent overlay usually indicates repression; separate placement suggests outgoing but highly controlled or directed emotions; intermingling suggests an outgoing, less controlled emotional flow.¹

Often it is the associations connected with certain forms or lines or colors which determine the individual's — particularly the adult's — use of them. He may connect a certain color with a person whom he loves or hates; a particular rhythmic movement on paper with a forgotten joy or frustration. Thus an experience — perhaps long forgotten — may determine the use of design or color. It is the effect of these associations that makes it difficult to interpret an individual's use of design and color. We cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of relating the use of design and color to all the other things known about an individual. The worker is concerned when there is constant and repeated use of a particular form or color. At all times, he is aware that the uses of both design and color in all the arts and crafts provide him with clues to human needs. He may never lead an interest group in arts and crafts, but most groups at some time are interested in crafts, posters, invitations, place cards, costumes or sweaters, emblems or colors for their team or club. Hence this background information may be important at any time as the worker observes the choices made by certain individuals or the group-as-a-whole.

Values in the Materials

Each material used in the arts and crafts has its own peculiar qualities which attract some individuals and repel others. An important factor is

¹ Alschuler and Hattwick, *op. cit.*, p. 623. For amplification of this material see *Painting and Personality*, by the same authors (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947; 2 vols.).

the appeal to the sense of touch. Some materials feel smooth, others rough; still others are slippery and slimy. Some are soft and can easily be bent or shaped with the hands alone, whereas others are hard and rigid and require the use of tools. The color element is important, for dislike of the texture of a certain material may be counterbalanced by attraction to its color. Sometimes the natural color of the material is repellent, for example, the gray or brown of clay. Associations, usually unconscious, are often made with both the feeling and the color of materials. Few people have any idea why they like certain materials and dislike others, but the preferences of the group members will be revealing to the worker.

The processes used in working with the materials are interwoven with these likes and dislikes. It is very difficult to separate the materials from the processes, and when choosing ideas to suggest to a group they must be considered together. Here, however, insofar as possible, the two will be discussed separately. One point must be kept in mind: the integrity of materials must be maintained; each material should be permitted to keep its own identity and be used for the purpose to which it is best suited.

Wood. Wood is rigid; it will not bend nor change shape in the ordinary processes used in the craft shop. It requires precision and conformity; measurements must be exact and cutting accurate if pieces are to fit together. A mistake made in cutting or sawing is difficult to repair. The sense of power coming through the control of wood — within the limitations which it sets — is very great. For some, working with wood is a valuable experience; for others, it is a completely frustrating one; for still others, the required conformity and precision fit in too well with their established life pattern. While a piece of wood is very real, it is easily invested with imaginary or potential forms: to the child, it is a boat, a house, a garage, an airplane; to the adult, it is the trinket box, the stool, table, or chair which he desires to make.

Boys especially like working with wood, for it seems to be a masculine material and one which they take great pride in being able to master.

Tim, a boy of twelve, received little recognition at home or at school and had been generally called a community nuisance because of his aggressive, destructive, and irresponsible behavior. In the craft shop he learned to saw, sandpaper, carve, and stain a small letter-holder, and his interest began to develop on a larger scale. When he made use of his newly acquired skill at home, his parents praised and encouraged him. There were the window seats his mother wanted, the small doll house for his sister, the porch steps his father wanted repaired, and Tim did all these things well. The recognition he received at home, and the feeling of being wanted, helped him to seek approval at school and his difficult behavior ceased. His ambition now is to be a carpenter.

Working with wood seems to be a favorite initial activity of children in Child Guidance Centers. The uncertain child gets a sense of security from its rigidity and definite form; it sets a pattern, a shape for him to follow, at least in the beginning. Another reason for this interest is the fact that various aggressive processes can be used in working with it.

Plastics. These materials are somewhat similar to wood in that they are hard and can be sawed, cut, and carved. Although much harder than the soft woods ordinarily used for crafts, they usually require less finishing. The shapes of plastics are quite varied and can be changed by the application of heat. They come in beautiful colors, and the surface is smooth to the touch; these two qualities account for the fascination which they exert. Some very thin plastics are used for the etching and printing processes.

Clay. This very plastic (pliable) material, capable of being molded into almost any desired form, is smooth to the touch. As the hands alone are used in the first processes of working with it, this sensory feeling is paramount in people's reactions to it. Earth, or clay, is an important element in children's play, and as water is needed to obtain the proper consistency, another fascinating play material is added. In the culture of today, emphasis is placed upon being neat and clean, but it is normal for the young child to be interested in the kind of exploration that the adult considers messy or dirty. If he is thwarted in this desire, the need becomes so intensified that he revels in messiness at an age when developmentally he should have progressed beyond this period. Anxieties and tensions are created in the child who undergoes toilet training at too early an age or who is always admonished to be neat and clean. Even when such children become adults, they may hesitate to work with clay because it is "dirty" and, in addition, has some of the consistency and color of the feces with which they are unconsciously concerned. If they are able to use clay, some of the tensions and anxieties are relieved, but they are apt to feel guilty, and must receive assurance that it is an acceptable activity. Clay modeling is "grown-up mud pies" and provides valuable experiences for all ages.

While it is a very flexible material, clay also imposes limits: a certain consistency is necessary; all air must be removed to prevent collapse or breakage in firing; articles made too thin will crack in the drying or firing process; each small piece must be firmly molded to the main body; firing is necessary for real permanence and usefulness, and even then the finished pieces will not stand rough handling. A further disadvantage is the equipment and care needed to keep clay in the proper stage.

Plasticene. Plasticene is the registered trade-mark name of a modeling material. It has certain advantages over clay: it keeps its consistency and does not require the use of water. These very qualities, however, limit its

usefulness to the member who needs a chance really to play with earth and water. The sticky, oily feeling of plasticene is also quite different. It cannot be glazed and fired, and thus does not have the permanency of fired clay. But it is a good substitute when the situation makes the use of clay impossible and is especially good for temporary projects and models for plaster casts. Furthermore, it comes in colors which stimulate the imagination.

Papier-mâché. This material can be modeled and handled in somewhat the same way as clay. Other modeling materials, such as a mixture of sawdust and paste, offer similar possibilities. These materials are excellent for marionette and puppet heads, as good results can be easily and quickly obtained.

Plaster of Paris. This material is used for rapid modeling over an armature and for mold-making. These processes must be quickly done because the plaster hardens rapidly. The modeler must plan his work and be able to make rapid decisions during the process. A hard, effective article results. Both papier-mâché and plaster of Paris are useful materials if firing of clay is impossible or is undesirable for the particular article being made.

The social group worker is very conscious of members who refuse to handle clay and other plastic materials, as well as of those who take a long time to get beyond the stage of just enjoying the feeling of the material in their hands. Awareness of the possible emotional connotations of the material guides him in each situation.

Paints. All paints are fun to experiment with because of their consistency and colors. Mixing of colors to achieve the one desired is of special interest to some members. The fluidity and the speed with which paints spread across the surface make them especially good means for the expression of emotions and feelings, particularly for children who need to use large movements and employ large symbols, and for adults who are trying to express themselves on paper for the first time. The paints most commonly used in arts and crafts have either a water or an oil base; the two types are quite different and serve different purposes.

Water base paints are easier to use than oils, and playing with water is a necessary part of preparing and using them. They are so well known that we shall discuss briefly here only the special qualities of finger paints.

Finger paints are similar to clay in that they provide a medium through which individuals can work out their anal needs. In like manner, individuals may be strongly repelled by or attracted to them and may respond either by refusing to touch the paint or by covering themselves with it. The slightest movement through the paint creates an impression, and even those who feel that they have no ability can easily produce results. Rapid change from one mood or idea to another is possible because of the fluidity of the

medium. Colors can be mixed right on the paper; each individual can develop his own shades and tints and discover what happens when two or more colors are blended together; thus color preferences are easily observed. While finger paints may yield purely sensory satisfactions to some members (the delight in color and in the feeling of the paints on the hands), they also provide opportunities for developing skill.

Oil base paints are more permanent than water base paints but must be used with more care. Artist's oils are now being recommended for adults who are having their first experiences in painting pictures, for these have body and substance and lend themselves readily to changes in color and design. Oil stains, flat paints, and enamels give the finishing touches to woodwork projects. Pride in achievement results when an oil stain brings out the grain in a piece of wood that seemed to lack character, or when bright enamel covers an old piece of wood salvaged from the scrap heap. Flat paints and enamels demand time and patience, for the painter must wait for the first coat to dry before he can apply additional coats or add decorative designs.

Crayons. Observations indicate that children tend to use crayons when they wish to express ideas, but seldom to express emotions. Therefore they are not particularly recommended for small children unless the use of paints is impossible. For one thing, it is necessary to press hard in order to get deep colors with crayons. Furthermore, lines are narrow and it takes a long time to cover a section with color in contrast to the sweep of a paint-filled brush; thus masses are difficult to get without considerable technique. One artist says that many children are "crayon bound" and must be "loosened up" before they are able to work with paints. Crayons, however, are clean to use and require little care and preparation. Crayon batik and scratch design are two interesting processes which require crayons and which call for little skill in order to produce interesting results. In some forms of rhythmic design¹ crayons are superior to paints.

Chalk, Charcoal, and Pastels. These materials cover the page quickly and are good media for rapid sketching and for blending shades and tints. However, the chalky feeling is disliked by some people. The chalks and pastels come in a variety of colors. One disadvantage is that these materials are apt to break under the heavy pressure needed to get deep shades; another is that the drawings must be sprayed with a fixative in order to be made permanent.

Pencils. Pencils have the advantage of being easily available. They come in many colors and are good when fine lines and details are desired. They are exacting; for each line is important and must be made to count;

¹ See footnote, p. 328.

thus their use requires more ability than some of the other media. They are very important in making plans for woodwork and accurate drawings to scale.

Paper and Cardboard. Paper has infinite variety in size, thickness, color, texture, and pattern, and is a basic material for many crafts. Its many potentialities are often disregarded. It is relatively inexpensive and therefore available when the craft budget is limited; members can experiment with it and need not feel disturbed if they spoil or tear it; it is useful for designing patterns and gaining skill to use with more expensive materials.

Paper has limitless potentialities for progressive development from the skill of the young child to that of the expert in paper sculpture. The many intervening stages of accomplishment thus make it an ideal material for group projects, for each member can participate at his own level of ability. Paper also provides an outlet for the destructive-constructive urge. Tearing or cutting it into small pieces for the purpose of combining them into designs or pictures permits destruction for the sake of construction. This method of building designs is an excellent means of helping members to be creative in design, as they discover innumerable ways of combining the units into unique and original patterns. Tearing the paper into small pieces in order to make papier-mâché is also a destructive, aggressive activity paving the way to a constructive one.

Cardboard and heavy poster paper are used for craft projects as well as for posters and exhibits. These are heavier than ordinary paper, but adaptable for some of the same purposes. Although less flexible and thus harder to work with, they are more useful when rigidity and permanency are desirable considerations. Despert¹ describes the use of cardboard to make papier-mâché and points out its destructive-constructive values. Corrugated cardboard is also used for craft projects. When pieces are cut on the diagonal and arranged in designs, it lends an interesting, raised, irregular texture to posters and other craft articles.

Leather. Leatherwork is often the first activity requested by members of a crafts group, and perhaps this interest is related to the desire to have the "real thing," for nothing is "just as good as leather" when the qualities needed are durability and long life. Leather has a surface that is pleasant to the sense of touch; the various thicknesses provide both a flexible and a comparatively rigid medium; some varieties have a characteristic odor different from that of any other material. A number of processes can be used

¹ J. Louise Despert, "Technical Approaches Used in Study and Treatment of Emotional Problems of Children," Part 2, "Using a Knife," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, vol. 11 (1937), no. 1, pp. 111-130. The series of five articles is also collected in one volume, *Emotional Problems in Children* (Utica, N.Y.: State Hospitals Press, 1938).

in working with it, for it can be cut, carved, tooled, burned with a design, or decorated with colored India inks. Because it is expensive, its cost makes it a prohibitive material for some groups, especially if articles of large size are desired.

Work on leather must be exactly and carefully done. To make tooling permanent requires considerable pressure and repetition of movement. Careful planning, measuring, and cutting are necessary if pieces are to be laced together. Punching the holes and putting the lacing through them prove fascinating to some individuals.

Younger boys are fascinated by tales of the Indians and the pioneers who converted their enemies — the animals of the forests — into clothes and other articles useful in maintaining life; and they often want to duplicate the articles described in these stories. We have heard similar stories of the articles made in craft shops at remote outposts during the war; animals of woods and streams were killed to obtain leather for craft articles — a destructive process leading to a constructive, useful one. While the fascination of leatherwork is difficult to analyze, it may be inferred that sadism is an element in the attraction exercised by this form of craft work.

Metal. Most metals are very hard and call for the expenditure of physical energy and the use of tools if they are to be formed into the desired shapes. Working with metal can certainly meet the needs to make a noise and express hostility. Some people like the hardness, rigidity, and strength of metal and its feeling of smoothness. They enjoy the finished products, which are either useful or decorative. The development of metal foil which can be shaped and modeled easily gives a new use for metal. While most metals and the tools for shaping them are expensive, tin can craft is within the finances of any group, and utensils for cook-outs are easily constructed from discarded tin cans. The etching processes used with some metals give the exciting opportunity to work with dangerous chemicals.

Linoleum. Linoleum is most commonly used in making block prints. Its smooth surface is soft enough to be cut easily into the desired design and yet strong enough to hold up under the printing process. It can also be carved and used as a wall plaque or mural. It is easier to carve than wood, and while the absence of grain lessens the beauty of the surface for some kinds of carving, the contrasts of the smooth surfaces with the carved ones are effective.

Cloth and Felt. Cloth comes in many colors, textures, designs, and weights. It is used extensively in sewing and is a very adaptable material as it can be cut to any shape and fastened together easily with needle and thread. Sewers have to learn to adapt themselves to its limitations: it cannot be stretched to any great extent; certain kinds of materials fray easily;

the use of the straight, crosswise, and bias of the material must be learned. Cloth is also used for making posters and pictures, the design being built out of small pieces, as with cut paper.

Felt is heavier than most cloth and is very durable. Boys consider it a more masculine material than other textiles, and will design, cut out, and sew felt emblems which designate membership in their club.

Cord, Rope, Yarn, etc. These and many other materials are used for knotting, braiding, weaving, crocheting, and knitting. Individuals respond to the colors, textures, and thicknesses, as well as to the ways in which the materials are used to make interesting designs.

Natural Materials. The natural materials most easily obtained depend upon the particular region in which the members live. For the most part, they are to be had for the gathering. Many, in fact, are considered waste materials; hence the members feel free to experiment with them. Leaves are excellent materials with which to begin print-making. Vegetables such as potatoes, carrots, and turnips can be used for experimentation in block printing and in making hand puppets. Successful results with these media can then lead to the use of more durable ones. Some materials such as nuts, shells, gourds, driftwood, and peculiarly shaped sections of trees provide a set form with which to start. They give a sense of security and at the same time stimulate the imagination to make use of the form as a point of departure.

Club members often use for crafts purposes the natural materials collected on a hike, and the completed articles serve to remind them of an enjoyable experience. Many stories of pioneer days describe the use of natural materials to supply the needs of the people, and members may develop a pioneer project in which they try to duplicate such articles. This is particularly true in the camp setting where there is more opportunity to carry out campcraft and pioneer-life units. Here the use of natural materials represents mastery of the environment.

Concomitant values are an interest in nature and an awareness of the need for conservation. We remember seeing a worker stoop and pick up a small tree that had been ruthlessly torn from the earth. He showed his group members how to discover the number of years it had taken this tree to attain its growth, a life that had been cut off by a casual passer-by. One member said, "Why, that would have been a good-sized tree in a few years if someone hadn't yanked it out." Later, when the members were making whistles, the worker showed them how to cut the branches so that the trees would not be damaged.

There are several important considerations in the use of natural materials. In the first place, materials ordinarily used for food must be used sparingly

for crafts, for many times it is difficult to justify this use of food materials. A second consideration is the use of each material in such ways that its peculiar qualities are enhanced. The environment in which the products are to be used should also be considered. Some fit well into a camp setting but are out of place in the average home. Finally, these materials should be used with a real purpose related to the interests of the members. We are reminded of the woman who was busily engaged in gluing shells on a box. When asked what she was planning to do with her finished product, she said, "Oh, I'm just doing it to use up the shells." Crafts are not carried on to "use up the shells." Familiarity with craft processes makes it possible for the worker to see the potentialities of natural materials for whiteling, carving, weaving, braiding, knotting, and so on.

Paste, Glue, Nails, Thread, etc. Such supplementary materials — used primarily for joining pieces of material together — perform a valuable function in the completion of many articles. Paste seems to meet the same needs as finger paints and clay. Some members use it as they do finger paints; and emotionally deprived children have been known to eat it.

Food. Although foods are not usually considered craft materials, the preparation of food — a domestic art — is of interest to most groups as part of their program. There is as much joy in making an apple pie or a loaf of bread or a plate of fudge as there is in creating any other article.

Food is of interest to every healthy person, for it supplies the body with fuel to carry on its functions. However, it supplies many needs other than the elemental needs of nourishment. It is a form of recreation, and the culinary art is surrounded with many rituals and ceremonies. The wealth of traditions and customs which cluster about the subject of food bear testimony to its importance in the long history of man. Special foods and special fast days play an important role in many religious festivals and ceremonies. Some foods are regarded as taboo and others as of peculiar merit. Special foods are particularly important in many national and cultural celebrations. One of the factors of difference which distinguishes people of different nationalities and cultures is the food they eat and the way it is eaten. Food and the customs surrounding eating are also among the marks of distinction noted by sociologists in identifying the different social status groups within any one culture.

Through satisfying his need for food, the newborn child has his first human relationship and reassurance in a strange new world; and throughout life, food is associated with social experience as well as with the fulfillment of a physical need. The meaning of food to each individual is significant of his personal-social stage of development. Some individuals feel insecure and unaccepted by their parents and companions; to them food may be a solace

— a "getting" experience, and they may need to give expression to greedy impulses in the presence of food. Other insecure persons may be unable to eat or to find satisfaction in food because they are unable to accept a substitute for the love of which they feel deprived. Between these extremes of reaction are the many food fads and foibles¹ with which every social group worker becomes acquainted as he helps the club members plan the "refreshments." Observation of the members' reactions to food provides him with another avenue for understanding some of the interests and needs of his group members.

Jack, a member of a cooking club of adolescent boys, stood out because of his great interest in food. He was not only greedy but would spill or spoil the food in order to keep the other boys from having their share. Exploration by the worker revealed that the family's food budget was limited. Of greater importance in understanding Jack was the discovery that he had been deprived of love from his parents throughout his life. His desire for food in the club was one expression of his need for affection. And through depriving the others, he was trying to keep entirely for himself this substitute for affection. Although his behavior was making him less acceptable to the other boys and thus defeating his purpose (to win the liking of others), he seemed unable to change his behavior.

Workers are well acquainted with children who come to camp with long lists of "forbidden" foods. In the usual camp, little change in menu can be made for individual campers. Sometimes such campers need only to feel accepted and loved by other campers and the adult leaders.

Betsy was a thin, nervous youngster of nine. Her list of forbidden foods included many that were commonly included in the camp menus, and many of the foods acceptable to her were very expensive or unobtainable in the camp situation. After consultation with the camp physician, the counselor decided to ignore Betsy's food lists and placed the child at a table with her cabin mates. Betsy sat and ate nothing for several meals. Then the counselor and the doctor talked with her and together they worked out a plan. Betsy was to have some of her special foods, but she agreed that it would hardly be fair to have them served to her at a table with the rest of the campers. A special table was arranged, but soon Betsy asked to be placed with other girls and have the same food. It took a little while for the girls to accept this camper "who thinks she's better than we are," but with the help of the counselor Betsy gradually won a place for herself in the group and became happy and relaxed. There was no mention made again of her inability to eat certain foods. Eventually she ate most of the camp fare and gained weight before the end of the period.

¹ English and Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-192.

An important part of the program of many therapy groups is the "giving of food" by the agency (through the worker) to the members — whether small children, adolescents, or adults. It is tangible evidence to the members of the worker's love for them; a gift which they can see and enjoy.¹

In an experimental group of older adolescent girls, the tea party or supper was the high spot of the meeting. Each girl had her turn at being hostess and presiding at the head of the table. She felt that she, too, was making gifts to the others as she served the food. This group of girls was eager to learn ways of making the table look attractive and as one of their projects made a tablecloth and napkins to use for their weekly suppers.

"Refreshments" are a vital part of every party; their relative importance to the members is shown by the fact that plans for refreshments often take so long that little time is left for arranging the rest of the program. Eating together promotes sociability. A worker once remarked that every party should start with refreshments. She had noticed that after the refreshments were served her groups of adolescents — especially when boys had been invited to a party — were more at ease and better able to participate in activities.

Some groups plan for food at every meeting and thus all the members are given valuable opportunities to participate in the decision-making process. They figure their available funds and become expert at finding ways to supplement them. When special assignments or assessments are made, the worker must be sure that individuals are able to fulfill their obligations. Many members are reluctant to say that they cannot afford to make a contribution, but sometimes the one who has promised to furnish the most important ingredient for the cooking venture is unable to do so and simply fails to appear. Often, too, members are absent from a cooking session or a party because of limited finances.

In adult groups, each member may take turns providing the food for the others — bringing the "gift." Sometimes each member tries to outdo the refreshments of the previous meeting and arouses the resentment of the others.

In the Queens Social Club, Mrs. M. was the fifth member to "treat" the club. Whereas the other women had brought only cake and coffee, Mrs. M. brought sandwiches, pickles, cake, cookies, and coffee. Although the others praised the "party," one of them remarked to a friend on the way out, "Just trying to show off. She thinks she has more than the rest of us." As a result, each succeeding hostess tried to bring more elaborate refresh-

¹ Margaret Svendsen, Dorothy Spiker, and others, "An Experimental Project in the Integration of Case Work and Group Work Services for Children," *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report*, State of Illinois, Department of Public Welfare, pp. 34-35.

ments, taxing her financial resources to do so.... The worker helped them discuss the purpose of the club and the use of refreshments as a sociable way to end the meeting. This open discussion relieved the feelings of the members and they returned to their simple cake and coffee. The worker was aware of Mrs. M's need to maintain her place in the group and helped her to find other ways of contributing that made her feel a real part of the group.

The degree of social responsibility attained by the group-as-a-whole can be observed as they make decisions about refreshments to be served at a party for others. Self-centered groups care little what their guests have to eat. On the other hand, groups who are eager for their guests to have a good time plan elaborate refreshments; in fact, anxiety over their relations with the guests may lead them to supply an overabundance of food.¹

While most groups plan occasional suppers, some young adult groups begin their evening program with a "club supper." They do so partly for the sake of convenience, but also in order to promote friendship and unify the group. The meal is not merely a prelude to the evening; it is part of the total program and as much planning goes into the supper period as into any other part of the evening. Hunger must be satisfied, but the surroundings are made attractive and devices used to promote friendliness and companionship. A special committee may help to plan the menus and the program, and provide any supplementary help needed in the kitchen. Such a committee is helpful in dealing with complaints about the food. These constitute one of the problems of club suppers, for the members can seldom afford to pay for the kind of food they really want. Workers often observe that the ones who are never pleased about the food are apt to be those who are seeking outlets for their feelings of anger; they are not satisfied with other aspects of the program, they seek to monopolize the worker or a few of the prominent members, and they show other evidences of deprivation in their affectional lives. Improving the menus provides one form of satisfaction, but it may remove only one symptom and not the cause of the behavior.

Summary

A number of materials used in the arts and crafts have been discussed, the ones in most common use being chosen for analysis. Some materials have similar qualities; others differ widely. The most important qualities are the color, the feeling to the sense of touch, the plasticity or rigidity of the material, the presence or absence of a set form, the opportunity for the release or control of feelings. In general, certain materials will be attractive

¹ See *Glamour Girls*, Chapter 12.

or unattractive to individual members, depending upon their personality patterns, their specialized needs, previous experiences with the materials, and the conscious or unconscious associations made with other areas of life. Further study of the qualities peculiar to each material, and of the ways in which each individual uses them to serve his own purposes and needs, is indicated.

Values in the Processes Used in Working with Materials

Analysis of the processes simplifies to some extent the multitude of possibilities in crafts, and often stimulates a more creative approach than does thinking only in terms of the *products*, such as pottery, block prints, paintings, leather pocketbooks, dresses, and the like. This approach does not, however, disregard the fact, that certain materials are more suited to some processes than to others. It is through analyzing the processes that the worker becomes increasingly aware of the possibilities they hold for meeting the needs of individuals and groups.

These processes can be divided generally into two groups: (1) those in which the hands are used directly in working with the materials so that the sensory feeling of the materials is an important consideration — such as modeling, pasting, braiding, knotting, and some forms of painting and weaving; (2) those wherein some tool or piece of equipment is used as an intermediary or supplement to the hands — such as hammering, sawing, carving, whittling, cutting, modeling, sewing, and cooking. In activities of the latter type, tools either make the process possible, or add refinements to it; they also provide protection for those who do not want their hands to come in contact with the materials. There is overlapping (modeling is an example), and many people make adaptations, using their hands when the tool fails to produce the desired result or turning to a tool when the hands prove inadequate.

All the processes that result in making a noise—hammering, pounding, wedging clay, sawing — provide a legitimate outlet for those who need to express hostile feelings through noisy and boisterous behavior. Pounding nails into wood, hammering metal into shape, sawing wood and plastics, pounding the sticks in stick printing — all these activities make a noise and release suppressed feelings. Use of files or sandpaper on wood or metal provides a more subtle means of expressing aggression.

Not least among the values are the destructive-constructive possibilities. Any process which permits, even encourages, legitimate destruction in order to repeat or continue the process of creation is valuable. The use of saws, knives, chisels, and planes to cut away sections of wood is destructive, yet can result in the construction of an article of value to the maker; tearing

or cutting paper or cloth, using clay or finger paints are other activities that have this property. Provision for the release of excessive physical or emotional energy results in relaxation and easing of tension, making it possible for the members to obtain enjoyment from the activity and to establish relations with others; it is more socially acceptable for the members to pound nails into a board or to throw clay on the wedging table than to take out their anger on each other. The worker must be able to differentiate between the tension related to unfamiliarity with the tool or the process and that caused by other emotional feelings. He is also concerned with those members who never seem to get beyond the destructive stage, and his work with them will be aimed toward helping the members accept the destruction as a necessary expression (hence not one about which to feel guilty) and to move on to constructive activity.

The articles made as the result of such processes are interesting. Boys, particularly, like to make destructive weapons. The same group of boys described in the chapter on games¹ also had a crafts program. An excerpt from the record of their third meeting emphasizes the scrambling for tools, the tendency to fight for materials and monopolize the equipment:

The boys banged away at everything in sight; holes were drilled in the tables; the saws were used indiscriminately on the tables and the banisters; there was wild hammering without any constructive intent; the boxes provided were smashed to pieces, and the pieces left untouched. When constructive activity began after the first few weeks, nothing but guns and swords was made from the wood. When clay was introduced, airplanes, tanks, guns, and warships marched across the craft table.

As the weeks went by, interest developed in making what the boys called "useful things," such as a lemonade stand, book ends, a box "to keep things in," a sailboat, a telephone stand. This development paralleled a change in their behavior in the game period.

The relation between physical movement and emotional release is particularly apparent in crafts. J. Louise Despert's statement² helps to explain the vehemence with which members who are usually the quietest and most conforming attack those craft activities that permit the release of aggression through the craft processes. Such individuals are apt to be fearful of retaliation and unable to express their resentment in words or in actions toward others; hence they become conforming in order to please. But unconsciously they feel that it is all right to be "mad" at inanimate objects. Sometimes they "talk to themselves," revealing some of the reasons for their hostility and anxiety.

¹ See pp. 230-231.

² See p. 215.

Painting and Drawing. The implications in regard to the direct use of the body or of an intermediary tool are apparent in painting.

It is important for our knowledge to evaluate the instrument with which the accomplished line has been consummated. Has the body been used as a medium for application or has a substitute for the body been utilized; that is, has the thumb been the instrument or has some modification of the brush been used? The intimacy implied in direct application is worthy of notation, and the more the refinement of the substitute, the more subtle that implication. To a certain extent we are dealing with an attack upon the canvas with these various elements as weapons.¹

The various forms of painting and drawing help members to put into concrete form their inner feelings and emotions, as well as ideas and experiences. While crayon and pencil are better media for the expressions of ideas than of feelings, some members completely cover a drawing with scribbles as though they wished to obliterate the content or feelings expressed, just as they smear over their paintings. All the points covered in the discussion of rhythm, design, and color enter into any analysis of the values of painting and drawing. The following example illustrates the use of these elements by one member. This description emphasizes the importance of observing the process in action, for the finished painting reveals little of Johnny's mood.

Johnny was a member of a club of boys ranging in age from seven to ten. He was very hostile and continually picked fights with the other boys. There was other behavior indicative of need, and the worker was endeavoring to interest the parents in going with him to the Child Guidance Center. One day he stormed into the club room where several other boys were already painting. Johnny climbed upon the table and with a great deal of activity and talk began to paint in black outline a flower with many petals and leaves, jabbing at the paper with his brush. He talked about his experiences at school and at home as he filled in the petals and leaves with dark colors: black, purple, brown, and dark red. He grew more relaxed and quiet as he worked and filled in the last petals and leaves with light blue and light green, using gentle brush strokes. It was a quiet, happy boy who filled in a light pink background and then turned to a game with the other boys. This one experience did not solve Johnny's problems. It did, however, enable him to release his anger, work through to a more relaxed frame of mind, and join in co-operative play with the other boys.

The content of drawings and paintings is closely related to the experiences of the members and their feelings about these experiences. The relative size of the various parts of the picture or design may be expressive of the

¹ Edward Liss, "The Graphic Arts," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 8 (1938), no. 1, p. 98.

member's feelings about them. Rejected and deprived children often paint scenes in which a central figure is watched by crowds. Children having difficulty in social relationships may paint landscapes which avoid showing human beings.¹ Sometimes the figure that personifies the painter is very small or very large, while the other objects or people are the exact opposite in size. A small child may paint either parent much larger or much smaller than himself. Or, when both parents are in the picture, he may represent one as much larger than the other, thus expressing his love, fear, or awe of the parent or the relative importance of the parent to the child or in the family situation.

Other content of pictures may also have significance. An analysis of the animal drawings made by children in a hospital setting suggests that animals have certain attributes which furnish the human mind with an excellent medium for the displacement of repressed drives. Aggressive animals are often associated with the psychoneuroses; the non-aggressive animals, with mild behavior problems. Cats and dogs represent the children in the home and are often drawn by children from broken homes; birds are commonly drawn by children from broken homes who are impulsively getting away from some unpleasant environment by truancy or vagrancy.² While it must be remembered that children — and adults — put into their pictures those things in their environment with which they are familiar, the need for further study is indicated when a member consistently draws or paints certain animals. It is to be expected that members will emphasize ferocious animals after a trip to the zoo or the circus, but the worker is concerned about the members who compulsively draw or paint these animals in their pictures.

An analysis of the nautical drawings of pre-adolescents indicates that individuals who consistently draw boats probably have problems in the oedipus situation. The boat seems to represent the mother; the father is often in the background, sometimes represented by the sun.³ We remember the paintings of a seventeen-year-old girl. While the content varied, she always included a bright red-orange sun. The background information about this girl, and her conversation and behavior in the group setting, indicated that she had not completely worked out relationships with her parents. She had one boy friend after another, saying, "None of them comes up to my father."

Individual rhythms are discernible in all forms of painting but are clearly

¹ Brick, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.

² Lauretta Bender and Jack Rapoport, "Animal Drawings of Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 14 (1944), no. 3, pp. 521-527.

³ Lauretta Bender and William Wolfson, "The Nautical Theme in the Art and Fantasy of Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 13 (1943), no. 3, pp. 462-467.

apparent in the process of finger painting. The rhythmic impulses within each person emerge, as the hands move through the paint, and can be related to the design and content of the picture, the colors, and the apparent mood of the painter. Finger painting gives a chance to destroy as well as to create, for part of the process consists in smoothing the paint clear of impressions and starting again. If possible, it is valuable to observe individuals in the process, for sometimes the pictures that are obliterated are more significant to understanding the individual than the ones finally preserved. The kind of rhythmic movement used, the relation of changes in mood and color to the individuals' moods, and the way one object in the picture is changed to something else — all are of significance. Observation is difficult because of the ease and speed with which the painter slips from one phase to another. The implications of the use of design and space are also very apparent in finger painting. Members are sometimes aware of this. Sometimes individuals fear they may give something away, and refuse to paint; or when they do, make abstract designs or "resistance paintings," consisting of a simple design repeated over and over to cover the sheet of paper completely.¹

Some individuals may be helped by expressing fantasies, fears, and difficulties through finger painting and bringing these feelings into the open.² Others have difficulties so deep-seated that, while finger painting may bring them into the open, the individuals may be too threatened by this exposure unless they are having simultaneous psychiatric service.³ The worker uses his knowledge of the possible manifestations of difficulties revealed through finger painting and seeks additional help when it is indicated.⁴

Five-year-old Sarah, who always came to the play hour in a clean dress and with face and hands immaculate, would never enter into the play if there were any chance that she would get dirty. She was both fascinated and repelled as she watched the worker spread finger paint over the paper. It was a long time before she could even put a finger into the paint and then she ran immediately to wash it off. Gradually, as she watched the other children and the "accepted adult" play with it, she was able to join in, deriving happiness and satisfaction from being dirty in an acceptable way.

¹ Jacob Arlow and Asja Kadis, "Finger Painting in the Psychotherapy of Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 16 (1946), no. 1, pp. 142-143.

² Jeanetta Lyle and Ruth F. Shaw, "Encouraging Fantasy Expressions in Children," *Menninger Clinic Bulletin*, vol. 1 (1937), no. 3, pp. 78-86.

³ Arlow and Kadis, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Dean Jennings, *op. cit.*

⁴ The silent color movie, "Finger Painting," produced by the Department of Child Study of Vassar College, shows dramatically the reactions of different children to finger paints. The booklet accompanying the film gives the conversation of the children as they paint, other behavior in the group, and basic information about them. Can be rented through the New York University Film Library, New York University, Washington Square, N.Y.

Two eighteen-year-old boys watched the process of finger painting demonstrated. One started immediately to make designs and pictures; the other watched him but refused to try it. But he was so interested that he did not enter into the other activities going on all around him. Finally the worker prepared a sheet of paper near him and noticed that he hesitatingly tried first one finger and then his whole hand in the paint. He just played with it for a while, but before the evening was over he had created some designs and pictures which he took home with him.

A very direct expression of anger was made by Helen, the quietest member of a settlement group of adolescents, through finger painting. She had mixed all the colors until she had her paper covered with a dark brown surface. Then she took a spoonful of red paint and dripped it over her paper, spelling out the name of Miss Jessica Smith, her teacher in school. Helen called to the worker asking if she had spelled the name correctly. Then she said, "Now, I'm going to destroy Miss Smith." With this she threw some red paint on the paper, then some blue and then yellow. Then picking up a small stick, she began to pound the paper viciously. Stepping back from the table, she said in a tone of satisfaction, "There, Miss Smith is destroyed." Almost immediately Helen dashed for the washroom, slamming the door in the face of a girl who followed her. The worker went in and calmly asked Helen if she wouldn't come out and help her and the girls clear off the table before she washed her hands. Helen came along with the worker and stayed close beside her the rest of the evening. It was important for her to feel accepted by the worker and the other members, for her departure from the group undoubtedly indicated her feelings of guilt over "destroying Miss Smith."

In a young adult group, Betty Ann did an interesting design using only her finger nails; Loretta used her whole hand to make lovely swirls, each of which turned itself to the center; Joan's designs invariably consisted of a series of chains enclosed in a tight border around the edge of the paper. As the worker studied the paintings she saw a relationship between them and the other behavior of the members. Betty Ann was hesitant to try anything new and could never throw herself whole-heartedly into activities; Loretta seemed interested only in herself; Joan was tight and tense and bound up with her inner problems. The paintings provided additional clues to the worker which helped her to stimulate program content related to the needs of the members.

One day after Joan had made one of her chain designs in a blue-violet color, she started a new sheet of paper, covering it with a medium shade of blue paint. On the right-hand side she made some delicate, lovely flowers springing up from the ground. The center part of the sheet was blank. On the extreme left-hand side she made a toadstool. The worker had had conferences with Joan about her personal problems and was aware of the nature

and extent of these problems. Therefore, she was very much interested to notice that Joan had made a toad near the toadstool and was looking at her painting. Half to herself and half to the worker, Joan said, "It's too small; he doesn't fit under it; the toadstool doesn't protect him." Whereupon she carefully made the toadstool large enough to shelter the poor little toad completely. It seemed significant to the worker that the toad had to be protected and that he had his back turned to the lovely flowers on the right-hand side. Joan was struggling to gain independence from her parents and to have a life of her own. She had a boy friend whom she thought she wanted to marry. In her finger painting she seemed to be depicting her struggle between her conflicting desires for protection and independence. Significant also was the animated, somewhat hysterical conversation she carried on later with another member of the group, for Joan seldom had anything to say and was not one of the leaders.

The use of rhythmic design¹ is particularly helpful with members who "cannot draw," for it provides a form with which to start and stimulates even the least imaginative ones. The "scribbles" themselves are revealing. Some people use large, swinging movements covering the entire surface; others use small, tense movements and limit themselves to a small section. Some feel free to cross the lines over each other, while others keep each line separate. The section chosen, the colors used, and the manner of developing the picture or design are related to the individual's likes and dislikes and the associations which he makes with the original pattern. In a group of twenty-five people there may be twenty-five different results.

In one such group, a sailor who had been on convoy duty saw the ocean as glimpsed through the porthole of a ship — a ship apparently standing at an acute angle; another member saw a beautiful flying bird in his "scribbles"; another developed a peaceful forest scene; another, a peculiarly shaped animal; still others developed abstract designs with rhythmic movement. The colors used by the twenty-five members ranged from very pale tints of blue, pink, and yellow to the most vivid hues of red, orange, and turquoise, and to black and brown. And all had done their original scribbles to the tune of "Oh, Susanna."

But even with this form, the designs developed by the members sometimes have similarities. One worker found the structure of her group highlighted by the similarities and differences in the designs made by the members.

¹ Rhythmic Design — On a large sheet of paper torn from a roll of paper, using a dark crayon, let the arm and hand move freely to a song or some other form of music. Let the lines cross each other and intersect at will. Then take a sheet of thin paper on which has been outlined a circle, square, rectangle, triangle, or some other form, approximately 7 to 8 inches in diameter or width. Move this piece of paper over the scribbles until a pleasing design is enclosed in the delimited area. Copy this with a lighter crayon and then fill in the design with colors to suit the artist. The result may be a definite picture or an abstract design.

In the other activities of the group, the worker had noticed a growing tendency of a group of six older girls to stick together — to want to be on the same team in games, to choose each other for partners in dances, to have secrets among themselves, to arrive and leave together. The worker's conviction that these six girls constituted a subgroup was supported when she saw the pictures resulting from the first experiment with rhythmic design. Those made by the members of the subgroup were all somewhat different in design, but each of the six girls had managed to "discover" a sailboat within her scribbles. The pictures of seven other members differed widely in content, design, and use of color. The isolate of the group was the only other member whose picture bore any resemblance to those of the subgroup. She had a tiny sailboat in one corner of her picture.

After members have this experience they can start with a definite idea of something they wish to draw or paint, and using a song or rhythm as the basis for the strokes of pencil, crayon, or brush, develop their idea. Some leaders have developed "Rhythmic Paint Orchestras" where not only the rhythm but the "program" of the music influence the results.

In addition to the studies already mentioned, many others — of both children and adults — provide valuable suggestions and indications for social group workers.¹ These studies, and the experiences of social group workers, point out many values of drawing and painting. They substitute for words, so that inarticulate individuals are sometimes able to paint their feelings and problems; they provide pleasant motor activity which releases both physical and emotional energy — giving an emotional release which can be more purposeful than pure catharsis; and they stimulate intellectual thought. They can result in a finished product which also appeals to others, thus increasing the members' ego-satisfactions. They deepen the worker's understanding of the members through his analysis of rhythm of work, use of design and color, and content of the ideas and feelings. The way in which paintings, particularly finger paintings, are used to relieve feelings is exemplified by the fact that at the next club meeting the members may be totally unable to remember which particular paintings are theirs. The feeling has been released and forgotten through creating something that was emotionally satisfying.

In most instances it is not so necessary for adults to understand *what* is happening as to respect the fact that something important *is* happening.... If we respect this fact, we can be of immeasurable help to children [and adults] by providing ample materials and frequent opportunities which encourage them to express themselves as they will.²

¹ See bibliography, pp. 667-669.

² Alschuler and Hattwick, "Understanding Children Through Their Paintings," reprinted from the October, 1947, issue of *Understanding the Child*, published quarterly by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

Stenciling. The usual form of stenciling, consisting of drawing the complete picture and then cutting away the picture to leave vacant spaces for the application of chalk or paint, is too difficult for members who cannot draw. Other ways of using stencils are more helpful in developing confidence. Circles, squares, triangles, and rectangles of all sizes and proportions can be cut in the stencil paper and used to build designs; as skill develops, other more complicated shapes evolve. Innumerable different designs and pictures can be made, using the same basic openings in the stencil paper, and some members take delight in seeing how many different designs and ideas can be formed. The results from stencils are clear-cut, definite designs, very different from those obtained with a pencil or brush in the drawing or painting processes, and experimentation with different kinds of brush strokes produces unusual effects. Stenciling requires accuracy in cutting, and care in the application of chalk or paint to prevent smudging; it is inevitable that this form will be liked by those who prefer to do careful, accurate work and disliked by those who prefer not to be limited to certain areas. Values for both groups of people can be seen.

Printing. In this process an intermediary material is used — vegetables, sticks of wood, linoleum or wood blocks, metal or wood type. Vegetable and stick prints provide experience in building designs and pictures from small units — thus developing skill — and increase confidence to try the more difficult linoleum block prints. Stick printing involves hammering, and thus making a noise, and while a printing press of some sort may be used for linoleum blocks, the common practice is to stamp the block onto the paper with the hand or foot.

The printing process is a duplicating one; once the original design is made, as many copies as desired can be printed. The hectograph and mimeograph are also useful for such projects. One club of eight-year-olds used the hectograph to make invitations to a party for their mothers. After the original copy was designed and put on the gelatin, each member had the fun of making some duplicates. Club and agency newspapers are usually done on the mimeograph; the members often cut the stencils and run off the copies, as well as write the material and make the layout for the paper, thus having a chance to follow the process from beginning to end. Some agencies have a print shop where the members have the fun of setting type and using a real press.

Modeling. In modeling, the use of the hands gives direct contact with the materials; while the additional use of tools makes possible refinements and details. The process may provide merely an excuse for playing with the materials or may result in a completed article of value to the maker.

Plastic or moldable materials lend themselves especially well to the

repetitive-aggressive-destructive type of behavior which characterizes the normal development of children both in their play and in their verbalizations. The preparation or "wedging" of clay permits throwing it upon the wedging table with great force. Members often release their hostility, and many times verbalize their anger, as they wedge the clay. Clay can be squeezed through the fingers, punched and pounded with the hands or fists, thrown on the table, or cut into pieces; and all these actions are legitimate parts of the process of working with it. Modeling itself provides both constructive and destructive processes at the same time. A little can be taken away here, a little added there; at any stage in the process the object can be destroyed and begun over again, so that destruction is not permanent if the member wishes to repair the damage he has done. At the end of the period the work may be preserved or thrown back into the clay bin. In kneading, which is the first stage in working with clay, individuals often roll it into cylindrical shapes. An oblong, snake-like object is the inevitable result of the rolled cylinder, and the modeler often calls it a snake and plays with it. Bender and Woltman emphasize that it is important to guard against any hasty or one-sided interpretations in dealing with the snakes made by modelers in clay; in each case, an individual study is the only way of discovering what the snake represents to the maker.¹ Thus, the representational stage begins almost immediately, and fantasy plays an important role. The material responds so easily to the touch that it almost seems to come alive under the fingers. An individual often models representational objects and plays out his ideas and fantasies. He may model a likeness of some person and then play with it lovingly, destroy it, or do both, in this way expressing his feelings about the person so represented.

An accidentally gained form or shape might be called a "man," a "tree," a "mother," a "baby," and so on. It is not necessary that there exist a resemblance between the object and the interpretation given to it as long as the object can carry out the role it has been given by the child. These creations, unintentionally made, therefore become carriers of a meaning.²

Many psychiatrists use clay "representations" in play interviews and play therapy. While the social group worker is not engaged in play therapy, he must help individuals who use clay in this manner. For example, when destruction takes place the worker helps in relieving the guilt feelings aroused.

¹ Lauretta Bender and Adolf G. Woltman, "The Use of Plastic Materials as a Psychiatric Approach to Emotional Problems in Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 7 (1937), no. 3, pp. 297-298.

² *Ibid.*, p. 284.

George, an aggressive youngster of eight, worked intently on the figure of a man. Then he climbed on top of the table and let the "man" drop to the floor. He immediately came to the worker and told her: "He jumped off the Empire State Building and killed himself." George repeated the performance several times, coming to the worker each time for reassurance. Here George wants the "man" (presumably the father) to die; he "kills" him, by dropping him, but is unable to accept the responsibility for the act, saying, "He jumped . . . and killed himself." The worker knew enough about George to know that he was trying to work out his feelings of rivalry with his father through the use of clay.

Plastic materials are used to satisfy curiosity about the genital and anal regions of the body, because the material seems to lend itself to this type of investigation. In almost every group there will be at least one individual who models objects which are evidently those organs or symbols of them. There is no age limit to this expression: an eight-year-old boy modeled a penis; an adolescent girl giggled as she made an abstract form of the male sex organs; an adult furtively covered his work as the worker approached to help him. In each case, the worker's acceptance of these organs as natural parts of the body and of the members' interest in them as normal, relieved the feelings of the individual. While one purpose of the eight-year-old may have been to shock the worker, both he and the older members were concerned with their own feelings.

If clay can be fired and glazed, these processes add a smooth surface, and beautiful colors, and insure permanency and usefulness. When the members themselves are able to carry on the total process, from digging the clay through firing, they have the chance to play with all three of the elements so fascinating to them — earth, water, and fire. This is becoming more feasible as some clay can now be fired in the ordinary kitchen oven.

Although paper sculpture seems very different, it has some of the possibilities of clay and plasticene. The member who cannot work with clay and other "messy" materials may first work with paper, paste, and scissors, making three-dimensional forms. Thin metal foil lends itself to similar purposes and processes.

The social group worker needs to be aware of members who use the modeling process merely as an excuse to play with the materials; of those who use the wedging process as an acceptable means of expressing hostility; of children, adolescents, and adults who model snake-like rolls and other objects that can be related to the anal and genital regions of the body; of members who make representations of themselves or other people and use them to express their feelings; of members who destroy what they have made; and of members who lovingly preserve their efforts. He must be conscious that

the member is meeting a need, dominant at the moment, and know how to use his professional skill in the situation.

Cutting. This is also a destructive-constructive process. Many tools are used: knives, saws, chisels, planes, drills, brace and bits, files, scissors and lino-block tools, even sandpaper and steel wool, are used to cut materials to the desired shape and size and to remove undesired portions. These cutting tools are decisive factors in helping members to secure a feeling of power through control of materials, that is, through making them take on form and design. Whittling is satisfying to some members; appearances are often deceptive — a person who appears to be whittling idly, destroying a piece of wood for no constructive purpose, may be busily engaged in thinking through some plan or going over some problem. Through a process of partial destruction, any form of wood carving results in a decorative pattern which is beautiful to the eye and interesting to the sense of touch. The geometric designs of chip carving are simple enough to be created by anyone who takes the time to measure accurately. Carving — particularly chip carving — often becomes so absorbing that attention is captured for long periods of time.

The use of cutting tools demands precision, exactness, definiteness, and a certain amount of daring. The proper alignment of the tool, the correct alternation of tension and relaxation in movement, acceptance of the limitations imposed by the material (such as the texture and grain of wood) — all require that certain fundamentals be learned if the results are to be successful. Many are the possibilities of discouragement through improper use of saw, knife, or chisel. The cutting process provides an excellent experience for members who need to become more patient and less hasty in their reactions both to materials and to people.

The use of scissors and metal shears to cut paper and thin metal is an easier process and an excellent preparatory step for planning work to be carried out in more difficult materials.

Drills and a brace and bit destroy part of the materials in order to make holes. Such holes may merely facilitate putting together a piece of wood-work or form part of a design, but they often have more meaning to some members. Although it seems unexpected at first thought, analysis shows the connection of holes with the primary functions of food intake, elimination, and sex. The small child is very interested in playing with sticks, pushing or pounding them into holes. The behavior of older children in the workshop, in connection with the holes they make in their craft work, will upon analysis have similar connotations.

In one group, the members continually asked for leather work and always wanted to make articles that required punching and lacing. One day, when

there was no more leather, the worker asked them if they would just as soon punch holes in paper. Apparently she had hit upon the fascination of leather work for this group, since they happily punched holes in colored paper for the rest of the afternoon.

Hammering. The hammering tool acts as an extension and amplification of the arm, adding weight, force, and a hard-hitting surface. It makes possible not only constructive activity but also destructive activity (often a necessary preliminary to construction). Hammering metal produces beautiful designs on its hard surface or forms it into a different shape.

Hammering is a noisy process. Because it is not the individual's fist or foot that makes the noise, blame for the noise can be displaced to the tool. Members are very conscious of the opportunities provided for releasing energy and feeling through this process.

One boy came into the craft shop, seized a hammer and said, "I'm goin' ta pound all my troubles away!" He began to pound nails into an old board and soon was whistling merrily. He then proceeded with plans for a small bench for his room.

A group of young adults, who had just come from a discussion group in which they had had little opportunity to voice their difference of opinion with the leader, arrived in the craft shop. The worker and the group had made plans for a variety of crafts that evening, but every member chose tin can craft and the air was filled with the din of hammering. They gradually relaxed and finally one member expressed the feelings of the group by saying, "Guess we took out our anger at that discussion leader on those poor tin cans, didn't we?" The group then discussed the issues with the worker in the craft shop.

Braiding, Knotting, Crocheting, Knitting, Weaving. All these and similar processes take single strands of a material, often uninteresting in itself, and make them into a much stronger form, usually with interesting designs. Many knots and braids have practical, utilitarian purposes and appeal to practical members. These processes are exact and definite; there is a *right* way to do them, a pattern or form to follow; errors are easily detected. They appeal to those who are looking for the concrete and the absolute and to those who need the security of definite procedure. Members who are convinced that they have little or no artistic ability feel adequate to attempt simple knots and braids and are delighted with the results achieved through the interweaving of the strands and colors. Once the technique is mastered, the mind is free to concern itself with other thoughts while the hands keep busily at work. These processes seem to "tie some people up in knots," but others seem to unravel their feelings and solve their problems as they work. The

"tie that binds," the "knot of friendship," was illustrated by one member who made a square knot belt of four colors. One of the colors stood for himself, and the other three represented his three best friends. "Now we are all tied together," he said. Weaving on a loom has a certain rhythmic repetition of movement that is satisfying in itself. One adult said that it relaxed her in much the same way as playing the piano. Using her hands and feet in the process of weaving on a large loom brought forth a visible pattern of color instead of an auditory one of sound. To see the pattern emerge, as it were, out of nothing gave her a feeling of accomplishment.

Sewing. This process is excellent for the member who is not very creative but who can follow the directions set by a pattern. It also has unlimited possibilities for creativity in the designing and making of clothes, furnishings, costumes for parties and plays, slip covers and draperies for the clubroom. Sewing is traditionally a feminine accomplishment. Although the male sex usually rejects sewing as "sissy," there is an increasing interest in some forms of needlecraft for men, particularly in the hospital setting.

Sewing involves accuracy, exactness, and carefull measuring; knowledge of weave, in order to choose the straight, crosswise, or bias of the material for cutting, and ability and willingness to follow patterns and directions. The use of color and design are concomitant learnings. Ability to sew also provides the satisfaction of having pretty clothes or attractive furnishings for the home at lower cost. Fashion shows give members not only a sense of accomplishment but increased poise and security in appearing before a group.

Many women enjoy working on a group project such as a quilt; each member makes a certain number of squares and takes her turn at the quilting frame. When groups decide to sew for hospitals or other agencies, they are likely to discuss the implications of such service projects.

One club of adult women was asked to sew for Russian War Relief. When the president presented the suggestion to the group, at first there was assent. Then one member said that she didn't know whether they ought to sew for Russia. What she heard, and what she read in the papers, made her wonder if they *ought* to be friends with Russia and if they *should* help the Russians by sewing for them. The club had a lively discussion. One member said they ought to be friends and told of her son's favorable comments about the Russian soldiers whom he had met in Germany during the war; she felt that they ought to do everything possible to work for peace. Another member said that she didn't know what to think; she heard so much about the Communists trying to run the United States and being responsible for strikes. This was a vital issue to the women, for their husbands had recently been on strike. The worker helped them to discuss all the factors involved in strikes, and the women finally decided that they needed to know

more about strikes, the Russians, and many other issues of the day in order to have a more solid basis for their decision. They made plans for special reports and discussions, and in the meantime started to sew for Russian War Relief.

Fancy needlework is often combined with plain sewing, when a dress is given a distinctive touch of embroidery or appliqué. When some of the members have originally lived in other countries, they may bring in embroidery which give the others ideas for designs. Comparison of embroideries from different countries brings out similarities as well as differences.

Some individuals bring their sewing or knitting because they are uncomfortable without something to do with their hands. They may use this handwork to conceal their feeling of insecurity in the group.

In a formed group of adolescent girls, Josie was not really accepted by the other members. The worker noticed that she always brought a dresser scarf which she was embroidering. With this in her hands, Josie felt secure, for she could always give the appearance of having something to do in case the girls did not include her in their conversation. Each week she asked the worker to show her how to do the special stitches required, but she made little progress in completing her embroidery; her real need was to be part of the activities and the conversation of the other girls. All her attention was centered upon being ready to jump into games, dancing, or conversation at the slightest sign of being wanted. For weeks she brought her embroidery along to club, but eventually she did not even get it out of the bag. Finally the day arrived when she did not even bring it with her — evidence of the fact that at last she felt really accepted by the group.

Cooking. Some of the processes of cooking, such as bread-making, which require that the hands be used directly in the materials, bear some similarity to work with other plastic materials.

Cooking in a group provides for division of responsibilities and for cooperative effort. Members soon discover those in the group who shirk their jobs and through group pressure the recalcitrant ones are helped to fall into line and do their share. Dish washing seems to be a hated chore and often falls to the lot of the least accepted member. Sometimes an individual willingly takes on this job, either to curry favor with the members or the worker, or to gain entrance into the group.

The concomitant learnings connected with cooking as program content are many. Not only do members learn the importance of proportions, but they discover the wide variety of things that can be made from the same ingredients. Many other learnings are also possible, such as the elements of a balanced diet, the many forms of table setting and service, and the various social customs that pertain to food.

Summary

There is a wide field for speculation and exploration in the *use* made of the various processes by individuals. Many times the worker cannot possibly foresee just how each member will make use of a particular process. It may be observed, however, that members seem able to make the process meet the need of the moment. Sewing and embroidery, for example, which seem to be gentle, quiet processes, can become means of expending energy and expressing anger: instead of pushing the needle easily through the cloth, some members literally stab the material with it. Other processes that are ordinarily aggressive and destructive are sometimes accomplished gently and easily. In many instances, progressive relaxation takes place as the member becomes absorbed in the process and the results.¹

THE OUT-OF-DOORS: NATURE AND CAMP CRAFT

Too often nature and campcraft are limited to the camp setting, and opportunities to use these media in the city are overlooked. Hikes and trips provide contact with nature. Many parks have facilities for outdoor cooking; and some agencies have outdoor fireplaces and cooking spots in their back yards. Special trips are often arranged to planetariums, museums, parks, zoos, flower and garden shows, and if alert to the reactions of members, the worker can help them increase their interest in the out-of-doors. One worker, who discovered that his group members were interested in insects, suggested that they organize a search to see how many different varieties they could find in the neighborhood of the agency. Members who live surrounded by buildings seldom notice the sunset or the first evening stars, but often appreciate their beauty when returning from a hike or trip. Stories of the out-of-doors may motivate a nature program. Boys, especially, get ideas of woodcraft from tales of the Indians and pioneers.

Many persons have an aversion to the word "nature," usually because of previous associations. Teachers, camp counselors, and other group advisers may have told them to learn the names of a certain number of trees, flowers, and birds, even though this information is not related to their interests. Nature — in its broadest sense — touches upon many areas of life and becomes meaningful when seen as an integral part of program. A change in weather can mean a complete change in plans. Picnic or trip plans arouse interest in watching the skies and the weather reports. At this point, members have a real interest in learning about methods of forecasting weather. Elements of nature — in the use of natural materials — appear in many craft programs. A group searching for modeling clay observes many things

¹ For references on craft techniques, see bibliography, pp. 669-670.

about the structure of earth, clay, and rocks. When painting or modeling, members may discover that they know little about the shape or form of plants, flowers, and animals, and turn to the originals for knowledge.

Watching things grow has a fascination. Groups enjoy planting seeds in eggshells or window boxes and watching them burst through the earth. Victory gardens led many groups to a new knowledge of growing things, to a recognition of the farmer's struggles and of his importance to the work of the world.

We know one nature leader who makes a point of discovering the plants, insects, and animals which members dislike or fear. As she discusses the values of these plants and animals she relates them to kinds of people who are apt to be disliked because of their habits or mannerisms. The members quickly make the connection and see that perhaps there is a place in the world for every plant and animal and for all kinds of people.

The study of animal life is of interest to all age-groups and provides valuable experiences for the members. Hours are spent searching for tadpoles and turtles in the brooks at camp. Many people fear even domesticated animals, but can be helped to overcome this fear through learning about and caring for them. Pets are of great value. A pet that gives love and affection to its owner adds immeasurably to that owner's self-esteem and self-confidence.¹ When a person undertakes the care of a pet, he is accepting responsibility for the life of a living, breathing being.

Then too, discussions of sex, about which all members have curiosity and attitudes of various kinds, arise naturally from the observation of animals.

The social group worker leading a group of ten- to twelve-year-old boys had helped them to bring their questions about sex into the open. In discussing these questions with this particular group, the worker had found it necessary to show diagrams of the sex organs, explain their functions, and stress the naturalness of the relationship between husband and wife. Some time later, the group went on a trip to the zoo. While there, they discovered that the male lion and female lion had been placed in the same cage for mating. The boys were attracted to the cage but were bewildered by the sex play of the two animals and asked the worker for an explanation. The previous discussions had laid the groundwork, for the discussion that followed was minus the snickering and giggling that had occurred earlier. When they left the cage the boys were quiet and had little to say until they ran across the 'possums which they had not seen before. The comical aspect of the little animals in washing before eating amused them greatly and offered a release in laughter for the emotional tension which had probably been built up during the discussion at the lions' cage.

¹ James H. S. Bossard, "The Mental Hygiene of Owning a Dog," *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 408-413.

In a young adult group, the worker discovered that the members were teasing Matilda because of her attitude toward her female dog. Matilda refused to take her dog out for walks for fear she would meet male dogs. The inconvenience that would result if the dog should have puppies was understandable, for Matilda lived in a small apartment. That, however, was not the basis for the teasing. Matilda's own attitudes toward sex colored her feelings about the dog's relationships. Such things were not even nice to talk about. She herself seemed to fear having any contacts with men. The worker had already become concerned about Matilda's other behavior, and this incident provided a motive for helping her to seek psychiatric service.

Campcraft. Nature and campcraft are closely related; one merges into the other. Campers soon discover, for example, that certain kinds of wood burn longer and are better for a cooking fire while others kindle quickly and burn with a cheerful blaze for a campfire. Fire is one of the natural elements essential to human beings. Children are fascinated by fire and want to play with it. Helen Yarnell says:

From our study of firesetting activities and fantasies in children of six to eight years of age, we find that children's fantasies about fire show that it represents a strong force which can give them power over adults, partly magical in nature. In the normal child these fantasies do not play an important part, but the deprived child, who is forced to assert himself by aggression against an intolerable home, school and society, seizes on fire as the most powerful, magic and primitive weapon within his reach.¹

Some individuals set fires for the delight they find in watching the flames devour the material. If the urge to set fires is not based on too deep emotional problems, the member can be helped through the campcraft situation.

Tom, a boy of ten, had been discovered several times lighting trash in the agency waste baskets. The worker suggested some hikes and cook-outs, and the entire group was enthusiastic. These occasions gave the boys the fun of building fires for a purpose, while the worker had an opportunity to give basic instruction about fire-control, in a situation where it was related to the program of the group. Tom had a wonderful time building and lighting the cooking fire and listened attentively to the information given by the worker. Since that time his need to set fires in dangerous places seems to have disappeared.

Through knowledge of the out-of-doors, individuals come to feel at home with nature — to feel comfortable and secure. City children who go to camp for the first time may be fearful because of the newness and strangeness of

¹ Helen Yarnell, "Firesetting in Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 10 (1940), no. 2, pp. 285-286.

the environment. While camp may seem quiet compared to the city streets, the new and different noises made by the birds and animals, the wind in the trees, the waves on the beach, frighten them. Helping them feel at home involves helping them to know the camp setting: the trees, plants, and animals. Some of this knowledge is related to safety; for example, avoidance of poison ivy and certain kinds of snakes and animals.

Campcraft is the art of living out-of-doors comfortably and happily. It provides an opportunity for adventure, for exploration, for being on one's own, and developing self-reliance for working and playing with others, for solving problems and sharing responsibilities. There is also the fun of creating something, whether it is a good meal over an open fire or a gadget contrived from natural materials to make life more comfortable. Members gain satisfaction through learning to obtain and prepare food, to use a knife or an axe, to prepare a comfortable bed of balsam boughs or a shelter from the rain. Rules of personal and group health become meaningful in out-of-door living; they are factors in the fun and safety of all.¹ The utilitarian values of campcraft are evidenced in the stories told by men who have been lost or otherwise thrown upon their own resources in the woods; only their ability to take care of themselves through knowledge of edible plants and animals, of outdoor cooking, and of methods of finding directions in the woods, enabled them to get back to civilized territory.

TRIPS

Although not always appreciated, the values of trips for the growth and development of individual members and of the group-as-a-whole are legion, if the worker uses his eyes and ears to advantage.² But because they require careful planning, a longer period of time than the regular meeting period, and the use of definite controls by the worker, trips are often regarded as "necessary evils." The worker is apt to be so occupied with the mechanics of the trip — and the chore of getting *all* the members safely home again — that he overlooks the many values.

Some of these values have already been mentioned under the headings of nature and campcraft. Some trips grow out of a desire for additional information about a certain area of interest; others involve exploration of new fields. No matter what the original motivation, however, trips provide new

¹ For resource materials, see bibliography, p. 670.

² Herman Davidson, "The Use of Trips in Organized Club Groups in Group Work Agencies," thesis, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, 1942. An interesting short story by Worth Tuttle — "Of Social Work and Kangaroos," *Copy*, 1926 (New York: Appleton, 1926), pp. 271-275 — describes the details of one trip undertaken by a group leader and is a valuable starting point for a discussion of trips with workers.

and enriching experiences. Many children have never been outside their own small community, and a trip to another place is a real adventure. Adults tend to forget the thrill of their first train ride, their first meal in a restaurant, their first real stage play, and sometimes are unaware of the anticipation with which groups look forward to their first experiences in these areas. When one group of adolescent girls planned a visit to an agency in an outlying district, the worker discovered that the most important aspect of the trip was a ten-minute train ride; none of the members had ever been on a train before. A group of twelve-year-olds took a trip to the station, visited the station master, saw the trains come in, checked their things in a locker, used the rest rooms, and talked with the worker at the Traveler's Aid Booth. Then they took the street car out to the first train stop and rode in on a local train, getting off at the main station like seasoned travelers.

Trips can arouse enough new ideas for program to interest the group for many weeks. They also help members to articulate interests previously unexpressed. Museums are treasure chests of ideas; trips to places of historical interest make history books come to life; trips to newspaper plants, radio stations, factories, and other places of business arouse interest in future occupations or professions. Trips to civic services, such as the police and fire departments give members a new feeling about the role of these public servants. Policemen are seen as protectors rather than enemies; firemen, as workers whose jobs are not helped by "false alarms."

Sometimes trips, or plans for trips, have the unexpected result of arousing interest in the problems of business and labor, as one worker discovered when the members planned a banquet only to find that the waitresses at their favorite restaurant were on strike. Trips to other social agencies can change the attitudes of the members. One group, who wished to have the pleasure of giving Christmas baskets to "poor families," finally decided to visit the Family Agency and talk with the case workers. A new concept of "giving" resulted, and the members decided to give money, food, and clothes to the Family Agency for distribution. Visits to other clubs make possible contacts with club members of other races, nationalities, and cultures.

Trips frequently make use of commercial recreation facilities, such as bowling alleys, roller and ice skating rinks, and swimming pools. Spectator events, such as baseball, football and basketball games, swimming meets, movies, plays, and concerts give the members a chance to see and hear experts and to experience identification with them.

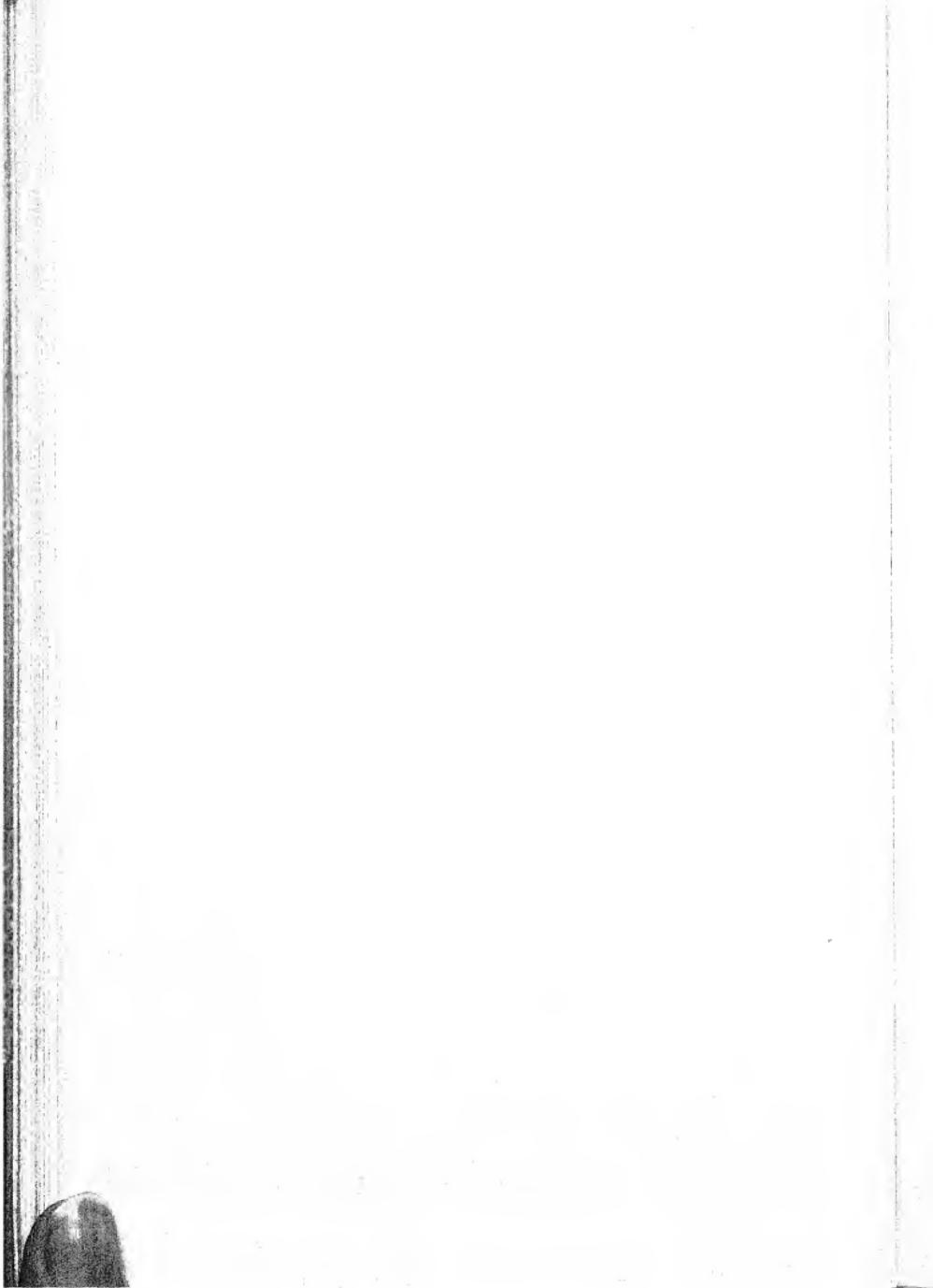
The planning for a special trip provides experience in corporate action, for many decisions have to be made about the place, the day, the hour, and methods of financing. Group controls and limits appear as the members insist upon certain standards of appearance and behavior as appropriate in the

new settings. The member who disregards the standards expected by the group is quickly brought into line. The worker and the group are often brought face-to-face with the attitude that it is smart to "get something for nothing," for some members, as a matter of course, try to slip under the subway turnstile or past the conductor, or insist that they are young enough to pay children's rates for transportation or admission to places of amusement. In many instances, the worker becomes indeed the bearer and exemplifier of values, as his appearance and behavior are carefully observed and imitated. His presence also gives security in the strange situation. The worker must remember that adults as well as children look to him for a pattern of behavior in new situations.¹

¹ Each agency sets up certain standards for trips, such as the number of workers needed, depending upon the age of the members, the number in the group and the kind of trip; the use of parents' permission blanks, regulations concerning the use of agency cars and station wagons and workers' personal cars, and other safeguards designated to protect the members while outside the agency under the care of agency workers. In each community, lists compiled by the Chamber of Commerce and the Council of Social Agencies indicate possibilities for trips and give the pertinent details.

P A R T T H R E E

Records
of Social
Group Work
Practice



INTRODUCTION

THE RECORDS presented in this part are representative of the practice of social group work in several settings: recreational and informal educational agencies, hospitals, clinics, and children's institutions. Because of limitations of space and the need to limit the number of factors of difference which can be handled within the scope of one book, we have not attempted to present records illustrating social group work in all the settings in which it is practiced. For this reason we have made but slight reference to the use of social group work methods by those who are serving offenders of the law, and have emphasized the use of social group work as a preventive rather than as a treatment of the social offender. Likewise, we have omitted records from workers in public schools and in many other types of institutions that use social group work as a marginal service. Of the groups whose records are given here, four are sponsored by agencies affiliated with the National Federation of Settlements; four, with the Young Women's Christian Association; two, with the National Jewish Welfare Board; two, with a public housing authority; two, with general hospitals; one, with an institution for crippled children; and one is sponsored by a child guidance clinic.

These records were chosen because they describe a variety of social situations and of common and special problems which human beings experience in group life. We have arranged the records according to the divisions of the life cycle we have followed previously. These records should be studied against the norms of behavior for each age-group and the particular physical, intellectual, and emotional components of the social situation in each group.

Greater understanding of the effect of the factors of difference upon the social group work method¹ will be developed through analyzing records where some of these factors predominate. Service to the physically and emotionally ill is made more explicit through study of the Can Do Club, the Fun Club, Constructive Griping, and the Social Dancing Class. Several records, but particularly that of Pyke's Pack, demonstrate some of the needs of pre-delinquent children and the importance of co-operative service on the part of

¹ Chapter 4.

several social agencies. The problem of civil rights and inequality of opportunity is a paramount issue in the life of today; it is likewise a part of the social climate of all the groups recorded. The records of the Glamour Girls, NAACP Group, Elite Women's Club, and the Friendship Club, however, reveal the situations in personalized form and provide many illustrations of the role of the worker in helping the members to use the social process of their groups creatively.

Analysis of all the records provides the student with the opportunity to compare the social situation created by groups of differing purposes, size, types of activities, and composition. Within most groups there are representatives of more than one social class, particularly in formed groups with therapeutic purposes; most groups, likewise, are dominated by members from the same social class. Aside from the therapeutic groups, the clubs here recorded may be classified, according to our analysis,¹ as representative of the *Upper Middle Class* (The Toombah Club); *Lower Middle Class* (Glamour Girls, Sub-Debs, NAACP Group, Suhfiw Club, Elite Women's Club); *Upper Lower Class* (Chuck's Boys, Heights Recreation Club, A Conversation); and *Lower Class* (Pyke's Pack and the Friendship Club).

The value of the records in illustrating the *WHAT, WHO, and HOW* of social group work has been indicated in footnotes throughout previous chapters.

Reference was made in Chapter 1 to the negative nature of record material; it is necessary to repeat this observation at this point. It may seem to the reader that these groups are peopled with socially deprived individuals who in their frustration have sought the service of social agencies. This observation is correct, but it would be grossly incorrect to regard these individuals and groups as atypical of the society they represent. The reactions of any group, *recorded* throughout a series of meetings by one who understands the motivations of behavior, reveal conflict, struggle, and strife; co-operation and friendliness; maturity and immaturity; individualistic and corporate behavior. The student reading these records is reminded that the workers who wrote them were recording the dynamics of group life — not its manifest content. The records, then, are not to be compared with reports or minutes of meetings, because they only incidentally reveal *what* happened, but purposefully record *how* it happened according to the worker's diagnosis of the meaning of individual behavior and group activity. Another consideration to be kept in mind is that these records are only excerpts from the original records; the material presented has been selected to highlight certain common and special problems of the members and related aspects of the social situations within the groups. Study of the complete record provides a better balance of individual and group reactions than can be presented here.

¹ Based on criteria developed by the Yankee City Studies; see bibliography, p. 634, Warner *et al.*

11

Groups of Preschool and School-Age Children

THE TOOMBAH CLUB

Children and Their Parents

THE TOOMBAH CLUB was organized in January upon the request of a group of parents who wanted their four- to seven-year-old children to develop positive Jewish attitudes through participation in an informal, educational program in a Jewish Center. At first the parents seemed unwilling to involve themselves in the program, but the agency insisted that club work with the children could be done only if the parents also met as a group.

At the first three meetings of the group, there were fourteen children present, ranging in age from four to eight. Before the fourth meeting it was decided by the staff and the parents' group (who worked together on policy-making) that the group should be divided into an older and a younger section. Both groups of children were served by experienced social group workers.

Every attempt was made not to superimpose Jewish content but to bring it into the picture naturally when the children's interest seemed ripe. The program content included games, plays, and songs. There were surprises for Purim; a Seder party with food for Passover; and for Shavuoth, a trip to the flower show, arts and crafts, songs and dances. In the older group, the members shared in the decision-making process and devised a way by which everyone had an opportunity to be president. The members received recognition and they had help from the workers in learning to respect and recognize the wishes of others. The workers in both groups helped some of the children to be more expressive of their hostile feelings and others to find more acceptable ways of expressing their aggression, thus making it possible for all of them to enter into co-operative enterprises.

The younger section of the Toombah Club is composed of seven children

between the ages of four and a half and five years. The only other group activity in which they participate is a dancing class. Their parents are well educated; their fathers are well established in the various professions or in business and industry. All the members are five years old except Eleanor who is four and a half. She has a sister who is a member of the older section of the club, as does Harry, a little boy who seems to have a need to please adults but who seeks also to secure the approval of Jerry, the most aggressive and hostile member of the group. Ronald is Jerry's competitor in aggressive activity and their behavior is frequently disruptive to the activities of the others. Ronald has a brother two years of age; Jerry has a baby brother who is less than a year old; and Helen is just getting acquainted with a new baby brother. Harold and Edith are only children.

...*Record.* The worker paid particular attention to Jerry. Last week he had taken the leading role in running around the halls, throwing down chairs, and screaming. *W*¹ helped him to take off his wraps and asked him to help her arrange the chairs for the group. All the children responded to the invitation of *W* to sit in the circle of chairs, and they made a guessing game of learning the names of those present. Then *W* showed them a book which she had brought, *Gateway to Jewish Song*. Just as *W* started to tell the story of Purim, a parent entered the room and wanted to know about the group. *W* greeted him and then introduced each child by name. They seemed to enjoy this personal attention, but when the parent began to talk to *W* about them as if they could not understand what he was saying, the children began to run around the room and climb on the tables.

When the visitor left the children returned to their circle and *W* continued with the story. It was told very briefly, but the children were not much interested in it. *W* asked them if they would like to dramatize the story and Eleanor said that she would not want to be in such a play — that a man got murdered and if she played that part she would have to go to jail — bad people go to jail and she is not a bad girl. Then she said that she wanted to see her sister and she went out of the room to find her. Jerry said he wanted to play the story and that he would be the bad man (Haman). Harry said that he wanted to be the king, who was a good man. At this point, Jerry decided that he was thirsty and started to scream and run around the room, some of the others joining him. In the midst of all this yelling and banging of chairs, *W* picked up Jerry bodily, captured Harry by the hand and set him down. The rest of the group returned to the chairs in the circle. *W* announced that there was to be no banging of chairs, or screaming and yelling. Jerry glanced at *W* and grinned. The others looked as if they would jump off their chairs at any moment. *W* asked if they were still thirsty. All of them began to describe how thirsty they were. *W* said they would all go together for a drink. They all ran out of the door but not so wildly as before.

¹ The worker.

W asked Jerry if he would hold the water wheel for the others. This he did with pride and not too much damage to the drinkers.

In order to understand this situation fully it is necessary to visualize its physical aspects. The children were sitting on adult chairs; their feet did not touch the floor. They refused to sit on the floor because they said that their parents did not want them to get dirty. These circumstances prevented them from getting the environmental help of being in a close group formation. We also see that they were not very much interested in the story and that it did not absorb their attention. Children find satisfactions in stories which seem real to them and in which they can live the life of the characters. It is very significant that Eleanor, who later had great difficulty in working with clay or finger paints, and who became the tattle-tale of the group, was so disturbed by the story that she left to find security with her older sister. We are interested to note that Jerry found in the person of Haman a character through whom he could find an expression of his hostile and aggressive feelings. We are not surprised that Harry immediately expressed his interest in the proposed "acting out," in the light of his desire to do what Jerry does, but we are impressed with the fact that he chose a part in which he has an opportunity to be a "good" man. In the consistency of the behavior of human beings we find the key to the language of behavior. The worker, however, had misjudged the length of the interest span of children of this age. The story was too long and complicated to be followed by the organizational procedures which are essential to acting out a full story. At this age children are interested in only parts of a plot and will enjoy acting the story out as it develops. Jerry was the first to revolt, but his running around was welcomed by the others. In coping with adults, children have three methods which are usually successful: running around, being thirsty, and having to go to the toilet. Social group workers must learn to ask themselves what lies back of this behavior as well as listen to the objective meanings in the children's spoken requests. The worker in this situation succeeded in making a group activity out of getting a drink. She also made an opportunity to demonstrate to Jerry that, while she scolded and limited him and thoroughly disapproved of his behavior, she liked him and was giving him a privilege. After the drinking episode the children returned to the room and put on a very short but somewhat imaginative dramatization of the Purim story.

Because the worker in this group had a reasonably adequate understanding of the meaning of the children's behavior she was able quickly to adapt to their needs and interest span the plans she had made for program content. Unfortunately the parents were not so well prepared to understand the children.

...*Record.* Harry made a lot of yellow scribbles on his paper which he said was a storm. He held it up for Jerry's approval. Jerry said that it was nothing but a bunch of old scribbles. W said that that was not what Harry had meant it to be and that after all it was a storm to him. Jerry said "that made sense." Harry then drew something which looked like a knife stuck deep in something which he said was the "figure 8 stuck in deep" and he made motions to illustrate his words. Most of Harry's colors are in gray and dull tones. Harold made a frame or border within which he made summer flowers. He tried to use all the colors. Edith made designs with interesting color contrasts. Jerry started to make an apartment house with three floors and then decided to copy Edith's design but was not very successful.

Drawing, modeling with clay, or some form of paper craft was part of almost every meeting. In each session the worker deepened her understanding of the members from observing what the children drew, hearing what they said about their productions, and being sensitive to how they felt about them. During one such session, Jerry drew and drew and Harold asked him what he was drawing. Jerry replied that he was drawing a picture of why his mother and father got married and why he was born. The children looked at the picture with some interest but asked no further questions. Another time Ronald drew something about which Edith asked, and he replied that he was drawing a picture of God. Jerry said, "That's not God, God is dead." The worker asked him how he knew that God was dead and he said that somebody big had told him so. The worker then asked Ronald what color he was using but Ronald did not know. Jerry said that it was black and that God was not black, that God was dead. Ronald did not respond at all. The fears and anxieties of these children about their relationships with their parents and with God, expressed only slightly in words, became clear to the worker as she sought to understand their language of behavior.

...*Record.* The children had just finished their drawings when the parents came in to take them home. Harry's father told Harry that his drawing was awful. He sat on the edge of the table and began to instruct Harry on how to make a house. W interrupted this process and picked up Harry's drawing, comparing it to some examples of modernistic art which one has to study to understand; then she interpreted Harry's drawing to his father. All the parents praised Edith's picture, so the W made some explanation of each child's picture but only in the terms in which the child had explained the picture to W. This seemed to give the children courage to take their pictures home with them.

Now these parents are very much interested in their children. They bring them to the agency, and during the period that their children are in the

groups they have their own meeting. Unfortunately, the content of that meeting was devoted almost exclusively to the external problems of these groups and to increasing the parents' knowledge of Jewish culture. There is no question about the parents' need for more information about the history and culture of the Jewish people. This was the need which had prompted them to seek the help of the agency in fulfilling one of the responsibilities of all parents — that is, to see that the values inherent in their cultural heritage are passed on to their children. If the children, however, are to use their heritage effectively, they must be understood in relation to their phylogenetic development. The failure to incorporate content pertinent to parent education on child development was due to the structure of the agency. Because the parents were adults, the responsibility of service to the parents was carried by an agency worker who was experienced in working with adults but had had very little contact with these children and their needs. And the only opportunity which the workers who were serving these children's groups had to help the parents understand their children was through brief contact when the parents brought their children to the meetings and when they called for them. This meant that the workers could give only superficial interpretation and were blocked in their need to establish a real partnership relation with the parents.

The workers did, however, include the parents in many aspects of the program. A community Seder (celebrated at Passover), and festivities of Shavuoth, were joint affairs including both children's groups and all the parents.

...*Record.* At a meeting of the parents' group, the program for a Shavuoth outing at the home of the Cohens was considered. It was decided that at the next meeting of the children's groups both divisions should come together with all the parents, in order to learn songs suitable for Shavuoth.

The worker who served the older group prepared a song sheet on which he placed "Ach'shav," "Dundai," and two poems from Sarah Levy's book of nursery rhymes for Jewish children. One was "Jack Spoon"; the other, a poem about flowers which *W* adapted to the tune of "Onu Bonu Artsa."

On Sunday the parents and children gathered in the clubroom. *W* told the children to save seats for their parents, thereby eliminating the necessity for asking them to stop running around; for each child immediately took seats for himself and his parents. *W* took a piece of plasticene and rolled it into the shape of a Blintze. He asked the children if they remembered what special food they had on Shavuoth. One parent was a bit embarrassed when his daughter said "Homantashan and Matzohs." *W* said that these foods were eaten on Purim and Passover, but that Blintzes were eaten on Shavuoth. Several of the parents looked surprised and one of them said, "Oh, so this is the holiday when you eat Blintzes?" Mr. Goodman humorously asked what

would happen if he liked to eat Blintzes all the year round. Several of the parents discussed ways of making Blintzes and explained them to their children.

W handed the song sheet to the members of the group and led the recitation of "Jack Spoon." The other worker then taught poems and songs, explaining that "Prochim" means flowers. The group sang the songs several times and then was ready to learn the song "Ach'shav." W translated the words and slowly taught the song line by line. She then asked the other worker to teach "Dundai" and made the motions of ringing a huge bell. The children loved these motions and the clapping of their hands when singing "Ach'shav."

The children and their parents then sang "Ach'shav" while the two workers danced for the group. After going through the dance once, each worker selected a child and repeated the dance with him. These four then selected partners until all the children and parents were dancing and shouting "Toom Bah, Toom Bah, Toom Bah, B'ertz Yisroel." After this, all the songs and poems were reviewed. The parents seemed very much pleased with the program, and the children were happy. The workers announced that the next meeting would be held in Esther's backyard. Esther chirped that everyone would sing and dance.

The values of parent-child participation of this nature are so self-evident that they need not be enumerated; yet one cannot but regret that this experience failed to give the parents deeper understanding of their children's needs and the children the advantage of being more fully understood. Each child in the club needed help with problems related to his developmental processes. Each had both a father and a mother, and the parents were sufficiently concerned about their children's development to spend time, energy, and money on this project. Yet there were children in the group who were fearful and anxious and who felt unloved. These feelings relate to the normal problems of growing up, with which both parents and children need help from persons who are particularly trained to understand and interpret the language of behavior.



THE FUN CLUB

The Struggle to Be Children

The Fun Club, composed of six- and seven-year-old boys and girls, meets one afternoon a week at the Child Guidance Clinic. The purpose of the clinic is to treat the emotional illnesses of the children through the use of child specialists who work co-operatively with both the child and the parents. The group resembles, as much as possible, a normal voluntary group. There

are some differences due to the agency's purpose and its way of working. The fact that the difficulties of the children have been diagnosed, or are in the process of diagnosis, by a team of specialists makes it possible for the social group worker to have much more direction in his own role in working with the members.¹ The specific purpose of the group is to provide an experience which is preparatory to the use of the so-called normal groups in the community. The group, like other groups benefiting from social group work service, provides a place where the members can express their anxieties and aggressions without fear of loss of love. The members learn by experience that they are accepted on all counts even though their behavior is disapproved and limited. The child is helped, not to adjust *to the group*, but to adjust to living with others *through the group experience*.

We shall present this group of early-school-age boys and girls primarily from the point of view of its contribution to the socialization of the members. We shall not discuss the rehabilitation of each member, although the excerpts from the process group record will reveal this occurrence. The value of the group for diagnostic purposes is self-evident even in the abbreviated records used in discussing this group.

During the period from October to the first of June there were twelve different individuals in the group. Thirty meetings were held during this time: three meetings with seven present, four with six, seven with five, seven with four, five with three, and three with two members in attendance. There was also one meeting to which, however, only Ronald came. The group began with five members, and throughout the year seven more were referred for service. One member went to Florida for the winter with her mother; one was dropped because of the inability of his mother to accept service for herself; two were transferred to other groups better suited to their needs. Two more simply stopped coming, one because of insufficient support from his family, and the other because she said that she hated boys and didn't like the girls in the group; the former severed all connection with the Clinic, but the latter continued to receive personal service in the agency. All the members were referred to this group because their pattern of behavior was more adult than childlike, and it was felt that they needed association with other children. Three of the members were "only children," four had one older brother or sister, three had one younger brother or sister, and two had two younger brothers or sisters. The father of one and the mother of another child are dead. One father is in an institution, another in a sanitarium for tuberculosis, one father has deserted, and the father and mother of still another are separated. All the children are living in their own homes with one

¹ Note the information about each of the members (in footnotes in the pages which follow) which is part of the worker's preparation for accepting his role in the group.

or both parents, except one who is living with an aunt while his father is in the armed services. Seven of the children come from "well-to-do" families belonging to the upper-middle social class. There is one Roman Catholic and one Jewish child in the group; the others come from Protestant families. All the members are white except for one colored boy. The symptoms of behavior which led their parents to seek the help of the Child Guidance Clinic were: contrariness and refusal to go to bed, disobedience and stealing, hyper-activity, nervousness, refusal to learn to read, dislike of school, sex consciousness, and eating problems. The range of intelligence quotients is from 95 to 150: four of the children fall between 95 and 100; four between 125 and 128; three rank 136, 145, and 150; and one is unknown. All the children were in comparatively good physical health with nothing serious on their medical charts. Some of the irregular attendance was caused by mumps and chicken pox, but no one was seriously ill during the year.

Three of the five members who attended the first meeting were fairly regular attendants throughout the year. Of the thirty meetings, Suzanne attended twenty-two; Robert T., eighteen; Ronald, fifteen; Donald, fifteen; Ted, nine; and Robert D., seven. The latter two joined the group late in the year, but from that time on they seldom missed a meeting. We shall concentrate our attention on the group-as-a-whole and the participation of these six children. The other members of the group are important, however, in understanding the *esprit de corps* throughout the whole experience and at each meeting: Helen and Henry attended twice; George, four times; Betty, six times; and Sonia and Peter Paul, eight times.

At the first meeting the children were all new to each other and to the worker. The worker knew about the problems of the children, because she participated in the individual case conferences with the other specialists and shared in the decision to refer them to social group work service. They were affectionately called the "little old men and ladies club" by the staff, who recognized that all of them were inhibited in the use of the expressions of childhood and were behaving in adult fashion. During the first meeting the worker told each the others' names — which none of them learned — and each participated in activities without much relation to the others. The worker initiated a ritual of ending each meeting with "refreshments" eaten at a table which it was an honor and a privilege to set. This was usually followed by a story. The following excerpts give some indication of the use the members made of the worker, each other, the program materials, and the structure of group relationships as objects for the expression of feelings of love and hate, and as sources of support as they struggled with their own inner conflicts. The excerpts also illustrate the methods of the worker as she loved and limited these children and helped them to achieve greater self-control, and consequent ability to play with other children their own age.

...Record #2. Suzanne¹ eagerly and curiously went about exploring the materials that had been set up in the room. She asked if she could break up the wooden jig-saw puzzle and fix it up again. *W* assured her that she could. *W* asked Henry² what he wanted to do. He shrugged his shoulders. *W* suggested finger painting since she knew that he had had some experience with this medium. She demonstrated it but his expression did not change. Suzanne looked up and asked if she might do that. . . . *W* put aprons around both children and they laughed and said that they looked like bakers. Suzanne had to be assured that it was all right to get messed up — that the paint would wash off. She finally put her hands in the paint. From then on she kept laughing delightedly, and when *W* suggested that they be bears on the paper she seemed to get great satisfaction from being heavy and clumsy, while Henry did not seem to enjoy it at all. Suzanne then made believe that she was a fairy and asked *W* for another color. Henry asked for more colors, too. Suzanne began to mix all her colors and to get great satisfaction from it. She began to help herself to the colors, but Henry continued to ask for his.

Both Henry and Suzanne are prim little bodies who have had too little chance to enjoy dirt. Note that the worker explains that the norms for this activity make it "all right to be messy." The experience was relaxing for Suzanne and she eased her guilt over being messy by becoming a fairy and making beautiful colors as only fairies can. Henry was unable to lose himself in the activity, and had to reassure himself constantly by asking permission to use a different color. The worker, understanding his need, did not tell him that he had full permission to use all the colors but instead remained near to give assurance when needed. There were five children present at this meeting. The worker gave each child individualized attention as he came in, endeavored to attract one to the other. Since the children came from widely separated neighborhoods, there was little likelihood of their coming in twos and threes or arriving at exactly the same time. In any group, the worker who is on the alert to give as much individualized attention as possible will arrive sufficiently ahead of time to "catch the early bird."

...Record #2 (*continued*). Robert T.³ arrived and strutted about in a good-looking sailor suit and hat. He told *W* that he was a sailor. *W* said that he

¹ Suzanne K., aged 6, is an only child whose father is not in the home. She is in the first grade, has an I.Q. of 136, and has superior ability to deal with abstract material and slightly superior ability to deal with concrete material. She was brought to the Clinic for help with her distress over the conflict between her parents. She was referred to the Fun Club for release of some of her tensions and anxieties which have no suitable outlet.

² Henry B., aged 6, is three years older than his brother. Both parents are in the home. The family is a comfortable middle-class one. He was brought to the Clinic because his mother felt his group adjustment was poor. He was referred to the group for help in learning to share.

³ Robert T. (Bobby), aged 7, is an only child whose father was killed before Robert was two years old. His mother earns the living. He has experienced many changes in

looked as if he would make a good one. After hanging up his coat and hat very carefully, he ran into the other room, examining everything and saying, "Boy, I'll say, this is all right." He went over to Suzanne and Henry and watched them. *W* asked whether he would like to paint too. He replied, "Naw," so *W* said that he could look around and see what he would like to do. *W* asked him if he had gone to school today and he said that he hadn't. *W* asked if he knew why and he said that it was Columbus Day. *W* showed him some paper ships mounted on construction paper and asked him if he would like to make one. He shook his head. At this point *W* went back to the other children because Henry seemed rather disturbed at being neglected while she paid attention to the new member.

After a while Robert T. found some tongue depressor blades and told *W* that he would like to make a plane and wondered about wood. *W* said that she thought that he could make a good plane out of those blades and made some suggestions as to how it could be done. . . . Suzanne went on painting, although *W* tried to introduce her to another activity. Henry became restless but did not seem to want to do anything else. Another worker came into the room and said that there was a boy upstairs who would like to join this group and asked if it would be all right. Henry and Suzanne seemed acquiescent and Robert T. said in a loud, determined, dignified voice, "Of course, bring him down, we don't mind." So Donald S.¹ came down and was introduced all around. . . . He is very thin, wears glasses, and looks down-trodden. He was very silent. . . .

In walks the conquering hero, Robert T., just as scared and uncomfortable as the others but using a different behavior pattern to handle his feelings. He puts on a good front as both his manner and his concern about his clothes indicate. He isn't being himself — he is a sailor. The worker accepts his fantasy temporarily and after he has explored the workshop with

environment, including a foster home placement where he soiled and refused to eat until he could be with his mother again. He frequently expresses his wish to have a father. His mother says he is a bit of a sissy in his relations with boys and hates to be a loser in a game or a fight. He is in the second grade; his teacher says that he is a roughneck at school, though one of her favorite pupils. His psychological tests reveal low average ability to deal with abstract material, an I.Q. of 95, with superior ability to deal with concrete material. His physical examination was negative. His mother brought him to the Clinic because he was disobedient and stole money to give to other children. He was referred to the group for diagnostic observation and help in socialization.

¹ Donald S., aged 7, and his brother, aged 11, are the only children in their family. Donald's father is in a tuberculosis sanitarium. His mother has been under considerable financial strain and has been helped by a family social agency. The worker from this agency encouraged the mother to bring Donald to the Clinic because of his hyper-activity. At the time of this record there had been no psychological tests. The psychiatrist found much rivalry with his brother, expressed in Donald's attempt to be very grown-up. Donald has a very great need to talk, and his penetrating analyses and comments frighten adults, particularly his mother. He was referred to the group for help in engaging in and enjoying activities appropriate to his age and for help in socialization.

its invitation to many different kinds of activities, she invites him to participate in the one activity in process at this time. He not only refuses but is unable to make a connection between the available materials and something he might do with them. The worker then uses conversation to develop a lead. Ships make connection with woodwork, and Robert T. is able to suggest that he would prefer to make a plane than a paper ship. The worker has succeeded in interesting him in a project without in any way making it seem a part of *her*; therefore he was able to reject the original idea of paper ships and develop his own idea. Note that, while the worker was helping Robert to feel at home and begin using the resources of his environment, she was *at the same time* aware of what was happening to Henry and Suzanne. She knew that Henry needed her support to continue his activity, and she was eager to help Suzanne use more than one medium for the expression of her feelings. (It was felt that, while painting gave Suzanne great release from some of the anxieties that were pressing in on her, it also provided an escape from reality which for her, should be interspersed with occasions for direct expressions of hostile feelings engendered by reality situations.)

...*Later in the meeting.* W asked Suzanne whether she'd like to set the table with toy dishes since there was candy to eat. She quickly and eagerly went to work, set the table, and put the candy in the plates. W knew that there were two pieces left over but she didn't see them. The children all made believe that they were drinking coffee. Donald said that he always drank coffee. Henry said that he did too, and Suzanne, not to be outdone, said that she did sometimes. W asked if they would like a story. She could see that Bobby wanted to return to his sawing, but he obligingly came back and sat with the group while she told about Columbus. It took a little while to get started because Bobby had to show how far he could jump from the table and Henry said that he could jump too, and much farther, and tried. Suzanne said that she could jump, too, and the boys let her. Donald just sat there silently — blinking behind his glasses....

George,¹ in handsome black wool pants and a red sweater, arrived in the middle of the story. W went to meet him and said that his sweater was a wonderful color. He smiled a little. Suzanne had climbed on the hobby horse with Bobby in the meantime. W went on with the story. At the end she asked if each one would like to make a paper ship like the one Columbus sailed in. Suzanne and Henry did; Bobby went back to his sawing and Donald went with him. W knew that George had a great need to have things that were his own and so she asked him if he did not want to make a ship

¹ George H., six years old, is living with his aunt and other relatives. His mother died when he was three and his father entered the armed services when George was four. He was brought to the Clinic because of his personal problems and his poor adjustment to other children. He was referred to the group as an emotionally starved child who needed the warmth of an adult leader and help in adjusting to a group.

too. He said that he did, but made no move to begin. *W* suggested that they make one together. She folded the paper for him. He shook his head and said he wanted to do that himself. *W* gave him another sheet of paper. She demonstrated on her sheet of paper and he did it on his own. He wanted no help even at a difficult part. . . . Suzanne asked whether she could take home to her mother the two pieces of candy which were left over. *W* agreed.

Note how the worker uses the ceremonials around eating, as well as the eating itself, to help the children develop a feeling of togetherness. The atmosphere is relaxed and child-made. It was Suzanne, not the adult, who set the table and officiated. The children were thus able both to act like children (the jumping episode) and to act like adults (the coffee conversation) without too much conflict. Again we see the worker giving individual attention to the newcomer and at the same time giving attention to all the others.

...Record #3. Donald was the only boy in the waiting room so *W* suggested looking at some books while they waited for the others. They saw Helen W.¹ and her mother come rushing into the Clinic. Mrs. W. was very apologetic to anybody she could speak to, including *W* and the receptionist. She was to have been there at three. Helen came over to *W* and said, "Mother had an awful time. I crossed the streets all by myself and everything." *W* asked her why she had done that and Helen said, "Mother said I could — she said I could." Helen pointed to *W* and told her mother, "I play with her." The mother said she'd like to have Helen leave early and would call for her. *W* suggested that the two children go down to the workshop with her.

It was Helen's first time in the workshop and she went from one thing to another. First she said she wanted to paint, and she began to get the paints and brushes in order. Then, as Donald started to play with the clay, she went over and said she wanted to do clay work. *W* said she might after she finished painting. She went to the hammering game and said she would like to play with that. Then she saw a little wool doll and wanted to make one, too. *W* suggested she start on one thing and see how far she could get. She decided she'd paint. There was a finger painting sample on the table and *W* asked if she'd like to do something like that. Helen looked at it and said it was ugly and she didn't like it. *W* asked what colors she did like, and she answered quickly, "Red and smashed cherries." *W* asked what color that was and she said purple. Oh, she loved purple and she loved to smash cherries so she could make that beautiful color. "I think that's a lovely color, don't you?" She talked intelligently and maturely and usually ended her

¹ Helen W., aged 5, is the older of two children. She lives in a family, dominated by the paternal grandfather, in which there is a great deal of conflict. While her I.Q. is 95, the Rorschach showed more native ability than was brought out by the other test. Oppositional tendencies and anxieties were noted. She was referred to the Clinic because she is contrary to everything, demands constant attention, and won't go to bed. She was referred to the Fun Club so that she might make friends in a small group.

remarks with, "Don't you?" *W* said perhaps they could make purple by mixing two of the colors there; and anyway, would Helen like to see how this funny kind of painting worked? She was agreeable, and even Donald, still working on his clay, came over to see the paper wet and the paint put on the paper. *W* demonstrated, but Helen said no — she didn't like that, it was messy and she liked her way of painting better. So she went about painting with brushes, in her own fashion, and used very good, high color combinations. She asked *W* for purple. The *W* showed her how to mix the colors and from then on Helen mixed blue and red until purple flowed all over the place. *W* had to explain that other people still liked to use red and blue and that she should save some.

Donald, meanwhile, worked on, just rolling the clay and pounding it mildly. *W* went over and tried to show him how to roll coils or make a simple form, but he went on massaging the clay. He began to talk about his brother and his father who was in the sanitarium, "T.B., you know." *W* asked if he had seen his father and he said he was coming home in a few days. He talked in a very adult manner as though he were repeating phrases and headshakes he'd learned from grownups.

Suzanne came down and showed *W* her new shoes immediately. She saw Helen painting and also saw the clay. She wanted to play with the clay and went about it as soon as *W* gave her the materials. Helen said, as *W* went to her, "Would you hang my picture as soon as I'm through?", and when *W* assured her she would, she went on in a very adult manner, about how "careless" some people were with their paintings at school and how only the best pictures should be saved. And she asked *W* again whether her picture couldn't be tacked up on the wall.

Robert T. came bounding down the stairs and shouted "Hi" to everybody. He headed straight for the hobby horse and started to bounce on it. *W* had to help Helen a bit, for she was spilling paint on the floor because she was so anxious to get certain colors that were beyond her reach. *W* gave her a rag and asked her whether she wouldn't clean up the mess. Helen looked at her and went on painting. After a little while, *W* remarked that if the paint dried it would be hard to clean up, and left to attend to others. She looked back, though, and saw Helen clumsily cleaning up some of the paint. George arrived about this time and said he wanted to paint. *W* put him opposite Helen. Robert T. came to watch the clay workers, saw the potter's wheel, and asked what that was for. *W* showed him. He said he wanted to try it, and though it was rather difficult for him to manipulate, he went on and on.

W heard some noise in the paint room and saw Helen and George struggling for the possession of a paint jar. They both seemed equally determined to get it — but Helen used considerable language to press her point whereas George just struggled quietly. *W* went in and asked what the trouble was. Helen loudly proclaimed that she must have the jar of paint in order to finish her painting, and George said he wanted it too. *W* said, "Why not put it in the middle so you can both use it?" and left quickly. She didn't

hear any more noise after that, and they both seemed to be painting quietly.

Suzanne had been copying a small clay pot which she had seen in the room — but she lumped all the clay together and started again. *W* heard more noise and saw George and Robert T. struggling over the hobby horse. They both were yelling and seemed really set for action. *W* asked Robert whether he wouldn't like to set chairs in a circle for a game; she offered to show him where the chairs were. He eagerly jumped up and began arranging the chairs.

Helen had finished her painting and was playing with the clay. The phone rang and *W* learned that Helen's mother wanted her quickly. *W* told Helen and she said no, she didn't want to go. *W* said she wished she didn't have to go but her mother was in a hurry so perhaps Helen should go upstairs. Helen said she wouldn't. *W* asked her to go up to her mother anyway and talk with her. So Helen, in her long apron, went upstairs. George, now fascinated by the wheel, puttered around with it, and *W* tried to show him how it worked — but it was too much for him. He played on with it for a while, however. Helen came down and said that her mother had said it was all right for her to stay longer....

W asked the group to come into the other room for a game. They all came in and asked how to play. Bobby said that he would rather sit on the table. *W* said that the person who was "It" would sit with his eyes closed and another person would come up behind him and knock on his chair. "It" would ask, "Who is it?" and the one who knocked would say, "It is I." "It" would then try to guess who was knocking by the sound of his voice. All the children, but especially Bobby and George, wanted to be "It." *W* chose George and then motioned to Bobby to go up and knock. But George peeked and it had to be done all over again. This time Suzanne knocked. George didn't know her name but he could describe her. As the game went on *W* noticed the cockiness of Bobby when he was "It," and the giggly nervousness of Suzanne. Helen was unable to guess at all and would just say, "I don't know." Donald seemed the most confident and self-assured of the group as he played. . . . Suzanne said she wanted to set the table for the "eats." *W* asked if they would like to hear a story while they ate. Suzanne divided the candy in five portions, one for each member....

The reader is impressed with the variety of activities available for each child to use according to his need. One may question whether the variety presented too great a strain on the decision-making capacity of some of the members. We notice how Helen wanted to do everything, but with the worker's help she was able to make a choice and postpone other activities which attracted her. We saw Donald as a silent blinking little boy the previous week and now the worker is trying to get better acquainted with him. He refuses help and establishes a relationship with the worker as one adult to another. Again in the game we see him able to play as an adult but not able to play in the role of the child he is.

The worker is testing the children's ability to play with each other in a situation where the rules of the game supply the limitations which the members must meet if the game is to be played. Most of them were able to participate for a short while. The worker soon changed the activity by granting Suzanne's request that she be allowed to set the table.

...*Record #4.* As *W* came into the waiting room, Bobby and Suzanne were removing their coats. Bobby said, "I walked right behind her all the time for two blocks and she didn't know it." Suzanne and her mother smiled, and the two children and *W* went to the workshop. Suzanne noticed the Hallowe'en masks and tried one on. *W* asked her if she would like to make one and she said yes. Bobby wanted to make one too . . . Donald came down, but he did not want to make a mask. When *W* showed him a black cat he said that maybe he'd like to do that. Bobby, in the meantime, had tried out the jig-saw and discovered that it would work, and he asked if he could use that. He and *W* looked for a good piece of wood and then he drew a pumpkin like the real one on the table so that he could saw it out. *W* brought a piece of wood for Donald, who had lost interest in the black cat. With the help of *W*, Bobby and Donald cut out their pumpkins, then they wanted to make a gun. They worked on a design and finally got it cut out.

It was at this point that the great war started. They were Superman, Gangsters, Nazis, and Roy Rogers. They yelled and ran about and really went at it. Suzanne finished her mask and began to paint. She shrugged her shoulders and cringed in an adult manner when the boys came near her. *W* said in a loud voice that they probably needed a nurse by this time, as they must both be wounded. Suzanne smiled but went on painting. *W* went nearer the boys and said that there was a nurse ready to treat them. The boys said to send her on. Donald said that he was nearly dead — that he sure needed a nurse. Suzanne rather eagerly left her painting and ran toward the boys, who were jumping and pouncing on each other. Bobby made believe that he was unconscious, but when Suzanne approached him he would bound up again. She would turn back and hide her face in *W*'s skirt. This went on for a few times. Then instead of hiding she would utter a little shriek. She would look at *W* furtively, but *W* looked at the boys. Then Suzanne began to yell louder and louder. *W* said that the men were certainly badly wounded.

The game took on another form. Bobby yelled that Suzanne was on his side and they both chased Donald. Suzanne screamed as loud as she wanted. . . . Bobby said that he was a monster and walked around like one. The other two followed but did nothing. *W* suggested that they be Tarzan, and cautiously Donald and Suzanne imitated Bobby. They acted out *W*'s suggestions and were lions, elephants, kangaroos, and finally the worker said that they were big, terrible pumpkins. They all stopped and stood very still. *W* immediately asked if they would like to hear a story of a big, terrible pumpkin who wanted to be ferocious and finally got his chance on Hal-

loween. She told the story and then asked if they would like to turn the pumpkin on the table into a terrible pumpkin. Bobby said sure he would do it — just give him a knife. *W* suggested that they all work on it and take turns cutting him out. Suzanne said that she would like to draw the face and did so very well. Bobby, with a great deal of help from the worker, cut off the top of the pumpkin. Suzanne said that they must save the seeds so that they could eat them later. Suzanne and Donald began to separate the seeds and put them in a little box, while Bobby began to cut out the eyes. He wanted no help from *W* until he found that it was more difficult than he thought it would be. Donald cut out the nose and got a slight cut on his finger about which he said nothing. *W* put iodine on it. Suzanne cut out the mouth and said that it must be a very smiling mouth as this was a cheerful pumpkin.

The children began to run around again; this time they were Roy Rogers and his horse Trigger. *W* said that perhaps they could eat now, and Suzanne asked and received permission to set the table. The boys came over to eat and everyone sat and talked about Roy Rogers and his wonderful horse Trigger. *W* asked if they knew a song about Trigger. They said that they didn't, so *W* sang an adaptable song and put in the name of Trigger and then each of their names. Suzanne joined in timidly; Bobby sang as he rode on the hobby horse and put the worker's name in too. *W* said it was time to clean up and did anybody like to sweep with sawdust. Bobby and Donald shook their heads. Bobby came to *W* and grasped her hands and said she was his prisoner. Donald had captured Suzanne. They pranced around while *W* and Suzanne looked frightened. *W* asked what they could do to get free, and Bobby immediately said they must sweep the floor and handed them imaginary brooms. While *W* and Suzanne were sweeping, they were captured again and told to scrub the floors and wash the walls. Then they all began to run around the room and *W* suggested to Bobby that he lead the way upstairs to the waiting room where their mothers were waiting for them to go home. *W* heard Donald's mother say, "Well, I thought that you were going to spend the night down there," in a slightly annoyed voice.

We are aware of how carefully this social group worker prepared for each group meeting and how able she was to follow the interests and needs of the members even when it meant that her carefully laid plans were disregarded. She made full use of the environment which she supplied with materials assumed to be interesting to the members. She was quick to follow the expressed interests and able to catch these interests from the *behavior* of the members. In this meeting we see her encourage imaginative play in which the members could give direct expression to hostile feelings within the structure of a socially acceptable activity (here the worker is a representative of social acceptance). We see the worker emphasize this acceptance by aiding and abetting the activity, but only rarely participating. She increased the

feeling of acceptance of their wild running around by providing additional structure to the game. She helped them move from the game of war, an expression of hate, to identification with fierce animals and finally with a legendary character, a "terrible" pumpkin, which, in the relaxation of the period following all this activity, Suzanne made into a "very cheerful" pumpkin. We see the worker carrying out one of the more difficult methods in helping members in the midst of a rapidly moving activity, that of directing it so that the members are helped to move gradually into less strenuous activity, either physical or emotional without the necessity of a complete change of emotional content.

The worker is also helping one of the members, Suzanne, to participate with the others in a group activity. This we see as important for two reasons; not only does she need help in doing things with other people but she also needs help in expressing her feelings directly rather than always through the satisfactions she has in painting. We are interested in the fact that the worker maintained her feminine role throughout. She does not make the mistake that we have known workers to make with groups of boys. She does not attempt to help them by playing as they do. She helps them by accepting their feelings and giving sanction to their expression, *but she does not act like them*. As the content of the group life of these children grows, it is interesting to watch the development of the masculine and feminine roles of the members. The episode of the sweeping gives a clear indication that the boys are saying that they cannot do "women's work" and assigning those roles to the worker and Suzanne. As long as Suzanne is the only girl present no one has yet challenged her right to set the table. In the next meeting Ronald enters the group, a boy who is having considerable difficulty in establishing his masculine role, and he becomes the chief contender for the privilege of officiating at the eating ceremonies.

We include in this excerpt the two references to parents because it is important to remember that the members come to our groups from home situations which are very different from the psychological atmosphere created by the loving and limiting social group worker. Even in situations where the parents are being helped simultaneously, the child frequently returns to quite a different kind of understanding in his home situation. This increases the backward movement which is part of all learning and is one of the factors which must be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the forward movement of members in a group and of the group-as-a-whole.

...*Record #5.* W met Ronald J.,¹ the new member, in the waiting room. When they started to go to the workshop he said, "I'll follow you if you

¹ Ronald J. is six years old, an only child whose father is an engineer and whose mother is in the home. His father is a meticulous person with very high standards of performance

don't mind," in a very grown-up manner. Ronald stood still and looked about the place, while Suzanne, seeing the easel set up, said quickly that she would like to paint. *W* asked Ronald if he would like to paint too. He said that he would not — that he considered painting very tiring and he was rather bored by it — anyway he couldn't get all messed up as he was wearing a new suit. Suzanne came to get the paints and *W* suggested that she show Ronald the way to do finger painting. She hesitated a little and then agreed. She and *W* set up the paper and asked Ronald what color he would choose. He politely said, "No, thank you, I'd rather not paint." *W* explained that Suzanne just wanted him to choose a color for her to use and he chose blue. He did not seem too interested in the demonstration, though Suzanne went on mixing colors for a long time, thoroughly enjoying the painting. He walked around the workshop, looked at the various machines, asked what they were for, and if they worked....

He gravely informed the worker that he was interested in trains and ships and not much else. She asked if he would like to make a ship and he said that he would, with the tiniest bit of enthusiasm. *W* took out some cork sheeting and he said that he knew just how to go about it. *W* said that he might need a knife and she knew where to get one. She took out some keys and opened a closet. Ronald followed her. He looked very much interested when he saw the tools and said that he would need a hammer and some nails. *W* gave him some tacks. He said that he preferred nails. *W* explained that the length of the nails and the thickness of the cork didn't go together, and he agreed. He saw the box of wooden patterns and he took them out and after he looked at them he said that he would like to make a rabbit....

His dull knife slipped and he cut his finger slight'y. He looked a little frightened and *W* said that she would fix it with mercurochrome. Ronald said, "Thank you, I'd prefer methyolate if you have it." *W* gravely assured him that she would use methyolate if they had it, otherwise they would use mercurochrome or iodine. Ronald said then he'd prefer iodine, but that methyolate was better because it destroyed germs much faster. Much to *W*'s surprise she found methyolate, but Ronald said never mind, he would take iodine anyway, even if it didn't kill germs so fast. He asked *W* if she couldn't find a band-aid and she said they'd have to rig one up from the tape and the bandage and he said never mind, that he would do without it though he likes band-aids.

At the end of the record of this meeting the worker makes the following comments on Ronald.

for himself and others. His mother is timid and self-effacing. Ronald is in the first grade. He shows superior ability to deal with abstract material and has an I.Q. of 128. Reports from both psychologist and psychiatrist indicated a strong need to dominate situations. The medical report revealed a "lazy" eye and a spastic bowel. He was brought to the Clinic by his mother for help in changing his attitude toward school which he disliked very much.

...*Record.* It was difficult to keep from smiling at this tiny, solemn-eyed baby. He likes to proceed under his own power, and though he may eventually do as the adult suggests, he needs to feel that he got there by himself. This was seen in the sawing, painting, and iodine episodes. He rejected Suzanne's advances in the beginning but gradually thawed out and began talking with her and at the end of the meeting was running freely with her. *W* feels that he needs a little bit of "roughing up" that the group may give him and is interested to see how he reacts to Bobby.

Up to this point, Bobby had provided more leadership than any of the other members. But he was absent from this and the three following meetings, and during that time Ronald became established as the leader, with Donald a fairly loyal follower.

...*Record #9.* . . . While they were working they heard a tapping on the window and there was Bobby. In a few minutes he came bounding down the stairs. . . . Bobby had climbed up on the table and was jumping up and down saying that he was a B-29 and was dropping bombs. Donald and Ronald followed him. . . . Bobby and the other two boys now picked up hammers and began to hammer on the iron clay stands, making a terrific din. *W* knew that they couldn't hurt themselves, but she was sure that the noise could be heard clear to the top of the building, so when she could be heard she asked if they could do the hammering in rhythm. This was not an appropriate suggestion. *W* said that the assistants (the girls) were ready to go into action. Bobby immediately stopped and explained that they were paratroopers and they were going to drop on a village and the three girls were to be women in the fields.

The paratroopers sneaked (quietly) into the village and "shot" all the women, destroyed the village, and ran away shouting. (Bobby) "Close the door on those women, don't let them come in here." (Ronald) "They are dead, anyhow, they can't move." Donald just generally assented and ran around. Suzanne looked as if she would love to play but didn't quite dare. Sonia said that she hated all boys, they are dumb and a bunch of nuts. Betty said nothing and *W* asked her if she had any brothers (*W* knew that she had a great deal of difficulty with her younger brothers) and Betty said that she did not have any brothers. The imaginary play went on for about ten minutes and then *W* asked if the girls would like to invade the enemy territory and set the table. Sonia and Suzanne did so.

...*Record #10.* . . . Bobby asked the worker if he should make a clay pot like the one on the shelf and could he use the wheel — would *W* show him how. *W* agreed that it was a good idea. Ronald said that he wanted to do clay work, and use the wheel too. Bobby said that he couldn't, that he had got it first. He shoved Ronald away. Ronald insisted that he must have it. *W* explained to Ronald that Bobby had asked first and that the smaller

wheels on the other side of the room were just as good. But Ronald said no, that Bobby could use them — he had to have the big wheel. When he saw that Bobby was going to stick to the big wheel, he called "brass buttons" and joined Suzanne who was washing her hands. In a split second, he got the hose, rolled out the tin wash tub, and began to fill it so that he and Suzanne could sail their boats.

The point came when they had to stop, as too much water was going on the floor. *W* found the mop and said that it would have to be cleaned up. Ronald and Donald ran and hid behind the pile of lumber. Suzanne said she would mop. . . . Bobby said that he might as well do K.P. too. *W* called to Ronald who came out from his hiding place saying that he wouldn't mop but he'd throw the water that was in the tub outside in the snow. *W* said no, that he couldn't do that until he had helped mop the floor. She said that it was fun to play in the tub and to spill water on the floor but that when that happened it had to be mopped up. Ronald said no, that he would not do it, because that was women's work. Bobby explained that it was K.P. and that men do K.P., but Ronald was not impressed by his argument. When the worst was mopped up *W* said to Bobby that she guessed that she and Bobby would have to empty the rest in the snow. Ronald came running from behind the lumber saying that he liked to do that. *W* said that it was too bad he had refused to do the job he didn't like, now he couldn't do the job he liked to do. Ronald stood still for a moment and then ran into the other room....

Ronald was setting the table, and *W* doesn't know how it started but Bobby said as if in reply to a question, "I can't give my father anything for Christmas — wanna know why?" He looked at *W* and said, "You know why, don't you?" *W* nodded and said, "You mean because your father is dead?" Bobby nodded his head and said, "But it doesn't feel like he is dead. I always make believe he isn't." Suzanne said, "My father is not dead, he is away in a hospital, and he writes to me. I am going to send him this picture I am making." Donald who was leaning against the table wistfully said that his father was sick in a sanitarium.

Ronald called that it was time to eat and after some argument they all gathered around the table. Ronald had divided the candy unevenly, giving himself the most. *W* read the poem, "The Night Before Christmas." Ronald said that he didn't like the story and that he would rather play "running." He was unsuccessful in getting any of the others to join him so he went into the other room while the poem was finished. Suzanne now came crying, with Ronald after her saying that he didn't mean it and that she had hit him too. *W* held her for a few minutes and said that it was all right and she perked up.

These excerpts give some indication of the swing in each meeting from complete individual activity to that of the whole group. Suzanne gradually participated with the others more, and was increasingly able to fight back

and hold her own with the boys, though in less rough ways. Bobby had less need to act the "hale fellow well met," as he was able actually to play with others within the limitations of the game or other media. Ronald, whose chief defense was in words, was slowly learning to act out his feelings, but he acted them out in relation to Donald or Suzanne who were smaller and less able to hold their own against him. When in situations of conflict with Bobby he gave up what he wanted rather than risk challenging him. In March Bobby D.¹ joined the group, and this new Bobby changed the group situation in many ways.

...*Record.* Suzanne, Peter Paul, and Ronald went out of doors with *W* and ran to the holes which they had dug last week. Bobby D. joined the group at this time. He is a well-formed boy, larger than the others. When he came out he refused to play with the sand but picked up a ball and threw it at *W*. Ronald saw him do it and he picked up another ball and threw it at *W*. Somehow she managed to play with the two balls and with the two boys. After a little while *W* withdrew and the two boys threw the ball at each other. Ronald chased the ball across the street a couple of times; and his father, who was waiting for him in a car, got out and talked with him. Later *W* learned that it was to warn Ronald not to cross the street. Bobby T. came now, and the group went down to the workshop. . . . *W* introduced Bobby D. to Bobby T. who said that his name was not Bobby nor was it Taylor any more. *W* expressed surprise and asked what his name was. Bobby said, "Aw, I'm Irish now, my name is Sullivan — because my mother got married. I have a new Daddy — he's brand new, and he's a big man." *W* was very much pleased and asked if he wasn't happy now, and Bobby said, with his head down, "Oh, don't talk to me about that, I don't want to talk about it any more." Bobby D. now came into the play, and he was a co-pilot since Ronald and Bobby T. needed one. The three played together for some time. . . .

The group got together to eat their candy. *W* began an Indian story but it was difficult to hold Bobby D's attention. He ran around the room overturning chairs and being generally destructive. *W* asked them if they would like to play Indians and got them to sit in a powwow to declare the war that Bobby D. so obviously wanted. Several pieces of wood were used as a peace pipe and *W* told a story of one Indian conference that led to a war between

¹ Robert D. (Bobby), aged 7, was brought to the Clinic when he was four years old for help in regard to his eating habits and inability to keep food in his stomach. His contact with the Clinic at this time was very brief. His mother brought him this year because he is excitable and afraid of returning to school. Bobby has superior ability in abstract material with an I.Q. of 145. He has less ability with concrete materials. He has many toys and has known few wishes for "things" which have not been satisfied. He has a sister three years younger than he and a baby brother of six months. He was referred to the group for experience in a relationship with an accepting adult and for help in socialization with his peers.

Indians of various tribes. Both the Bobbies were full of ideas on Indian lore and procedure. The girls were squaws although Sonia protested weakly that she wouldn't play squaw to any of those funny Indians. The group left after an impromptu war dance by the Bobbies and the other boys.

During the next meeting there was a great deal of rivalry between the two Bobbies and name-calling on the part of Ronald. Ronald was unable to fight either Bobby and would call to the worker that he was being hurt. That Bobby T. resented the presence of Bobby D. is shown in the following conversation.

...*Record.* At one point when *W* asked Bobby T. a question he said that his name was not Bobby but Robert Thomas Taylor. He liked Robert and he would rather that she and everyone else would call him that. *W* thought that it was a lovely name and said she would be glad to call him Robert. Robert asked Bobby D. what his name was, and rather hurriedly Bobby said, "Robert P. Davenport, Jr." Robert said that he would call him Junior. Bobby D. made a wry face and said that he hated that name and didn't want to be called Junior. Bobby D. asked Bobby T. if he liked the name of Robert and he said that he certainly did. Bobby D. said that he didn't and that he wanted to be called just plain Bobby. *W* said that from now on Bobby D. would be called Bobby and Bobby T. would be called Robert.

The play continued to be rough and it was difficult for the worker to provide sufficient structure to keep it from being just chaos. At the end of her group record the worker analyzes Bobby D. and his effect on the group.

...*Record.* We certainly have a precipitating agent in this group in the form of Bobby. Today he did not seem as vicious as he did last week. While painting, he told *W* that he liked coming to the group better than learning to read. He said that he likes the boys. He loves to smear, as was evidenced in his work with clay which he practically turned into a liquid party. It was an easy transference to finger painting, which he went at with great zest. Perhaps it was a gradual climb to the extreme aggressiveness of the latter part of the period. He got real satisfaction from the paper-throwing incident when the three boys all threw paper at the worker. Knowing the intense feeling of ambivalence which Bobby has for his mother, *W* feels that the experience of attacking her with the paper pellets was a good release for him. When the other boys saw that he dared to do this, they too entered into the game with great spirit and satisfaction. There is no doubt that Bobby is good for this group and he may help to bring to a head some of the things which are seething slowly. *W*, however, wonders about the girls in the group and whether it may be time to consider this a boys' group and to place the girls in an all-girls group.

Since space prohibits the inclusion of more records indicative of the use Bobby D. made of the group, we quote from the worker's summary and analysis of the contribution the group made to Bobby's growth and development.

...*Record.* Bobby has not missed a meeting since he started early in March. In the beginning, infantile strivings were seen in the way he used finger paint and clay for smearing. Now leather and woodwork are his main activities. He has been very fierce and wild in his behavior, pouncing on the younger children, using the girl members of the group to play out sibling rivalry, projecting much hostility on the adult, and being unaccepting of curbs and limitations. He learned, somewhat, that he had to curb some of his actions in an effort to gain the friendship of one of the members. Recently, he has become more conscious of the adult and of the group, and his behavior and activities have become more constructive. His physical attacks on group members have given way to verbal ones, and there have been slight, but conscious, friendly overtures to some of the members he attacked most. Improvement is seen at home. Acquiring status and acceptance in the group has helped, for he is learning that getting implies giving, and the struggle is in giving rather than in fighting others.

The program year ended with a party. The following excerpts reflect the spirit of the events and some of the reactions of three of the members we have come to know in this record:

...*Record.* Suzanne wondered whether other children were coming, but seemed perfectly happy and said that perhaps she and W could arrange the table and fix the flowers while waiting for the rest of the group. She was very busy and almost matronly as she worked. W asked what she was planning to do this summer and she said that she was going to camp for ten days and then after that would be coming to the summer play group. She asked whether the group would continue in the fall and W said that it would be going on as always. She said she hoped she could come back and when W asked if she liked it, she said, "Oh, you bet!"

She became a little impatient and suggested that she and W play games just the two of them. She hopped on the table and picked her color and began the game of Champ and the Land of Health. In about five minutes Bobby D. came. Suzanne said they were going to have a party. He seemed pleased and W asked whether he wouldn't like to join in the game. He said he didn't know how to play. Suzanne said she'd explain, and when W offered to give Bobby her place in the game, she said no, that all three could play. So all started the game and Bobby entered in very quickly. The game was played fairly and well by the children, except at one point when Bobby accused Suzanne of going too far with one of her chances. There was a little friendly squabble but it was soon eased up by the children themselves and the game continued.

Robert T. came then, stood off to one side, and asked whether they were playing "that game" again. He looked interested, however, and came over to watch. Bobby told him that we were going to have a party. Robert said, "Oh, then we're going to have my birthday party, are we?" Suzanne said that his birthday had been last week, and Robert smiled and said he had a birthday every two weeks. *W* said that this was not anyone's birthday in particular but perhaps it would be everyone's celebration of being together. Robert played the game for a little while, too, and then there was a banging on the door and others arrived.

All the children took turns in lighting the candles from one candle. Then everyone wanted to cut the cake, and finally *W* said that she had better be the one to do so. Everyone had a large piece of cake and Bobby poured the pop into the cups after he had struggled to open the bottle. The group was seated and quiet for about ten minutes. Talk turned to the summer and what they were going to be doing. Robert said that he was a Cub Scout and would be going to camp and Bobby said that he was leaving to go to the country on June 8.

Questions

1. What contribution do you think this group experience made to Suzanne, Donald, and Bobby T. in their struggle to grow and change? Follow each one through the record. Analyze the use each made of the worker, of the materials, of each other, and of the group-as-a-whole.
2. One of the purposes of this group was to observe behavior to help in the diagnostic process of the Clinic. What further understanding of different children did the group experience provide?
3. Identify the roles of the worker and comment on her ability to fulfill them. Give your reasons for your evaluation of her successes and failures.
4. Relate the content of Chapters 6-10 to the use made by the worker and the members of program content.



CHUCK'S BOYS CLUB

The Beginnings of Self-Government

This club, composed of eleven boys ten and eleven years of age, is sponsored by a settlement serving a steel mill district inhabited by the descendants of immigrants who came from Europe in the late nineteenth century. Six of the members are Serbian; two, Russian; one, Irish; one, Polish; and one of German descent. Four are Roman Catholics and seven are Greek Orthodox. Nine attend public school, and two (Mike and Anthony) attend parochial school. The fathers of seven of the members are laborers in the steel mill, one works in a food cannery (Nick's father), one is a brakeman on

the railroad (Anthony's), one is a water meterman (Louis'), one is a labor organizer among steel workers (Hal's), and one is a college graduate employed in industrial research (Donald's). Except for Donald's mother, who is in a sanitarium, both parents of each child are living in the home. Donald, his baby brother, and his older sister are cared for by their grandmother, who does not speak English. Louis is the only member whose mother is employed outside the home. She is a salesperson in a downtown store. Seven of the boys are in the sixth grade; Mike and Anthony are in the fifth grade at the parochial school; Jim who is younger (nine) is in the fourth grade; and Donald, who has missed school because of his mother's illness, is in the fifth grade.

The records and summaries describe the experiences of these boys in their first organized group.

...Record #1. Worker was seated at the desk in the clubroom when a young boy peered in and asked, "Are you our leader?" He identified himself as Louis and said that he had organized his friends from his class at public school into a gang. He said that most of the fellows were waiting outside and suggested that *W* go out and see them. Louis told the boys (five of them) *W*'s name and said that he would be their leader. They acknowledged the quick introduction with a "Hi, Chuck." The boys said that they would have to go home first and change their clothes. Another boy asked, "Are we going to take a hike?" *W* told them that this would be decided as soon as they returned to the clubroom. When they left, *W* suggested to Louis that he wait outside for them and bring them upstairs to the clubroom. When *W* re-entered the building, he was greeted by another youngster, whom he had enrolled the previous week. The boy, Mike, smiled and said, "Well, Chuck, here I am," and introduced his friend Anthony, asking if he couldn't join the club. At that moment Louis and two of his friends arrived. They ran into the gym and with *W*'s assistance tried chinning themselves on a suspended bar. Soon they were joined by two more boys, who participated in this game.

At 3:55 P.M., *W* suggested going to the clubroom and holding a meeting. A small youngster followed, and *W* asked him to go down to the gym and join a group of boys his own age. Louis spoke up and said that there were present two fellows from parochial school who did not belong to the club (Mike and Anthony). Mike was quick to speak up. He said that he knew two other members, pointing to two boys. They nodded their heads in recognition. Looking at Louis, *W* asked the boys, if they would have any objection to allowing Mike and Anthony to become members. Louis said no, and the other boys upheld his answer. They then decided to go on with the meeting since the attendance composed the majority. They were becoming restless and two began wrestling on the sofa. The boys gave their names and addresses; there was some jesting when Anthony began spelling his last name.

Louis then suggested choosing a name for the club. The suggestions came fast: Eagles, Pirates, Orioles, Robins, Hawks, Penguins, Gang-Up. Mike suddenly exclaimed "Chuck's Club!" W said that he appreciated this thoughtful gesture but that he would much prefer that the boys select another name for the club. The boys hesitated and then Harry said that a vote should be taken. W supplied paper and pencil, and the unanimous vote was for "Chuck's Club."

Harry then suggested making plans for a hike. W mentioned some nearby parks and said that he would have further information at the next meeting. There was a knock on the door, and Louis admitted another friend, Wilbur. As soon as W closed the meeting, Anthony and Louis walked over to the piano and began to pound on the keys. Harry began wrestling with Donald. W called for their attention and suggested a few line and circle games. They started with "Cat and Rat," but this game was not too satisfying since the circle was small. W then suggested "Crows and Cranes," and the boys began moving the chairs and desk. Then Harry, who is taller and more muscular than the others, said, "Ah, let's go out and play softball." The boys supported him loudly.

All followed W to the gear locker on the first floor. Harry grabbed the ball and bat and ran out to the playground, the boys giving him chase. He immediately pointed out the bases and the home plate, and said that they would play "sides." Donald, who closely approximates Harry in size and agility, disagreed. He favored "rounders," as did the other boys. Three were chosen to bat, and the others took to the field, with the exception of Mike. W asked him to join in the field, but he said that he preferred to umpire the game, and took his position behind the pitcher. Each boy had his turn at bat. Harry was very eager to show his ability and succeeded in hitting the ball farther than any of the other boys. Donald tried to duplicate Harry's hitting feat but failed. When it was time to quit, Donald objected. He wanted another turn at bat. He said that Harry was at bat three times but he'd had only two opportunities. The boys shouted him down by saying that some of them had had only one turn, "including Chuck." As W took the ball and bat and started walking toward the building, Nick's small brother Jim said, "See you next Wednesday, Chuck, 4:00 P.M.," and left the playground. The other boys, waving their hands, followed him out.

The first meeting showed that the boys have little previous experience in playing together and enjoying themselves on an organized basis. The majority are willing to be co-operative, and are anxious to learn how to plan for the benefit of all. Three boys tend to be in the forefront with ideas of their own, which the majority usually dislike. W will need to direct their belligerence and aggressiveness into constructive channels so that all the members can play happily together.

Questions

1. In what way did the worker help the boys to recognize the decision-making

- process as a function of the group-as-a-whole in their first steps in the formation of the club?
2. Note that Anthony and Mike were accepted in the club through the mediation of the worker. Not only do they attend a different school, but Anthony is Polish and Mike is Irish. What do you think was the significance of the fun made of Anthony's last name?
 3. Note the use of games to solidify the group feeling. Distinguish between the areas in which the worker turned over decisions to the group and those in which he took command. Why did he do this?

...Record #2. Louis, Wilbur, and Charles greeted *W* in the game room. They were breathless and their clothes were wet. Louis said they had run all the way from school in the rain. Three boys and *W* played ping-pong until Harry arrived. Then *W* withdrew to let Harry enter the game. Before the game was completed, Nick and his brother Jim arrived. They rooted for Wilbur and Harry who held a four-point lead, 9-5. The game ended quickly when Wilbur and Harry earned the two winning points. *W* told the boys the meeting would be held in the gym, and this pleased Nick immensely. *W* explained that they would be able to use only one corner of the gym as two fellows were taking down the decorations from last night's dance; that they could have the meeting while this work was being finished and then have a basketball game.

The meeting opened with Charles suggesting that the club should have a rule of "no swearing"; he said it wasn't nice for young boys to use vulgar language. *W* asked if some of the other members had any comments to make on this matter. Louis said that he agreed with Charles and that the guilty ones should be penalized in some way. *W* inquired what action they would recommend in dealing with the offender. Nick suggested expulsion; Harry thought this too drastic. *W* countered with a proposal that perhaps he would be able to talk with the offender. The boys thought this a good idea. They nodded their heads in unison in accepting the "no-swearing pledge."

W then brought up for discussion next week's hike. Harry eagerly said that he knew a wonderful path up the Hill. He would provide rope and the hikers would tie it around their waists and thus be able to help each other along the path. Wilbur said he had a canteen, Louis had sneakers, and Nick a pocketknife. Charles did not participate in the discussion. *W* allayed his fears by assuring him that if the path was too dangerous they would select another route. Harry said there was no danger of falling and no one would get hurt. *W* distributed slips of paper and asked the boys to get their parents' permission by having them sign the slip. The boys decided to start out on the hike at 4:00 P.M., to return about 7:30, and to take a lunch.

The meeting ended when Nick saw that the big fellows had finished taking down the decorations. *W* got the basketball and started the play by having the boys pass the ball quickly from one to another. Mike walked in at this moment, said "Hi," and joined the players. The game continued with

variations until Donald arrived. Then it was possible to have two teams of four each. Nick wanted to choose sides with *W*. When *W* declined, Mike said he would do so. A coin was flipped and Nick had first choice. He picked Harry first; Mike took Donald. *W* asked the captains to select their centers. Mike said he would jump with Nick, who decided to play this position without consulting any of his players. Nick became impatient to start, but *W* delayed until he could explain the game, for it was obvious that the boys did not know or understand the rules. After the instructions, the game began. It was a rough game with little if any attention paid to rules. *W* stopped the boys who attempted to hold the ball and run with it rather than pass it. Whenever they became short of breath, he called for a three-minute rest period. Nick, Mike, and Donald vied to outdo each other in performance. On one play Louis succeeded in getting the ball away from Donald, who became angry and immediately grappled with him. *W* intervened before Donald was able to throw Louis on the floor. Louis said nothing and went back to playing the game but Donald began crying. He didn't say anything but walked over to the bench and began putting on his shoes. *W* went over to him and asked if he were going to continue playing. Between sobs he shouted, "No, I'm going home." Nick and Mike came over and wanted to know what had happened. Donald ignored everyone and stalked out of the gym.

Another player was selected from the spectators on the bench, and the game continued until Nick's team succeeded in scoring two points. Mike's team tried desperately to score but was unsuccessful. As the players became more aggressive, and more shoving and running occurred, *W* ended the game by suggesting that the boys give the ball to the eight fellows who were watching from the sidelines. Since there were only a few minutes remaining, none of the boys objected. *W* suggested a rest period lest the boys be overheated when they left the gym for the damp, wet weather outside. Most of them accepted this suggestion and began putting on their shoes. Nick, Mike, and another boy began wrestling and chasing each other around the gym. When the boys left, they all said that they would be at the House at 3:45 next week with all the necessary supplies for the hike.

Questions

1. Note the use the boys are making of the club as a means of superego control. Analyze the role of the worker in this process.
2. One of the values of organized clubs of school-age children is that they provide protected environment for the learning of skills needed for mass activities. In what ways is the worker meeting this need in this record?
3. How was Donald's behavior different from that of the other boys? From the material in the introductory paragraph what supposition do you make as to the causes of his inability to accept the "give and take" of his peers? If you were the worker, what plan would you formulate relative to future work with Donald?

...Record #3. When the boys assembled for their hike, Charles had an army pack strapped to his shoulders and a canteen on his hip; Nick carried an army pack; Louis had a huge metal lunchbox; and Mike, Wilbur, Harry, and Donald carried their lunches in paper bags. *W* collected the permission slips and then asked them to remain quiet while he made a few important announcements. They constantly interrupted by asking each other what they had in their lunches, comparing pocketknives, or wanting to see Wilbur's compass. But they shouted gleefully when *W* told them they could go to the circus next week. They paid scant attention to *W*'s remark that he wanted to visit with their parents when they returned from the hike. Donald heard the statement and told *W* that his grandmother did not speak English.

All were impatient to start the hike. Harry said that he knew several routes, and *W* suggested that they take the shortest. Harry began walking on the brick wall and the boys followed him until the wall became too high from the street for some of them. Charles jumped down, saying that he felt dizzy, and Louis and Mike followed his example.

There were several paths into the surrounding hills, and *W* suggested the least dangerous. Harry pointed to a path which appeared very steep and suggested taking it. Louis, Mike, and Charles demurred. Nick preferred another path which was a longer route but not so steep. *W* suggested that Nick and Harry and any others who wished could take the paths of their own choosing and that the group could meet atop the hill. This suited everyone, but Nick and Harry had no followers.

As the group, led by Mike and Donald, approached the top of the hill, Harry and Nick came running up in great excitement and said that another group of boys was following. Nick suggested hiding from them and wasting no time in running. Louis said that if only he and the other fellows had kept quiet in school there would have been no trailers....¹

.... After the boys left, Nick wanted to know the time — he didn't want to miss the Lone Ranger program. The others said that they too listened to this program. The homeward trek started. The boys walked in single file and imagined weird creatures and animals hiding in the bushes. One boy said he saw a hand, another a rattlesnake, and still another imagined he heard a wildcat growling, but none of the boys broke the single line. *W* bolstered their courage by being the last in line. Charles and Mike were just in front of *W*. The open hearth at the steel mill was spitting up its fiery flames into the dark sky and lighting the path ahead. Mike commented "Gee, how pretty!"

W reminded the boys that he would take each of them home so he could meet their parents and tell them about the circus. Since Harry lived up the street from the other boys, *W* said that maybe he could meet Harry's parents another time. The rest of the boys figured out the order in which *W* could visit their homes. They seemed pleased at the plan, and said they would wait outside while he visited.

¹ See p. 238 for incident.

Charles opened his kitchen door and called for his mother to come meet "Chuck." She is a big, heavy-set woman in her mid-forties. She smiled pleasantly and expressed satisfaction at meeting *W*. Her husband soon came in and was introduced. He didn't participate actively in the conversation but allowed his wife to do the talking, for she was anxious to tell of the activities she had participated in at the House. She is very happy that Charles is a member of the House. *W* finally succeeded in telling her about the circus.

The other boys were surprised to see *W* so soon, as they had expected him to stay longer. *W* told them that he didn't want them to miss the Lone Ranger program. Donald came up beside *W* and told him that his mother was at Green Acres (a tuberculosis sanitarium) and had been there for seven months. He is living with his father, aunt, and grandmother. His grandmother would be the only one home and she doesn't speak English. Donald led *W* into a dark alleyway and up a flight of stairs. His grandmother was seated at the kitchen table. He said something to her in Serbian and she got up and shook hands. Her words were unintelligible to *W* and the only phrase he understood was "Good Sonny — my boy good." *W* assured her that Donald was a well-behaved boy and a good mixer. Donald kept up his flow of Serbian words to her as *W* explained about the circus. She shook *W*'s hand repeatedly to show she understood.

Wilbur's home was next — up a flight of stairs in the backyard. The mother, father, and a neighbor were in the kitchen and were introduced by Wilbur. The father is a tall, muscular man in his early fifties; the mother, a delicate woman with a Serbian accent. She was very cordial and concerned about Wilbur's being hungry. She made him sit down at the table; and his sister, a dark-haired girl in her late teens, brought him a glass of milk. The mother asked *W* if he would like a glass of beer, but *W* declined saying that the other boys were waiting outside. She immediately suggested that they be called upstairs. *W* emphasized the lateness of the hour and the other visits he had yet to make. She accepted this, and asked *W* to return when he had more time.

Nick took *W* to his home while Jim went to the store to return the empty pop bottles. His mother and dad were seated at the kitchen table. Nick's mother is an attractive dark-haired woman in her early forties. Both parents speak good English. The mother asked if her other son couldn't join the club, "he is always getting into mischief." The father laughed and said that when he was a boy in Russia he too got into a lot of mischief. *W* told about the circus next week and explained that each boy would need two car tokens. She said that she would give them to her boys and thought it was wonderful that they could see the circus free of charge.

Louis's mother was seated in the living room reading the evening paper. She is in her late forties, is heavy set, and has gray hair. Louis sat on the floor and read the comics. His mother said that she was glad he had joined a boys' club. In a hushed tone, she told *W* that Louis played a lot with the girls in the neighborhood, so it was satisfying to her that he was active with

boys of his own age. *W* told her that Louis was one of the organizers of the club and that the fellows all like him. His sister, in her late teens, came in when she heard *W* tell the mother about the circus plans, and commented, "These kids get everything free." Everyone laughed, and she added that when she was a youngster she had to pay if she wanted to go to the circus.

Questions

1. Note the inner struggle within the boys to be big, adventurous, and strong on the one hand, and little and afraid on the other, in the experience on this trip. How did the worker meet these ambivalent needs?
2. What were the values of the home visits to the boys? their parents? the worker? the agency?

...Record #4. [Trip to the circus.]

...Record # 5. When the boys — Wilbur, Charles, Harry, and Nick — assembled in the clubroom, they each wanted to play something different. Nick insisted on games which required a lot of physical exertion. *W* surprised Nick by asking him to shake hands with him. He looked suspiciously at *W* as he extended his right hand. *W* gripped it and told Nick to place his left foot along side the *W*'s left foot, and to stretch his right foot back as far as he could. Nick followed these instructions cautiously, and showed no awareness of the game until Wilbur recognized it as "Hand Pull" and excitedly said, "Oh! watch Nick take a fall." Harry and Charles laughed and said that they were going to watch this game closely. *W* assured Nick that he would not hurt him or pull his arm out of the socket. He was merely going to demonstrate how easy it was to pull an opponent over to your side. Nick became anxious to show his strength and succeeded in making *W* lose his balance, which amused the boys.

After this game *W* took a crouched position, and told the boys to jump over his back. Harry identified this as "Leap Frog." The boys exhausted this game quickly, and Wilbur suggested the back jumping game of "Buck, Buck, How Many Fingers?" This game didn't appeal to Nick, and after two plays, he again took up his slogan of "Let's play tackle football." Harry wanted to play "Camel." The boys played this game for a few minutes, but Nick did not join in.

W suggested a "prize-fight game," drawing Nick into the game by asking him to be his opponent. Harry said he would be referee and timekeeper. *W* suggested that Wilbur and Charles be trainers and ring judges. Wilbur said he would coach *W*; Charles became Nick's trainer. Wilbur was enthusiastic with his instructions to *W*. Harry mimicked the sound of a gong for the first round, met the boxers in the center of the ring, said to fight fair, to throw no low punches, to shake hands, and to come out fighting. Nick was a good learner and was successful in imitating *W*'s actions. He would swing wildly and rush *W*. *W* played Nick's type of game by occasionally losing his balance and slipping on to the floor. This was great sport for Nick and the

boys. Wilbur took the game seriously and between rounds told *W* to be more careful and not to allow Nick to rush him. At the end of five two-minute rounds, Harry, Wilbur, and Charles conferred and awarded the fight to *W*. Nick was not disappointed at their decision.

After this contest, Nick forgot his original intentions to play football and went along with the boys in playing other games. In fact, he participated enthusiastically. *W* suggested a hidden-object game and Harry his version of the game to be played. One person would hide the object in the room, while the others waited in the hallway. When the searchers came in, the hider would tell the players whether they were "hot or cold." The player who found the hidden object would chase the others out of the room, and those who were unable to get out of his reach would be subjected to physical punishment. The boys rocked with laughter when *W* found the belt and trapped Wilbur and Nick in a corner. *W* imitated the lion tamer the boys had seen at the circus last week. He told the boys to pretend to be lions. They did this with gusto. As *W* smacked the belt on the floor, they would snarl and back away from *W*. Later Nick, Harry, and Wilbur duplicated *W*'s imitation of the lion tamer. Everyone had a chance to hide the belt except Charles. He was too timid to take chances; he always stayed near the door so he could be the first one out of the room when a player found the belt. However, he told *W* that he hoped he could have a chance to hide the belt. The game was interrupted by the House attendant who informed *W* that it was time to close the building. It was Nick's turn to hide the belt so *W* asked him if he would be willing to give his turn to Charles. He did this without any comment. As the boys got ready to leave, Wilbur said that "time went too fast."

Questions

1. How does the worker use games in this meeting?
2. If "keeping the boys off the street" or "giving the boys a good time" were the purpose of the agency in sponsoring groups, what might the worker have done?

...Record #6. Louis, Wilbur, and two of their friends rushed into the room and asked *W* which room the club was going to use this afternoon. Louis said that Arthur and Hal wanted to become club members. *W* remembered Arthur. He was the boy who followed the club on their recent hike. Mike saw *W* at the desk and said that he was unable to come to the meeting last week because of heavy homework assignments. He also said that Anthony would not be attending any more meetings. (Anthony attended only the first meeting.) He had given no reason for dropping out of the club. Donald, Nick, and his brother Jim came in and all went upstairs.

There was much noise and shouting going on in the clubroom. When *W* entered the boys were chasing three girls. Louis shouted, "Chuck, help us chase these girls out of here." One of the girls asked permission to stay

in the room as she and her friends wished to do some painting. *W* explained that the room had been assigned to the Club and that they would have to go elsewhere. The girl started to protest but was unable to finish her sentence for the boys pushed them out of the room, closed and bolted the door, saying emphatically, "Now, stay out!"

The boys pulled chairs up to the table. They were very orderly and attentive and waited quietly for *W* to open the meeting. *W* told the boys that this was the first formal meeting in three weeks and there was much business to transact. Louis interrupted and said, "Let's throw out any members who break our no-swearng rule." His remarks were intended for Donald whose face became crimson. Louis got as far as "Donald —" when *W* proposed that this matter be delayed until action was taken on Arthur and Hal who wished to become club members. *W* suggested that Arthur and Hal wait outside in the hall. The boys voted unanimously to accept Arthur and Hal. Louis left his seat, ran out into the hall, and told them that they were now members.

W re-opened the discussion on the club's no-swearng rule. He asked if the members didn't feel that the punishment wasn't a little severe. Louis insisted that his proposal be accepted by the club. Donald was getting ready to say something. The other members were silent and seemed to feel that this was a matter between Louis and Donald. A minute must have elapsed without any comment from any member. *W* again suggested that Louis's proposal be modified; that a five-cent fine be imposed on the violator for his first offense and at the second offense a vote would be taken among the members as to whether the boy could still stay in the club. Harry spoke up and said, "Chuck, how about locking him up in the dark room for fifteen minutes?" At Harry's remark all the boys laughed, and the tension passed. Louis agreed with the proposals and the boys shouted their approval.

The next matter for discussion was club officers. The boys suggested that a president and secretary be elected. The president could handle the duties of the vice-president, and the secretary would also be the treasurer. The boys wrote their choices on slips of paper and handed them to *W*. Nick said that he would mark the number of votes received by the candidates on a slip of paper. He was quite anxious to hear the results and prodded *W* to start reading the names. The third time Nick's name was called for president, he grinned. Nick was jubilant when the last vote was read and he became club president by five votes. Two votes were cast for Louis and one for Hal. For secretary, Louis and Nick were tied with three votes each. One vote was cast for Arthur and the other vote for Hal. Rather than hold another election, the boys said that Louis should be Secretary, Nick fondly clasped Louis's hand and said, "Hi, Secretary," his face beaming with pleasure. The other members seemed satisfied with the election. *W* congratulated Nick and Louis and told them that next week they would be in charge of the meeting.

He also suggested a Thanksgiving party, and asked if they wished to invite girls. A deafening "No!" was received for an answer. They then

became enthusiastic in discussing plans for a party. Wilbur mentioned a hike, but the boys showed little interest. Nick summed up their attitude by saying, "It may snow soon." Before the meeting came to an end, Nick and Louis were occupying seats together, and exchanging their personal ideas about the party. *W* asked them if they would be willing to report their ideas to the members at the next meeting, and Nick nodded his head.

When the meeting ended, *W* suggested that the boys place their chairs in the center of the room for a "Chair Game." Nick said, "Let's play Hot and Cold," but *W* said that game would be played later. Nick went along with this suggestion and was soon absorbed in the game of "Chairs." For the next game the boys played "Cock-Fight." Donald played against Louis and was determined to knock him off balance. He wildly charged Louis, who deftly side-stepped him. This infuriated Donald and he again stormed toward Louis. Louis caught Donald off balance and hit him with his right shoulder and upset him, much to the surprise of *W* as Donald is heavier and a little taller than Louis. Although Donald appeared hurt and angry, he didn't say anything. He played against Louis again, but this time remained calm and played cautiously. They hit each other several times. Both were determined to stay off the floor. The other boys became spectators and rooted for their favorites. A few more bumps and Louis lost his balance. Donald had his revenge, but for Louis it was a moral victory — he had showed his agility and ability to handle himself well against a stronger opponent. The boys then turned to the game of "Broncho," but they didn't like this game as well as the others. *W* thereupon suggested Nick's game of "Hot and Cold."

W noticed that Nick did not again mention his game of "Hot and Cold" until *W* recalled it. Usually Nick insists that his game be played or else he won't play, or if he does play he merely goes through the motions of the game. *W* feels that the recognition Nick received by being elected club president will encourage him to act with the club rather than against it. During the game, *W* managed to have a running conversation with Donald, Mike, and Harry. Donald confirmed Harry's statement that he had been born in Bulgaria and had come to this country when he was three years old. Donald seems to feel that this fact and a few other differences set him apart from the other fellows in the club.

Questions

1. What do you think is the relationship between the worker's handling of the "enemy gang" on the recent hike and the desire of Arthur and Hal to join this club? the members' willingness to include them?
2. Why do you think Anthony Wobowski stopped coming?
3. Relate to the boys' particular age period their excitement about finding the girls in their clubroom.
4. Why does the worker protect Donald from group censure? Is this good for Donald? for the group?

5. Contrast worker-sponsored and member-sponsored activity in this meeting.
6. What do you think Donald learned from the "Cock-Fight" game?
7. In view of the group's inexperience in organized group life, was the worker performing a necessary function or domineering the group? What learning did the members experience relative to group structure in this meeting?

...Record #7. Charles and Louis came in early to help some girls set up the scenery for their sketch, "The Old Witch," which was going to be presented in the craft room. *W* saw them and joined in helping move some equipment. One of the girls told *W* that Louis had painted all the scenery. Louis and Charles were completely absorbed in discussing with the girls the exact location of the "stage settings." Wilbur came in, asked to help, and was put to work setting up chairs. He told *W* that he and many of the other club members wanted to see the play, which was to start at 4:30. Arthur and Hal were playing ping-pong in the game room. Hal said he didn't play very well and asked *W* to take his place as Arthur was too good for him. *W* complied and found out that Hal had not exaggerated Arthur's ability. Arthur appears to be a quiet, reserved youngster. In the game he displayed excellent co-ordination and quick thinking in returning the ball. His friend Hal is a buoyant, active boy, who found it difficult to refrain from making loud comments on the game, but Arthur was so absorbed that he seemed unaware of them.

When Nick came in, *W* suggested that they go up to the clubroom. Louis ran to the piano and picked up his notebook. Wilbur and Harry said that they wanted to see the play, and Charles said that he wouldn't be able to stay too long at the meeting as he had a part in the play. Louis told Charles that the "meeting wouldn't last long."

Nick, with the assistance of Arthur and Hal, had moved the table to the center of the room and placed chairs around it. At the front end of the table, Nick had placed two chairs, one for himself and one for Louis. He told Louis to take the chair beside him. Nick waited until all the boys had taken their seats. Harry succeeded in grabbing from Nick's hand a slip of paper from which he began reading loudly, "Fellow members, I am very happy to be elected president of Chuck's Club —" when Nick grabbed the paper back. There was no embarrassment on Nick's part when Harry began to laugh. The other members did not join Harry in his laughter. He turned to *W* and asked for "something to knock on the table." *W* indicated a thin block of wood on the floor behind Nick and he turned and picked it up saying that it was "good enough." Standing, Nick pounded on the table and called the meeting to order. As if Harry had never grabbed the piece of paper out of his hand and read it, Nick began, "Fellow members, I am very happy to be elected president of Chuck's Club, and I will do everything to keep it organized and for everyone to have a good time." It was apparent that Nick's speech was a prepared and a rehearsed one. Harry wanted to know why the club was called Chuck's Club, and Nick tersely told him that the name was

picked at the first meeting and that it wasn't his fault that Harry was absent. Nick then asked Louis for a report of the minutes of "last week's meeting." Before Louis read the minutes he asked *W* for a list of the members so he could check their presence. Louis's report was written out word for word in his notebook and the boys listened attentively. Louis gave a complete report of each topic discussed: the hike, the Thanksgiving party, the no-swearng rule, and the dues which were to be discussed at this meeting. Nick then hammered on the table and said, "Now we'll talk about dues." Harry asked Nick what weekly dues would be, and he said "a nickel to be paid every Wednesday." Wilbur suggested a dime. Nick bellowed at him, "That's too much, no one gets a two-dollar allowance like you do. You got about ten people in your family working." Hal turned to *W* and asked whether you couldn't pay two weeks in advance, and *W* told him to bring that question to the attention of the president. Nick said you could pay a dollar in advance if you wanted to. As this conversation on dues continued between Nick and Wilbur, Harry put his feet on the table. Nick knocked them off. Then Charles and the other boys followed Harry's example. Nick threatened Charles that he would "sock him with his block of wood." This threat had the proper effect on the members and they complied with Nick's demands with the exception of Wilbur who knew that Nick could not reach far enough to hit him. Harry suggested a "secret knock" for the members to use when they come to the clubroom. Nick, Hal, and Charles had further suggestions to make but the matter was left undecided when Wilbur interrupted to inquire about cards for club members. Nick proudly told Wilbur that "me and Louis" had this matter all figured out. He would bring these cards next week.

Charles told *W* that he had to leave since he had to get into costume for the play. *W* asked Nick for the floor and told the boys that when they paid their nickel dues to Louis, he would keep a record of their payment. When *W* received the money from Louis he would put it in the "bank" for safe-keeping. *W* mentioned the party and Nick said that he had some plans for it and would discuss them at next week's meeting. With this statement, Nick said, "The meeting is finished." As the boys got up from their chairs, Donald entered. *W* told him the reason for the short meeting and mentioned the five cent dues. Donald said that he got an allowance of a quarter and that he could pay this amount. He left the room with *W*.

Questions

1. Note that last week the boys were chasing the girls out of their room and this week they are helping them to put on a show. Comment.
2. Analyze this meeting from the point of view of the meaning of the club to the members as evidence in developing structure. What are the symbols of *esprit de corps*? What is the role of the worker in this process? How does the development of structure within the group change the role of the worker and the plans he makes for the future?

...Record #8. On Friday night about 11 P.M., *W* was waiting for a street car when Anthony approached. He said that he had just finished working in a bowling alley. He told *W* that he was planning on coming to next week's meeting. *W* told Anthony that the boys were looking forward to having him in the club. The conversation ended quickly when the street car came.

Louis and Harry were first to arrive. Harry ran to *W* and offered a nickel, saying it was for club dues. He said that he had offered it to Louis but he couldn't accept it. Louis offered no explanation. Instead he asked if the gang was going to use the same room for the meeting. *W* said that since the craft room was not in use the club could have it. Harry said that the club had a secret admission knock and began demonstrating on the door. He asked *W* to try it. Charles and Arthur were coming up the stairs. They, too, knew the secret knock and asked *W* to go inside while they tried it. Soon Mike came. Louis had two chairs set up by a small table at the far end of the room. He showed *W* the notes he had taken of last week's meeting. *W* gave Louis a sheet of paper with the names of all the members to use as a record for the dues the boys paid.

Much to *W*'s sorrow the craft room was an unsatisfactory choice for a club meeting. The two sofas and the lounge chairs with their cushions were ample temptations for the boys to try out their rough stuff. Mike stretched out on one sofa and Harry on the other. Charles kept up his own game of running in and out of the room. On one of his many entrances Nick came with him. Nick joined *W* and Louis at the desk. Louis was checking off the names of the boys who had paid their dues. Nick asked if his brother had arrived. He said that he had the dime for their dues. "I'll kill him if he doesn't come," bellowed Nick. Then looking at the list and seeing that Mike had not paid his dues, he pounced on him and wanted to know where his dues were. Mike said that he didn't have the money but would bring a dime next week. Nick warned, "You better, if you want to be in the club."

W spoke up and said that Donald was "going to quit the club." He gave no reasons for his statement. Nick continued to show concern about his brother's whereabouts and began looking out of the window. Charles began to tease Mike to chase him. Mike grabbed him and the fun began. Arthur and Harry watched their antics and soon decided upon active participation. *W* asked Nick when he was going to start the meeting as it was a few minutes after four. Nick gruffly said, "O.K.," but showed little interest and was very sulky. Turning to Louis, he demanded a reading of the roll. Louis said that he had already checked the members present. Nick barked at him, "Do what I tell you, I'm president." Louis started to object, but when Nick made a fist and shook it in front of his face, he complied. Louis said that Anthony should be dropped because he'd been absent so many times: "A member who is absent from ten meetings should be dropped." Arthur said, "Gosh, that's a couple of months."

Harry wanted to know where the membership cards were, since Nick promised to have them for this meeting. Nick said that he couldn't obtain the

necessary cardboard to make them. He tried to shift the blame onto Louis, demanding, "Where were you on Tuesday evening when we were supposed to see each other?" Louis said that he was at home but that Nick had failed to show up. Harry said that there ought to be another election since Nick had voted for himself. Nick maintained his poise, showed no embarrassment, and denied Harry's statement. "It ain't true. I voted for myself as secretary and not president." Harry maintained his stand but was baffled by Nick's retort.

There was a knock on the door. Mike did not wish to admit the person since he did not use the secret knock. Even when Donald identified himself, Mike made no move to open the door, but finally admitted him at *W*'s suggestion. Donald swaggered into the room, came up to Louis and Nick, and defiantly threw a quarter on the table. Louis hurriedly gave him twenty cents in change, lest Donald change his mind and take his quarter back; then he suggested, "Maybe you want to pay the whole quarter?" Donald's reply was terse: "Nothing doin', a nickel's enough." The secret knock was heard and Mike admitted Charles and Jim. Nick beamed when he saw his brother and rushed up to meet him. He took the dime from him and gave it to Louis. *W* asked if they still wished to have their party next week. There were no suggestions from the boys. *W* then suggested that perhaps they wished to wait until there was more money in the treasury and Arthur said this was a good idea.

W had two announcements to make. As he started, Jim said, "Chuck, who is president? You or Nick?" (An excellent question!) *W* sensed the antagonism that Nick had for Louis and Harry for Nick, and Donald's belligerency toward all the members. Charles was indifferent. Mike, Arthur, and Jim were quiet and passive, as if waiting for the "explosion." *W* then explained that these were House announcements which concerned every active member, and Jim accepted this statement. No one volunteered for the Christmas play except Charles. There were mixed feelings about a suggestion that the club do the choral work for the play. Harry wanted to practice singing Christmas carols provided Nick brought his violin. With this, Nick closed the meeting.

Nick wanted to play "It." Louis also wanted to play this game and volunteered to be "It." When Louis went into the corner, and began counting, the boys swung into action. Three of them went to the fire escape and *W* asked them to stay inside, since there was danger of their losing their balance and falling to the street. Nick and Arthur had the clever idea of concealing themselves behind cushions. Donald had the same idea and he and Nick reached for the same cushion. Nick roared that it was "his pillow." Donald insisted that it was his. They pushed each other. *W* offered Donald another pillow which he accepted. He muttered a word under his breath which *W* didn't hear but which Nick did. Nick said that Donald swore. Donald denied this and repeated the word he had used. Louis said he should pay a fine. Donald said he wouldn't. *W* asked whether the word in question could

really be considered a bad word. Louis tried to begin the game again. This time Charles decided to hit Harry with a pillow. This was all the boys needed to make it a free-for-all. The gang decided to befriend Harry and they all jumped on Charles, knocked him to the floor, and pummeled him with pillows. Charles took it good naturedly, offering no resistance. They then turned their attention to Nick's brother Jim, but he was too small to make a tussle interesting for the boys. Arthur and Donald also got into a scrap of their own when Donald accused Arthur of hitting him when his back was turned. Nothing came of it, for Nick accidentally overturned one of the lounge chairs and fell to the floor. The boys thought this funny and laughed.

The boys then played ring-football with Arthur's tassel cap. When Donald refused to drop out of the game for missing a catch, the boys were extremely annoyed, but Donald was adamant. Arthur spoke for the others and said, "O.K., then, let him stay in." Charles, who seemed to be extremely mischievous, said something to Louis. Louis turned to *W* and said, "Chuck, Charles swore, let's hit him with pillows." Before *W* could say anything the boys got Charles on the floor and began beating him with pillows. It seemed that Charles was getting far more enjoyment from his beating than were the boys who were administering it.

Darkness came to *W*'s rescue in sufficient time to save the furniture from being completely wrecked, and *W* asked the boys how they would like to make silhouettes of each other. Nick said that he would like to make one of his brother. There was much fun and pushing and Nick giggled too much to concentrate on the drawing. Donald said that he wanted to have his silhouette drawn. *W* asked Harry to do one of Donald. This activity kept the boys occupied until it was time to leave. Donald was quite proud of his silhouette and stayed a few minutes longer painting it black. As the boys left, Louis handed *W* the thirty-five cents he had collected in dues.

Questions

1. What evidence do you see in this record of the rejection of Donald by the other members of the group?
2. The election sharpened the subgroupings. Of what alignments are you aware?
3. Note that prior to the election the worker had initiated most of the activity. What evidence do you see, in addition to Jim's challenge, of the struggle for leadership between the worker and Nick, now that Nick is their chosen leader? How did the worker handle this?

...Record #9. . . . This was Nick's first absence from a club meeting. There seem to be several reasons for his absence: (1) Nick's position was seriously challenged by Harry at last week's meeting. (2) Nick had promised to bring the membership cards and has failed to produce them. (3) On the outside, Nick may have had disagreements with Louis and may have tried unsuccessfully to dominate him.

...Record #10. In the clubroom, the chairs were quickly arranged. Nick sat down beside Louis, but made no effort to open the discussion. He was silent as Louis opened his notebook and without waiting for Nick to say anything, checked the attendance. Nick offered Louis a dime, "for me and my brother." Louis began collecting nickels from the other boys, and W asked whether five cents a week wasn't too much for some of the members. Charles said he couldn't afford a nickel. W suggested two cents. The boys offered no comment. W mentioned that last week no dues were paid and Nick said, "Naw, we ain't paying for that week. We wasn't here." The boys agreed with Nick's observation.

W succeeded in interesting the boys in a discussion of the possibility of a trip to town next week. When he mentioned radio stations, all began to speak at once. "Tom Mix, Jack Armstrong programs, huh?" W explained that these programs were on records, and that there would be no live persons broadcasting this type of program in their city. Charles and Wilbur began to argue which station they would prefer to visit. W suggested that the station which would show the boys the most should be the one selected.

W asked the boys if they would like to help some youngsters carry wood to the craft shop. They nodded their heads happily and dashed from the room. At this moment Donald came and looked perplexed when he saw W alone. W explained where the boys were, and he merely said, "Oh." Donald said that he had missed last week's meeting because of his mother. She had been released from Green Acres for two days so she could visit her family. Donald then said that he couldn't pay this week's dues because he was getting no allowance this week. He said, "I was a bad kid," and laughed. When the boys had finished their task, Arthur said, "Let's play free-for-all." Wilbur supported this and added, "Good, let's go down to the gym." W said that a Girls' Dancing Class was being held there, and if the boys wished to learn how to dance, they were welcome to go downstairs. There was a loud and furious "Naw!"

Many games were suggested but none in which all would play. Finally all were playing free-for-all except Nick. . . . W suggested a variation of the game, and Nick jumped off the edge of the table and said, "Yah, I'll play this but not the other game." The change was that a handkerchief was added to the game and the boys started to hum and sing "Yankee, Doodle," "Stars and Stripes," and other songs whenever the handkerchief was dropped behind someone's chair. The boys played with zest. Each player had a chance to race "It" for his seat. In chasing Wilbur, Louis accidentally upset two chairs when Nick and Charles suddenly got up. This was the signal for Donald and Nick to start their fun. Nick deliberately knocked a few chairs down, making it more difficult for Donald to beat him to the seat. This infuriated Donald. He dropped the handkerchief in back of Nick's chair, and began throwing to the floor every chair that he could get his hands on. At this point, W stopped the game. Nick pounced on Donald and said, "You don't play fair," as they both rolled into the corner. Nick began to yell,

"Pillow him, pillow him." *W* separated the boys and told them there would be no fighting between club members in the clubroom. Nick said, "O.K., I can wait until I get him outside." Both boys got up and the game was resumed for two more plays and then it was time for them to leave. Donald was the first one out. Nick left with the other boys.

Questions

1. How do you account for Nick's loss of interest in being president? What may be going on outside of club meetings?
2. Is Nick having his first lesson in the price of leadership?
3. How does the worker meet the situation which Nick's failure to function creates in the club?
4. Should the worker work with Nick outside of the club time? For what purpose?

...Record #11 (*Summary*). The club had planned to visit a radio station for their eleventh meeting. *W* visited the home of each boy to secure his parents' permission for this trip. The parents' reception of *W* indicated that they were acquainted with the activities of the group and glad to have their boys in his charge. Charles saw *W* coming down the street. He ran to meet him, asking if he were going to visit his home. When *W* replied in the affirmative, he ran ahead shouting to his mother, "Chuck's here!" . . . While the boys enjoyed the radio station, they were even more excited over the Christmas displays in the store windows.

...Record #12. . . Louis greeted the worker by announcing, "I'm fining myself for swearing." *W* asked him why he swore and he said that he was angry at a boy at school. He proceeded to pay ten cents into the treasury, five for the fine and five for dues. . . . The boys engaged in a treasure hunt and were deeply absorbed when Donald entered the room. None of the boys greeted him, and no one explained the game to him. Donald walked over to *W*, gave him a quarter, and asked him to take his back dues out of it. *W* called Louis, the secretary-treasurer. Louis took the money and gave Donald a dime in change. . . . The game changed to "Hide the Belt." Donald tripped and fell on the floor. He began to cry. No one offered to help him. *W* picked him up and asked him where he was hurt and then massaged his knee.

The next game was "Lemonade," which *W* suggested after seeing that the boys were tiring of "Hide the Belt." As he gave the instructions, Nick said he would pick sides with *W*. *W* offered no objections, since he was anxious to choose on his side the members having the least acceptance in the club. Nick had first choice and selected Harry, Louis, and Arthur. *W* picked Donald, Hal, and Jim. . . . Once Donald tripped as he tried to run away from the opposing team, fell on the floor, and again began crying. *W* quickly helped Donald off the floor and suggested to him that perhaps he would pre-

fer not to run when chased by the opposing team. Donald kept rubbing the tears with his dirty hand and made no reply to this suggestion. *W* told the boys that because of Donald's "sore knee" he would not run for a few plays. Donald's tears suddenly stopped and he seemed somewhat gratified to receive attention from club members and *W* because of his "handicap." Impressively he limped toward his own team. There was time for only a few more plays, and Donald soon forgot his sore knee and began to run with his team, but the boys would not chase him. Everyone was having a great deal of fun, and the game was concluded only after the loud protestations of Donald and Jim who wanted the game continued indefinitely.

As they left the room, Nick told *W* that their Christmas was not on December 25 but on January 7. They all laughed when *W* told them how fortunate they were to be able to enjoy two Christmases. Louis said that they would get their gifts on the twenty-fifth but that their celebrations would come on the seventh. As they left the building, the boys with much laughter and in unison yelled, "See you next year, Chuck."

Questions

1. What role is the worker fulfilling for Donald?
2. Evaluate the service of the worker to each individual and to the group-as-a-whole, as revealed in this record.
3. Does the interest in the game "Lemonade" suggest any program leads to you?

...Record #14. When the boys arrived they asked if they could play in the gym. *W* told them that he would speak with the gym instructor and see if the boys could join the girls in their dancing lesson. With one voice they cried, "Naw, we don't want to learn to dance with girls."

They asked for gloves, and Nick and Arthur were the first pair to box. Then Jim and Louis were next. Donald took the gloves off Louis and pulled them on his hands. Nick quickly suggested, "I'll fight you." Donald paled and said, "You're bigger than me." Nick countered with, "I won't hurt you." Donald hesitated and seemed to be trying to reach some decision — accept Nick's challenge or make some excuse. Nick helped Donald to make a decision by saying, "O.K., just one round then." Donald agreed to this. Then as Nick put on the gloves he said, "Make this a five-minute round." Donald objected and turning to *W* said, "Just two minutes." Nick challenged Donald further by saying, "Aw, you're afraid." Donald's face became red and he furiously retorted, "I am not!" *W* suggested to Donald that he do a lot of footwork and keep his gloves up high in order to ward off any punches thrown at his face. Donald came out slowly, and Nick deliberately stalked him. *W* could see that Donald was frightened and took every opportunity to step in between the two boys before Nick was able to crowd Donald into a corner and throw a few punches at him. Nick did not throw any punches, nor did Donald, who kept backing away from Nick. Finally

Nick caught Donald with a light right to the shoulder, making Donald swing wildly. Nick came close to Donald, and Donald clinched with him, neither boy throwing any punches. When *W* stepped between them and separated them, Donald began crying and said that his hand hurt him. *W* pulled off his gloves and Nick came over and demanded to know what had happened. Donald, sobbing, said that he had hurt his right hand. Nick said nothing but took off his gloves with the assistance of Hal, who said that he would fight Arthur.

Hal and Arthur had a round and then the club began to plan next week's meeting. They wanted to go to a movie down town but there was not enough money in the treasury. This turned their attention to planning some money-raising event but no decision was made.

Questions

1. What benefit is Donald receiving from the group? How is he affecting the group? What does *W* need to consider about Donald? about the group in relation to Donald?
2. What evidence does the discussion of money raising give of the development of a corporate spirit in the group?

Contacts Between Meetings (Summary). *W* felt that he needed to know more about Donald's life outside the group. He therefore called the Family Association from which Donald's grandmother was receiving service and sought an appointment with the case worker. In the conference that resulted he learned that Donald's parents had married shortly after graduation from college. They were awarded a travel scholarship by the Fraternal Society of their national origin and Donald was born while they were out of the country. His mother had contracted tuberculosis and had been in a sanitarium most of the time since their return to this country. The father has very high standards for his children and demands complete and instant obedience from them. Donald's grandmother looks after his physical needs but there is little evidence that anyone gives him warmth and a feeling of being wanted. The case worker felt that the group was an important part of Donald's life and reported that she was encouraging the grandmother to permit him to attend.

...Records #16-28 (Summary). During the next eleven weeks the boys carried on a variety of activities. They went down town to a movie and also attended one in the neighborhood. Most of the boys were on a basketball team at school and *W* attended some of the games and encouraged them through defeat to final victory. As soon as the weather started to get warm, baseball became the favorite game on the playground. In all these team games, Donald had the least skill of any of the boys and the rest were reluctant to include him. He stood silently on the sidelines and many times *W* had to intercede for him and ask one of the teams if they didn't need another

player. He was never able to arrive in time for the beginning of the game and this made his isolation especially noticeable. One day, while waiting for the boys to come from a basketball game, *W* gave Donald special help in gaining skill in handling a ball.

The boys gave evidence of their growing interest in girls and in sex as they came to know *W* and feel that he would not be shocked at their conversation. Still, much of their curiosity was implied rather than expressed directly. They talked about the kissing games they "had to play" at a party at a girl's home; two of the members told *W* that one of the boys used "bad" words (which turned out to be the neighborhood slang phrases for sex activities); on the trip to the movie, one of the boys slipped a picture of a half-clad girl in *W*'s pocket and later drew attention to it; one day when they met in the library they studied the pictures in the current magazines and exchanged furtive comments. However, from their rejection of girls evidenced in some of the earlier meetings, they moved to the point of being able to accept a challenge to a game of volley ball from a group of girls on the playground. The presence of their worker on their team seemed to give them enough courage to volley bantering remarks, as well as the ball, over the net.

Toward the end of the year, the agency started planning an all-agency activity to mark the closing of the winter program. *W* asked the boys if they remembered the carnival which had been held at the House last year. Arthur recalled the carnival and described some of the things he had enjoyed — especially the "Spook Room." The others asked questions and Harry began to use his imagination. *W* said that the boys could help in the planning of the carnival, and Harry asked if the club could do something with the "Spook Room." All the boys began to have ideas. They left the building with the reminder that they wanted to talk some more about the carnival at the meeting next week.

...Record #29. . . . The boys met in the room that was to be used for their "Spook Room." *W* told them the date set for the carnival, and they discussed the price of admission, who got the money (*W* explained that it would go to the House to defray expenses of the carnival), and decided upon a two-cent charge. . . .

Donald suggested a bucket of water as a surprise for the customers entering the room, but Louis couldn't see anything funny in such a stunt. *W* asked Louis if he would make a poster to publicize the room and he said that "Harry could do that better." They decided that next week they would paint the masks and stuff the effigies. . . .

...Record #30. . . . Louis and Nick started work on the poster. Charles helped *W* cut paper for the paintings and offered to draw some pictures with crayon. He got down on the floor and started this. Arthur, Hal, and Harry came in and were very much excited about the drawings Charles was doing. Each boy took a section of paper and drew "any ugly thing" that came into his mind. Charles did an excellent piece of work on the "beast with five fingers,"

working diligently and precisely. Harry drew a fiery Satan, but complained that the crayon was too short and cramped his fingers. Hal made "skull bones and coffins." Arthur's interest span was short and he only drew one figure, "Lena the Hyena." All except Arthur were trying to get the credit for drawing the ugliest picture. The boys worked out a plan for half of them to come Monday night and the other half on Tuesday afternoon to finish up. Hal wanted to know who would be in the Spook Room to scare the customers, and W suggested that all the boys take turns. This pleased them and they talked of all the things that would be in the room and how "scared" the small children would be. They were able to finish most of their drawings and Charles stayed to help put them away and to talk further about the "noises" which could be put in the Spook Room. He offered to bring some of his horns which make lots of noise.

...Record #31. . . . W was adjusting the curtains in the room when Charles arrived and showed the masks he had made from cardboard. He said he would make a couple more. W suggested, in addition, a skeleton and cross-bones which could be suspended from the ceiling. This pleased Charles and he selected a place for them to hang.

The voices of the others could be heard downstairs, and almost at once Hal, Arthur, Louis, Harry, Bill, and Wilbur rushed into the room. They were surprised at all the work that had been done, and Hal voiced the approval of the group by saying, "Not bad, not bad," as he and the others inspected the hanging blankets, the paintings and the masks. They were all talking at the same time. Nick said that he wanted to be the dead man in the coffin with red lights showing on his face. Harry wanted to be behind the coffin and make all sorts of noises. Hal thought that he would like to be a ghost and roam all over the room scaring people. Louis asked if he could take the tickets at the door. Wilbur asked what he could do, and W suggested that perhaps he, Arthur, Bill, and Charles would wish to wait and see what ideas they would have later in the afternoon when the Spook Room was completed. Charles got Louis to help him paint the masks. Nick and Harry wanted some lumber to make the railing for the coffin. Wilbur decided to help Charles and Louis with the masks. Hal asked what he could do and W suggested that he cut paper in thin strips to hang from the ceiling. Bill and Arthur thought that they would cover the light spots in the corners of the room. There was considerable confusion before the boys were able to concentrate on their tasks. Nothing could be found immediately and they stormed from the room to the woodshop to the game room, looking for supplies. As soon as they found their materials, however, they worked well together.

After their tasks were completed, they held a dress rehearsal. In the first corridor there was an "egg and pretzel walk"; the second corridor had a "rolling mountain walk"; the third one, a "worm nest"; and in the fourth and final corridor there was "the ghost and music." Suspended from the

ceiling would be paper streamers, paper skulls, and paper skeletons. The climax would come when the visitors would view the coffin and hear the sound of the rattling chains which came from behind it. The boys were immensely excited over their Spook Room and thought it was "gonna be real good." Nick thought that two cents was too cheap and that the club should have charged at least a nickel; next time they would charge a nickel, they decided.

W asked if the boys had all decided on the parts they would take. Nick, Hal, Harry, and Louis knew what they wanted to do. Bill asked if he could lower and raise the suspended baby doll as the customers entered the room. Charles had his horn and said he would make noise and music from behind the piano. *W* asked Wilbur if he would like to wear a fluorescent mask and stand in the corner, Wilbur grinned and said "sure." *W* suggested that maybe Arthur would like to welcome the visitors as they came in and escort them around the room. He liked this, and Bill asked if he would be able to change places with Arthur when he got tired. *W* said this was a good suggestion and that perhaps the other boys would wish to rotate their roles. As they left they said they would all be back promptly at 6:30.

...*Later*. Charles arrived at 6:15 and helped *W* cook the spaghetti and spread it on the floor of the Spook Room (worms). Soon the others arrived. The boys were so enthusiastic about the room that they constantly tested it by turning the lights on and off. They were impatient and anxious to start, and when the voices of the children were heard on the stairs, Louis ran to get his ticket box. He shouted "customers" and each boy took his place. *W* went out to help Louis with his job of taking tickets and to handle the children waiting to get in.

The boys gave an excellent performance and the noises and shouting coming from the room penetrated the whole building. In a few minutes the stairway was crowded with children, large and small, who appeared very anxious and eager to have the experience of visiting the Spook Room. The boys worked diligently and tirelessly. *W* suggested that they could alternate in taking rest periods. Arthur and Hal were first to take advantage of the period. When they returned, two more boys left, and so on until everyone was relieved. At a quarter to nine most of the children at the carnival (approximately sixty) had visited the Spook Room. Bill, Wilbur, and Charles stayed with *W* and operated the room until 9:30 when there were no more customers.

Questions

1. Read the entire record through with particular attention to Donald and his needs. Describe how the worker helped him in the group setting.
2. Evaluate the worker's service to Nick.
3. Trace the fluctuation of *esprit de corps*. Account for the changes revealed.
4. What evidence is there of commonly accepted values developed within the group which affect the members' behavior?

5. What was the worker's part in the program-planning process? Describe the areas of program content which were introduced purposefully to meet the expressed interests of the group members; the assumed interests; the inferred interests. What program was used because of its inherent contribution to the group-as-a-whole?
6. What did the "Spook Room Project" contribute to the status of Chuck's Boys Club?

12

Groups of Adolescents

THE CAN DO CLUB

Striving to Be Like Others

THE RECORDS of the Can Do Club illustrate the use of the social group work method and some of the adaptations that are necessary in working with handicapped youth. As the records reveal, the members suffered from more than physical handicaps; their environment, while adapted to their physical needs, was in reality a hindrance to their social adjustment. We see the social group worker using her limited opportunity to the fullest extent in meeting this need.

The Can Do Club is a formed social club. All the girls between the ages of ten and sixteen who live in the institution are members. They are excluded only when discharged. It has many aspects of a natural grouping, however, because all the members live in the same environment. The fact that all are handicapped gives them a feeling of homogeneity and security which has contributed to the bond of the group. The club started the year with fourteen members, but four left because they became well enough to be discharged. As the group becomes smaller, it becomes more closely knit, but the original purpose of having fun has not changed. The club meets in the nursery which has low chairs that are comfortable for the crippled girls. With the exception of Natalie and Julia, who attend public school, the girls attend classes in the institution.

Since the members of the group live in an institution, the club routine is affected by its rules and attitudes. One method of punishment used is restriction from attendance at club meetings. Unnecessarily loud noises and loud laughter are forbidden. Playing the piano is forbidden except when authorized. The girls are allowed only one hour for club meetings and must leave promptly when the time is up. The girls fear rebuff for any slight misdemeanor.

The only stated purpose of the club is "to play games and have fun." According to the worker's knowledge of each girl's daily routine, the club affords their principal opportunity for real recreation. Here they can say and do what they please, and can let off steam in talk, games, or hostile aggression. They have an opportunity for self-expression. They get acceptance from an adult who tries to give each girl acceptance in the way she needs and wants it. They are learning something of give and take, of co-operation, and of independence. The main dissatisfaction in the group is caused by the wide age-range which makes it difficult to find program activities which will please everyone. This factor, however, has not seriously affected the group bond.

FACE SHEET — CAN DO CLUB

Name	Age	Grade*	Ordinal Position in Family
Jane	16	7	5th of 6
Julia	16	9	1st of 4
Esther	15	9A	1st of 7
Natalie	14	8B	2nd of 4
Lucile	14	9	3rd of 3
Susan	14	9	1st of 3
Bernice	12	5B	5th of 6
Ellen	11	6	4th of 5
Betty	11	4	3rd of 4
Henrietta	11	—	8th of 8
Phyllis	11	5A	1st of 2
Marian	10	3	6th of 6

* Here the grade gives little indication of mental ability, for many of the girls have missed school because of illness and their handicaps.

At the beginning of the year, three of the girls were in wheel chairs; four were on crutches; two wore lifters because of a short leg; the others had handicaps of arm, shoulder, or back.

...Record #1. The worker was met and cordially greeted by Miss Zachary, who said the girls were in the dining-room and would be in shortly. The first two to arrive were in wheel chairs — Esther and Susan. Both proved to be rather quiet throughout the meeting. The rest of the group came together noisily. Miss Zachary introduced *W* and then left. They all gathered around the table. Julia got the extra chairs needed. The three youngest sat together and beckoned *W* to sit beside them. The group as a whole seemed quite at ease and was gay and loud. Natalie led the conversations and was

evidently the center of attention through her own and the group's choice.

W suggested that they elect officers for this year. Natalie's "yes-men" (Lucile, Mildred, Anne, and Bernice) said, "Natalie's president." Jane said they had to elect to make it official. Natalie was the only one nominated. Anne, Ellen, and Susan were suggested as secretary, and Anne won by a large majority.

The girls wanted to play games and Natalie immediately suggested some. However, the rest wanted to play new ones and said *W* would know some. *W* suggested "Mrs. Pettigrew," which the girls learned rapidly and played noisily. Phyllis was the first to catch the trick and was delighted with herself. The younger girls held their own. The group played several other new games. The life span of each game was about five minutes and then someone would want another. Jane usually suggested that a new game be introduced and vetoed any old ones proposed by the group. The girls paid no attention to her reactions. The favorite of the whole club was "Leader," possibly because it gave them opportunity to be noisy and to wiggle. The younger girls were particularly loud and were called down by Anne. Natalie often added new pantomime even when she wasn't leader. Near the close of the meeting, Natalie and Mildred said they had made up a game of "Hypnotism," which they gave up after several futile attempts. However, it showed ingenuity and *W* was glad they tried.

When asked what they would like to do in future meetings, one girl said they liked to play the piano. The whole group said, "Yes, but Miss Thatcher doesn't want us to because we get too loud and boisterous." When the club was over, most of the girls left the room before *W*, but waited in the hall for her to go out the door before going upstairs.

Questions

1. What do the repeated requests that the worker suggest the games indicate in regard to the members' conception of the role of the worker?
2. Were the girls testing the new worker in this situation?
3. Why do you think Mildred and Natalie tried to introduce a new game? What clue should this incident give the worker in regard to her relationship with Natalie?

...Record #2. Henrietta and Marian immediately asked *W* to sit between them and Henrietta whispered to *W* to lead the group in singing "Happy Birthday" to Natalie. So *W* asked the group if they wanted to play a new game where someone would have to go out of the room. As expected, Natalie immediately jumped up, and while she was gone, *W* passed Henrietta's suggestion along to the girls. All were enthusiastic, and when Natalie came back Jane led the song with a pitch that was far too high. This only made it more fun. Natalie started a tirade about her gifts: "Oh, I'm so embarrassed. My brother gave me two slips. A boy gave me slips." Natalie's fourteenth birthday obviously made an impression on her because in all the

games she made reference to men, moon, kissing, and lips. However, when the male patients at the Home pass through the room, she makes no comment nor shows in any way that she is aware of their masculinity.

Four of the members were absent. Anne has gone home. She has been discharged, and although she seemed to be a favorite last week, no one said anything about her leaving. Lucile, Betty, and Phyllis are all in the hospital as the result of accidents. Ellen was extremely vivacious—wanted to be "It" in all the games, never wanted to stop playing, and laughed almost continuously. *W* was asked by the younger group for a game and she started "How Do You Like It." The words for the game were suggested by Natalie. When Henrietta, Marian, or Ellen wanted to answer the questions Natalie said, "They're too young, ask someone who knows." When Ellen was "It," she enjoyed herself so much that she wanted to guess several times. This was permitted with no show of jealousy. *W* has noticed that most of the girls like to lead the games but always wait their turn patiently. Julia, Jane, and Esther were the only ones who did not ask for a turn.

Natalie had a newspaper which she read most of the evening with great show. However, while she exclaimed over some of the articles, she was always aware of what was going on in the room. When a younger girl would be "put out" of a game, Natalie would tell the group to start over so the girl could have another chance.

Susan wanted to play "I Took a Trip" and they played for about a half-hour. Jane had chosen *girdle* for "g." When Ellen was reciting the list and came to "g," Miss Zachary walked into the room. Ellen could not bring herself to say *girdle* with Miss Zachary in the room and everybody got tickled. At first *W* could not see why they were so amused and Miss Zachary probably never knew. They all giggled until she left and then resumed the game. Julia announced that she was tired of that game, but the others wanted to continue. Finally Julia quietly left the room. When it was time to go, the younger girls objected, but the older girls got up promptly. *W* is afraid that almost all their play activities are modified for the younger girls and feels they need something on an older level.

Henrietta sat very close to *W* and kept her hands through *W*'s arm throughout the meeting. Marian, now off crutches, walked *W* to the door, holding her hand.

Questions

1. Interpreting the language of behavior as recorded about Natalie, what do you think are her problems in growing up?
2. What are Henrietta's needs and how does she use the worker to meet them?
3. How do you explain the contrast between the girls' attitude toward Miss Zachary and that toward the social group worker?

...Record #3. As soon as *W* walked into the room, the girls spied the modeling clay she brought and were anxious to play with it. Natalie and Jane

both ran for newspapers when *W* asked for some to cover the tables. There were both gray and brick-colored clay but no one showed a preference; there was no mention of how much clay each girl would get and the activity got under way quickly. The group co-operates so well that it almost doesn't seem normal for such a wide age-range.

Natalie, the president, lost prestige when she was not able to lead the group. She slapped her clay around very listlessly, made several comments about not being able to do such things, yet at one point said she liked to play with clay even if she couldn't make anything. She was much quieter than usual and talked with Jane most of the evening. Once, when a matter came up on which a decision had to be made, Natalie said immediately that she was president and it was up to her to decide. Again, when the younger girls were making things from the clay, Natalie said matter-of-factly, "The younger ones are doing better than we." *W* asked her later in the evening if she wanted to call a meeting to make plans for Halloween. She said it was a good idea, yet made no attempt to have a meeting. Another out-of-character performance was her staying after the club to see that all was clean and shipshape.

No matter what they are doing, Betty, Ellen, Henrietta, Phyllis, and Marian are still a group. Though at first they asked *W* what to make, Phyllis suggested a pumpkin, so each made one. Then Marian made a cat, showing great originality. The group was delighted and praised Marian. Then Phyllis made an attractive pot of flowers, even putting contrasting color on the petals, which brought her praise from all. Then Henrietta made a table and Phyllis decided to make a chair for it. Betty made a man. Ellen contributed nothing, but watched the others. She asked *W* for suggestions. At first *W* asked her what she wanted to make, but when she didn't know, *W* offered a simple suggestion — a bowl; Ellen started one, but never finished.

In great secrecy, Betty started on a project which she and Ellen thought extremely funny but also wicked. It turned out to be a cow. After forty-five minutes, Betty wanted to play games. She was the only one who wanted to stop the clay work, and after two more attempts to change the activity she gave up. *W* told her that they would play games next week, and suggested that she make a clay chair. She "didn't know how."

Esther seemed actually unhappy. She sat in her wheel chair and mashed the clay. She did not laugh or smile all evening. When drawn into the conversation by *W*, she answered politely but with no enthusiasm. Esther does not seem to have any good friends. Esther, Susan, and Ellen are all in wheel chairs. But Ellen is part of the younger subgroup, and Susan belongs to Natalie.

Questions

1. Why do you think Natalie was so ambivalent about the evening's activities? What gave her satisfaction? What caused her frustration? How does the worker seek to help her?

2. Why did Betty *need* to try to change the activity of the group? How might the worker have helped her feel less guilty?
3. What did the worker learn about the members through observation of their reactions to the program content of this meeting?

...Record #4. An entirely different atmosphere was evident in this meeting. The girls seemed much more relaxed and argued among themselves for the first time this year. *W* was very glad to see it, took no part, and paid no attention to even the loudest fights. Bernice and Betty seemed to be in most of the quarrels — either giving or taking.

It is an accepted fact that *W* will sit at the lower part of the table with the younger girls. A chair is always saved for her and there is some scrambling for the chairs on either side. However, these girls demand so much attention that *W* has some difficulty being with the older ones. For the first few minutes, the discussion was informal and there was mention of *W*'s clothes, boys, and the Halloween party to be given by the institution. This party probably explains their lack of interest in a club party. Marian kept leaning back in her chair, and *W* told her she might fall, but Marian said that she already had a brace on her back and asked *W* to feel it.

Natalie was back in her old form tonight and was even more dictatorial than usual. She chose "Leader" as the first game of the evening. She told the girls not to bang their hands on the table as hard as usual "because it makes too much noise and the person who is 'It' can catch on quickly." When some of the girls pointed to *W* for leader, Natalie said no, giving as the reason that everyone would expect her. After this game *W* was asked for one and suggested "Musical Hot and Cold." No matter who went out to guess, Natalie would hide the article; the girls had their own ideas to no avail. The singing was not good but the spirit was wonderful. When the one hunting would get near the object hidden, singing was too mild an expression, and everybody shouted. The younger ones were so excited that they jumped up and down, when they were able, and pounded on the table otherwise. The next game was "Telephone," suggested by Henrietta, but the older girls did not take it too seriously, to the great annoyance of the lower end of the table. During this game, Phyllis, Bernice, and Mildred went over to the sandbox where they played for the rest of the meeting, although they still took part in the games. During the meeting, Julia, Jane, Mildred, and Lucile had much to say to each other and showed Natalie less respect and attention than formerly.

When they asked about next week's meeting, *W* asked them for suggestions. Bernice said they could do ghost plays. By common consent, the group divides for such activities into three sections: the infirmary girls (Ellen, Esther, and Susan, who are all in wheel chairs), the older girls (Natalie, Mildred, Bernice, Lucile, Jane, and Julia), and the younger girls (Marian, Henrietta, Phyllis, and Betty). For a short time they were excited about the idea and talked about costumes and plots. *W* noticed that Bernice was sing-

ing as she played in the sand, and asked the group if they would like a talent show along with the plays next week. Bernice said she would sing right then and there. Natalie said that Bernice couldn't sing and to let Betty. Bernice was hurt; and Natalie, quick to perceive this, tried to apologize, but Bernice refused the apology and sulked until the end of the meeting. During this time, Betty was singing "Irish Lullaby," as requested by the group. As usual, she volunteered to sing, and then when given permission had to be coaxed. Her audience was quite attentive and clapped appreciatively. Mildred was talking to Jane part of the time, and when Betty finished, Natalie told Mildred to be quiet or she would be next. Surprisingly enough, Jane wanted to sing and did a popular song in good style. Phyllis was then asked to sing "an Irish song." She was very shy, but completed it without looking at anyone. Mildred wanted to be next and the group urged her on. Mildred has paralysis on one side of her face which gives her an unfortunate appearance and also affects her voice. Instead of trying to hide this deformity, she takes advantage of her ability to make comical facial expressions and thus gains acceptance by her actions. The group laughed heartily at her song, or rather at her. The last performer was Ellen, who was asked to sing "Five Minutes More."

Before the meeting ended, Bernice got one last crack at Natalie by saying she couldn't do any better herself. Betty was rejected at one time or another by everyone. She couldn't do anything right. When Natalie would hide the article, Betty would move it to what she thought was a better place, and all the girls would yell at her to sit down. When she sang, she would sing too loud at the wrong time. Natalie is more bossy than ever. The group is showing resentment of this, and *W* anticipates revolt one of these days.

Questions

1. What evidence do you see in this record of rivalry between Natalie and the worker? Do you think the worker is aware of Natalie's feelings toward her? Why?
2. Why do you think some of the girls were able to challenge Natalie now, when they could not do so three weeks ago?
3. How would you help Natalie if you were the worker?
4. What mechanism of defense is Mildred using? How can the worker help Mildred to live more comfortably with her handicap?
5. In what way does the activity of this meeting differ from that of previous meetings? What do these changes indicate about the development of the group-as-a-whole?
6. What needs and interests of pre-adolescent girls make it difficult for them to be part of a group dominated by adolescent girls? What difficulties does such a combination create for the adolescent members? What methods would you suggest to a worker faced with such an age-range?

...Record #5. Miss Thatcher had called *W* and asked if the group could

decorate certain rooms for Halloween. When *W* arrived, the decorations were in the boxes and the girls were anxiously awaiting permission to start. She later found that they were more eager to try on costumes than to decorate. There were gay moments deciding what to wear and the younger group tried on about three each. Natalie put on a costume, but not getting too much approval she soon took it off and said everybody must now decorate. Finally three rooms were chosen for decoration. Julia immediately started to put up decorations and Jane and Natalie helped her. The younger ones were still having a good time trying on costumes; they wanted to go upstairs and show the girls in the infirmary. They said they were not allowed to dress up for the party to be given by the Home, and because of this *W* did not second Natalie's continuous insistence that they help with the decorations. Ellen, in her wheel chair, wanted to help.

Natalie did not once look *W* straight in the face and avoided conversation. She announced that she was president and should tell the group how to decorate. When the meeting was over, she left on the dot. Lucile was her usual quiet self but helped with the decorations and did good work. She is the most difficult of the girls to approach, but she always enters into all the games. She sits by Natalie and is part of her subgroup. Susan is another friend of Natalie's who is such a natural part of this group that *W* does not know her as well as some of the others.

Party for the Entire Home Held on Saturday. Miss Thatcher telephoned *W* and also sent her an invitation by mail to attend the party. *W* was very happy to go so that she might see the girls in a different setting. When she arrived, Miss Thatcher took her to the kitchen where some of the older girls were pulling taffy. Conversation flowed freely, and later Jane asked *W* to come upstairs while she changed her clothes. Jane took *W* on a tour of the Home, which is well equipped to serve the physical needs of the children. The nurses seemed very nice to the girls and were well liked. *W* saw Phyllis, who would not speak to her. An older girl asked Phyllis if she were sick and she said that her hip was hurting her. Natalie was in the nursery with her mother and introduced her to *W*. After that one advance, Natalie had very little to say to *W* the rest of the evening.

Jane and Julia asked *W* to sit beside them in the movie, though the younger girls had saved a seat for her. After this, most of the girls were told to go to the dining-room for supper, and only Ellen and Esther were left, so *W* had a good chance to talk with them during the supper period. *W* had been asked to lead some games but Miss Thatcher decided there was not time.

Questions

1. What additional evidence do you have of Natalie's feelings about the worker?
2. How does the worker protect the group from Natalie's dominance?
3. Do you agree with this worker that it is more difficult to establish relationships with the members who are part of consistent subgroups than with those who have less fixed relationships? What methods are helpful in meeting this situation?

...Record #6. *W* had been wondering how she could make the older girls feel that she was as interested in them as in the younger ones, and an opportunity was given by an empty place where Phyllis usually sat. *W* took that chair. Marian and Henrietta immediately raised a protest, but *W* said that she wanted to sit where she could look at them. This new seat put her next to Esther's wheel chair and gave her the opportunity to address her frequently. The possibility of playing a mixer arose, but *W* could not think of one on the spur of the moment that could be played by these members.

Ellen is on crutches now, and *W* was surprised to see how short she is. In her wheel chair she seemed large for her age and more poised than she appeared at this meeting. *W* wondered if this new independence was a little hard, for Ellen was very childish in her demands for attention, her attitude toward the games, and her closer identification with the younger group. She wanted to play games tonight and was backed up by Marian and Henrietta, but the older girls were choosing library books and *W* tried to keep the younger ones in conversation until all were ready. All this time Betty was lying across the table barring *W*'s view of the girls on the other side. *W* asked if she didn't want to sit on a chair, and Betty said if she couldn't sit next to *W* she was going to sit in front of her. Except at the first meeting, Betty has not tried to sit next to *W*. When the first game was started, Betty sat down in a chair when the *W* said that it was necessary for her to do so if she wanted to play the game.

W taught them the "African Veld" game, which was a huge success. In the "pow-wow," contrary to the point of the game, they made a contest to see which group could say its part the loudest. They wanted to play again, and *W* asked if someone else would like to lead. Ellen did, and amid much giggling and hesitation, she got through it, the other girls waiting patiently.

The next game was "Simon Says," and since Henrietta knew it, she wanted to lead. She was so slow that the game was no fun for the group and the older girls started to read their books. Ellen tried, with the same result. Then Mildred started singing and Natalie and Lucile joined in. The three went into a huddle, then announced that they would sing a trio. Each sang a different song and the noise and lack of musical talent brought Miss Zachary to the door. She stood there a moment and then asked if anyone were sick. When she left, the silence was animated by the grimaces of the girls. *W* told them she had a new game, "Truth and Consequences" or "Court-room." *W* asked Esther to be the judge. She was delighted and eagerly asked her duties. *W* wanted Lucile to be the lawyer, but Jane demanded a part and was assigned that role. She was very good, and her accusations were very revealing. She said that Natalie had to stand trial because she laughed when she shouldn't, that Bernice walked without her crutches, that Mildred was caught without her glasses. The questions prepared were ridiculous enough so that the girls would not feel ignorant if they missed.

Jane chose Natalie to be first, and her sentence was to say six nice things about herself. She said twelve instead of six, laughing and covering her face

with her hands as she listed them. Lucile was next. Mildred's forfeit was to give a three-minute talk on why she would rather be a girl than a boy. She wasted two of her three minutes, and then, coached by Natalie, gave a long spiel about girls being prettier.

Bernice's sentence was to tell her worst fault and best virtue. She stumbled over the answer to the first part, and when Mildred said something to her, hit out at Mildred but decided not to fight and relapsed into sulks. The two quarrelers were ignored and the game was progressing so rapidly that *W* didn't have a chance to think what to do. Later in the game, however, *W* had a chance to make an affectionate gesture toward Bernice. The tables were turned on Jane when her question was one she couldn't answer. Her consequence gave her ample opportunity to show dramatic talent, but she was ill at ease and Natalie finally took over and put on a good show. Esther said *W* ought to be a victim, and *W* was sentenced to sing "America" omitting every other word. About halfway through Natalie stopped her, saying she had missed. She was quite glad to get a chance to tell *W* this. Susan had to tell the truth for two minutes as her sentence. The first question was the usual boy-friend query. Then Natalie, Lucile, and Bernice asked her the names of the nurses the girls didn't like. Natalie was chosen again as a victim, and although *W* wanted the younger girls to be chosen, she didn't suggest this because the younger girls had had ample opportunity in the previous meetings. Julia was then given a chance, and the last question was given to Lucile. Bernice stopped sulking about ten minutes after her fight with Mildred and entered into the spirit of the fun but was not so riotous as usual. The younger girls did not even ask to be chosen.

There was still about ten minutes left, and no one was in the mood for a game. Informal conversations took place and *W* visited with Lucile and Natalie. *W* also talked with Bernice, asking if she wanted to put on plays at the next meeting. Bernice said that no one else wanted to. Then *W* asked her if she had ever written any plays and suggested that it might be fun. Bernice said she hadn't, but Lucile could do it. Several others joined them and the idea grew. Lucile said she couldn't write a play, but was pleased that she was asked. Natalie said she might help if she could write the script. Susan liked to sew, Esther said she would take care of scenery, and before long everyone had a job. Committees for script writing, scenery, properties, and costumes were set up. Everyone was excited and ideas flew around the room. Now they were really a group. Now they had a club project. Julia had long since put down her book and was standing behind *W*'s chair offering suggestions. That alone was enough to make *W* feel excited. Marian and Henrietta pulled their chairs around and sat next to *W*.

Marian had little to say throughout the meeting. Betty is still worrying the rest of the girls with her forwardness and stumbling around. She gives no evidence of being hurt when told to "shut up" and always comes back for more. Since she is as tall as the older members, she tries to identify with them but is rejected. This could explain her sudden revival of interest

in *W*. For the most part, Julia sat away from the others, but this time was minus her usual buddy, Jane. Jane was restless, and when not acting her part as "lawyer" wandered around and did not sit down all evening although she is on crutches.

Questions

1. Note that the worker came to the meeting with certain members in mind who she felt needed more understanding than she had yet developed. How did she affect the group interaction to accomplish this purpose?
2. What methods would you suggest when a member fails in the leadership of activities? How might the worker have helped Ellen and Henrietta in this instance?
3. Why would you expect Ellen to show some tendency to regress to a younger stage of development when she left her wheel chair for crutches? With these ideas in mind, note Ellen's behavior throughout the club meeting.
4. What further indications of Henrietta's needs and problems do you have in this meeting?
5. What is happening to Natalie as the group-as-a-whole emerges?

...Record #7. The worker was met at the door by Miss Zachary, who was obviously waiting for her. She said that three of the girls who had had a fight at last week's meeting were not to come to club tonight. She said that Natalie and Lucile had been unkind to Betty, who had cried and left the meeting early. *W* did not remember this and said so. Miss Zachary apologized for using the club as punishment but was sure *W* would understand. *W* said she understood that the Home had rules and regulations that the girls were to abide by and she hoped that nothing similar would happen in future meetings.

Mildred has gone home. Again, as with Anne, though the girls all seemed to like Mildred very much, they seemed glad she has gone. Jane said she assumed *W* knew about the three girls who weren't coming. *W* did not prolong the discussion, for the other girls were anxious to know what they were going to do about the play. Henrietta and Ellen said that they didn't see how they could do it without Natalie. *W* said she knew they would miss Natalie as well as Lucile and Betty, but asked if they wouldn't like to see what they could do. Although *W* explained about the many different talents needed, all the girls except Marian wanted to write the play. *W* told Marian she remembered how well she did with the clay modeling and suggested that she might like to design costumes. Marian smiled shyly and said she would try. *W* gave her supplies and she sat at the table all evening and drew. She passed her creations to *W* for approval but was content to draw quietly by herself.

Bernice took over and started the writing of the play. The girls began by deciding on the characters. The only idea of a plot came from Esther who said that it would have to be a modern play if Jane was to wear a low-necked

dress. (Jane had insisted upon this at the last meeting.) Susan and Bernice agreed. Jane was to be the Beautiful Belle (choice by Bernice); Esther and Susan, the grandfather and grandmother because, as Esther said, they were in wheel chairs and it would look all right; Julia was to be Jane's boy friend, complete with mustache; and Lucile was to be a girl. Lucile was the first absentee to be mentioned for a part. Henrietta insisted that she be a boy so she could kiss. *W* asked if girls couldn't kiss too, but she said that it wasn't right for girls to kiss although boys could. Bernice wanted to be Cupid — Jane's Cupid. Bernice said that Marian could be the butler. Marian was agreeable to this and drew a butler's costume, complete with white tie and tails. Ellen wanted to be the princess, but Esther said there was no place for a princess. Ellen then wanted to be a queen. "No queen," said Esther, "this is not a baby play." Finally Ellen gave up and said she would be an angel. Bernice asked the group what Natalie could be. She thought they needed another boy and suggested that Natalie could be one named "Beautiful Joe." Esther told her that was the name of a dog, and Bernice said seriously, "I know." Jane suggested that Natalie be called "Butch." Betty was given the part of an angel named "Jo." *W* asked if Phyllis would be up by then, and although they were not sure they gave her the part of Santa Claus. This completed the parts.

When Natalie's name was mentioned, *W* had an opportunity to ask if the three girls would be at club next week and hence to find out what had happened. She remembered that when Natalie, Lucile, and Marian were singing their trio, Betty had tried to make it a quartet and that Natalie showed by her actions that it was a closed affair. Betty was ignored or hushed several times by the older girls, and it now transpired that she had gone upstairs later and told Miss Zachary that the girls had pushed her. Here all the girls joined in and said that Betty was always telling on somebody. Said Jane, "There's always a T.T. in every crowd." Esther said that Betty was always spoiling something by telling Miss Zachary. Lucile was punished tonight because she agreed with Natalie that Betty had not been pushed, so the other girls did not say anything for fear that they would not be allowed to come to the meeting. If the group behaves tonight, they said, the other three may be allowed to return.

Now they were ready to write the play. Julia said that they had everybody except a mother and father. Esther said that the parents had been killed. "Yes, they were hit by a train," said Jane. *W* asked them what the name of the play was to be, hoping they would plan a theme. Esther named it "Mistletoe" and Bernice opened with the first line. She and Esther did the first act, with a few suggestions from Julia and Jane about their parts, and then they were stuck. They appealed to *W*, who then helped with ideas about plots. During the assigning of parts and the actual writing, *W* played a passive role. Her opinion was asked, but the initiative came from the girls. Esther and Bernice led in the discussions but co-operated beautifully and each submitted to opposition by the other. They had just finished the

first act and started on the second when the time was up. *W* suggested that they might work on it during the week. Bernice said that she and Esther didn't see each other except in club but that she would ask if they could get together after supper. *W* said that they could each write down ideas and finish it in the next meeting.

Susan had little to say, but the writers often asked for her opinion. Esther said that Susan would have to be the grandfather since she had slacks. Susan didn't like this but finally agreed. For the first time, Julia joined the group at the table and gave suggestions for plot. Occasionally she would reword a sentence and her version would be the one written down. Ellen soon tired of the writing and joined Marian in the drawing. Once she called *W* to her and whispered that she wanted more parts than the angel. Henrietta was very much interested in the writing, but though she offered speeches, none of her ideas were accepted. They were not denounced — just ignored. She finally complained that she didn't have any speech in the first act, and Bernice said she would have one in the second. Henrietta again sat next to *W*, and *W* gave her as much attention as was possible.

Jane was interested in being the beauty and talked about what kind of clothes she should wear. She told *W* she needed an evening dress — one made out of crepe paper would not do. *W* said that if the part called for an evening dress maybe she would be able to get one for her. Jane whooped with joy and asked *W* to draw a picture of it. When she saw the off-the-shoulder effect she went into ecstacies. Then she wanted to think of a new way to wear her hair and *W* experimented with an upsweep for her. All the girls liked the effect. Jane said she would fix it that way next week for *W* to see. She made *W* promise to bring the dress next week and said she would kill her if she forgot. This shocked her and she hastily apologized. Then she worried for fear she would have to go to the hospital and not have a chance to wear the dress. *W* assured her that if this happened she could wear it later. Now *W* is concerned that Miss Zachary will not approve of the idea.

The whole group was very well behaved. In the absence of Natalie, Bernice and Esther took over as leaders, although everyone had her say. Henrietta as usual walked with *W* to the door and Marian joined them. The others were waiting to say good-by. Tonight, however, Jane was at the door and opened it with a flourish: "I have the pleasure of assisting you!"

Questions

1. Parents, as well as institutional workers, occasionally use enforced absence from a club meeting as a means of punishing children. What does this indicate in regard to the parents' or their substitutes' conception of the purpose of the group experience? How can this attitude be changed?
2. Why do you think Henrietta and Ellen felt that the play could not be developed without Natalie?
3. How did the worker enable the members to write their play?
4. Evaluate this meeting from the point of view of the development of *esprit de corps*. What factors contributed to this development?

...Record #8. As Natalie had missed the last meeting when the play project was begun, *W* thought it a good idea to call her and let her know what had been done, so that Natalie would be willing to continue. When she called the Home, she was referred to Miss Thatcher who said that the girls were not allowed to talk over the phone. *W* asked Miss Thatcher about the evening dress for Jane and she was not only agreeable but said that the Home had two old ones the other girls could wear.

Esther was the first to arrive at the meeting. She had been interested and smiling of late, but now she again wore her earlier look of discontent, and *W* wondered why she had regressed. Just then the others came in and Natalie said that they (meaning she and Lucile) didn't like the play. Esther said that she didn't care what they did. Bernice looked surly, too, and mumbled something that sounded like "tear it up." Natalie didn't want to be a boy and neither did Betty. Natalie wanted to "play funny" and so did Betty. All this time Jane was in the corner looking very dejected and glaring accusingly at *W*. *W* laughed and asked the group why Jane was mad at her. They all said, "Because you forgot the evening dress." *W* pointed to the box on the table. Jane hurried toward it but was so excited that she couldn't open the box. She screamed with joy and went quickly to try the dress on. Natalie followed her from the room saying that she wanted to try it on, too.

Just then Miss Zachary came in and said that she wanted to speak to *W*. She said that Marian hadn't come upstairs for her nap today and that she should not be at club. She asked if *W* needed her at this meeting; then said, "I think this will impress her more as punishment if she has to leave the club now." *W* called Marian and walked to the door with her with her arm around her shoulders and said she would see her next week. Natalie came and asked *W* to call Betty out of the dressing-room because she would get them into trouble again. *W* didn't doubt it, and suggested that Natalie ask Betty to help with the second act of the play. Betty's actions throughout the evening showed that she now has more power than anyone else in the club; even Natalie submits to her.

The girls talked of how Natalie and Lucile did not like the play. *W* asked if they couldn't use some of Natalie's ideas in the second act and all work on it as they did last week. At this point a big fanfare was heard and Jane made her entrance. She looked very pretty, and although she was very self-conscious about her bare shoulders, she preened around the room. She said that Miss Zachary would never let her wear it, but *W* assured her she had permission. Natalie wanted to try it next. She too looked pretty and received compliments, but no more than Jane. Jane put the dress back on and for the rest of the evening did nothing about the play. She did not sit down the whole evening.

Whenever Natalie and Lucile were in the room, Bernice and Esther did not speak. Natalie declared she would not be a boy, with Betty echoing every word and Natalie saying, "Yes, and Betty doesn't want to, either." *W* said

she was sorry Natalie didn't want to be a boy because they had wanted her to be the comic and boys were usually the funniest. Also, her part called for her to trim the Christmas tree and she was the only one able to do so. She could be really funny doing this. Natalie said she would be a boy if she could be a young one like the kid brother in "Kiss and Tell." That brought a protest from Esther and Bernice who said they needed Natalie for a college boy; how could Jane be the girl friend if the boy was a kid brother? Arguments flew thick and fast until Bernice told Natalie to shut up and go "you know where." At this point *W* stepped in with an idea: Bernice and Natalie should be against each other in the play; Bernice would want Jane to marry one boy while Natalie would try to get her to marry another. With her own changes, Natalie accepted this, and Bernice didn't care what happened. Betty still wanted to be a girl and Ellen said she would change parts with her.

Natalie, however, wasn't through yet; she criticized the parts, the assignment of roles, and the writing in the play; why didn't they use one already written? By this time, the girls were so tired and upset that they were willing to agree to anything. When Natalie said that Susan, being smaller than Esther, ought to be the lady, Susan got mad for the first time this year. She told Natalie how she felt about everything. She talked quite a while without stopping. It was wonderful. Natalie gave up. Lucile did not get angry and never raised her voice. She smiled and had a somewhat soothing effect on the other girls. She did agree with Natalie that the play should have comic parts, but she stayed out of the arguments.

W saw that everyone was tired, and she suggested that they do nothing tonight but think it over and go on from there next week. She asked Julia what she thought. Julia said, "Let's all write it together." At the close of the meeting Julia came to *W* and asked about her job as property man.

During the heated discussion Natalie was telling how certain events could take place and said without thinking that Betty could be a drunk. She immediately caught herself, put her arm around Betty, and said that she didn't mean it. But Betty started crying and the girls looked appealingly at *W*. They were fearful that Betty would again be a tattle-tale and get them into trouble. Natalie particularly attempted to appease Betty. *W* tried to talk with Betty but she wouldn't answer.

Questions

1. Do you think this group should have been helped to finish what it started in spite of the difficulties blocking the development of the play? Why?
2. What values did the creative dramatics episode have for the members?
3. In what way did the attitudes of the workers of the Home and Natalie's reaction contribute to the development of the group-as-a-whole? (See Chapter 2, pp. 56-59.)



PYKE'S PACK

Trouble Makers

The collection of individuals designated as "Pyke's Pack" lacks many of the characteristics of an organized group.¹ Study of the entire record reveals how impossible it is for individuals to invest themselves in corporate activity when they are harrassed by personal needs. The group experience for the program year under consideration can be divided into two distinct periods — October to March, during which the experiences (delinquent in nature) of some of the members blocked the development of the group-as-a-whole; and March to June, when the group, deprived of three members through court sentences, developed some aspects of corporate existence. The excerpts from the record included here are representative of the first period only.

The agency regarded the members of Pyke's Pack as "trouble makers," but no one of the staff was acquainted with their activities outside of the agency. The worker, new to the agency, was introduced to four of the boys² by the Program Director. The worker and these boys gathered in the lounge to get acquainted and discuss what they wanted to do in their club.

...Record. Harry said they wanted to play soccer. . . . Pete asked for parties and girls, and laughed awkwardly. . . . Worker asked if they knew how to dance and Hal said that they needed "to learn better." . . . The worker observed that Pete was very restless. He didn't enter the conversation except to make wisecracks, and he ran in and out of the room. Once he stayed long enough to play with the cord on the window shade until he broke it.

In the conversation at the first meeting, the worker learned that Hal "can't play sports because he has water on the knee" and that Harold had a "sore on his toe which bleeds frequently." Two members who had not attended the club before came to the third meeting.³

...Record. Pete explained that Vito was the star receiver and Tom the star passer on their football team (acceptance on the basis of skill). . . . Pete told

¹ See Chapter 2, pp. 50-51.

² Hal, aged 16, in Grade 10 B, second of seven children, father deserted; Pete, aged 15, in 8B, fifth of five children, father dead, mother ill; Harry, aged 16, in 10B, first of two children, both parents in the home; Harold, aged 14, in 9B, third of five children, both parents ill.

³ Vito, aged 14, in 9B, first of three children, both parents in the home; Tom, aged 16, in 10B, second of four children, father dead.

Vito that I was the guy who was going to keep them straight, to which Vito replied that that was impossible. . . . We played for about thirty minutes and no other boys showed up. I asked about the rest of the boys. Pete said that Hal had a broken leg and Tom said that Paul¹ was in the hospital with infected hands. . . .

Pete asked me if I wanted a beer. I said, "No, thanks." Pete asked if I would like a shot and I again replied, "No, thanks." Pete said, "What's the matter, don't you drink?" I responded, "Only on Saturdays and Sundays." Pete said that the beer would be all gone by Saturday, and then he added that they stole a case every week from behind a tavern. "Oh, don't worry," he said, "we always take the empty bottles back. What's more, if there is anything you want us guys can get it for you." . . .

Before the next meeting the worker called Hal on the telephone to inquire about his leg and to arrange to visit him at home. Because of his concern over Pete's behavior he called the office of the Visiting Teacher of the school which Pete attended and arranged for a conference. He also went to the hospital to visit Paul who had had an operation for a felon on his thumb and Ronny² who had mangled his hand in a bicycle accident.

...*October 29. Fourth Meeting.* The club was invited to a Halloween Party given by a girls' club in the agency, so there was only a short business meeting prior to the party to plan for the program for next week. . . . As I was about to turn out the light, Pete came back, closed the door, and put his arms around me, saying, "I want to be alone with you." I resisted in a friendly manner and moved on out of the room. He repeated this type of behavior with me and other boys and men throughout the evening. . . .

I learned at the beginning of the evening that Hal had just fallen and mangled his hand on some broken glass. He was taken to the hospital. These repeated injuries to Hal that seem so needless must have real significance as a clue to his behavior. Hal's absence from the club seemed to be felt by the others.

...*Contacts Between Meetings. November 1.* Read the records in the office of the Visiting Teacher of her work with Pete and Paul.

Saw Ned³ on his way to work. On Saturdays and holidays he works in a bakery in another part of the city.

Visited Hal at his home. Pete was there when I arrived and Vito came soon after. Mrs. M. was cleaning house but stopped to join in the conversa-

¹ Paul aged 15, excused from school, first of four children, father dead, mother remarried several times.

² Ronny (Harry's younger brother), aged 14, in 8th grade, second of two children.

³ Ned (Hal's younger brother), aged 14, in 7B, third of seven children. Other members of the club: Chester, aged 14, in 9B, second of two children, both parents in the home; Dick (Paul's younger brother), aged 13, in 6A, second of four children.

tion. Hal was wearing a cast on his leg. He said that the doctor didn't know how it would come along because of his fall last Tuesday. Hal seemed to enjoy talking about it. I mentioned that I had seen Ned earlier in the day and I learned that he works on a delivery wagon that serves this neighborhood. It was his birthday, and Mrs. M. had ordered a birthday cake so that Ned could deliver his own cake. I felt that Mrs. M. showed more warmth and feeling when she talked about Ned than she showed toward Hal....

November 4. Having heard that Pete was in the Detention Home, I called the Juvenile Court worker and learned that the charges against Pete were related to sex delinquency. The hearing was to be held that day.

November 5. Called the worker at Juvenile Court and learned that Pete had been put on probation.

...*November 5. Fifth Meeting.* Harry and Vito were the only members to appear for club meeting.... I asked where the other boys were. Harry said that Pete was out celebrating after his day at the Juvey and he guessed that the others were with him. Hal was still laid up because of his leg, and Paul was in the hospital again for examination because of some infection that was in his system. Ronny had moved out of the neighborhood and Harold was selling papers every night down town.... Harry wondered if it would be possible to get some lumber; he said that the agency had tools and there were lots of things that the boys could make if we could get the wood. We went to discuss this with the Program Director. She said that the tools and space could be made available but that wood had been impossible to get. Harry suggested a possible source, and the Program Director asked him to find out about the cost and to let her know. This he agreed to do. With this plan in mind, both boys left the agency.

...*Contacts Between Meetings. November 7.* Conference concerning Hal with the office of the Public Welfare agency which is serving the M. family. Participants: the social group worker and his supervisor, the social case worker and his supervisor.

...*November 12. Sixth Meeting.* Vito and Paul, accompanied by two girls, were the first to arrive. They all asked if the girls could play soccer with the boys tonight. I suggested that they might play until the rest of the boys arrived and then they would have to leave. They agreed to this plan.... Pete and Harry were the next to arrive, Pete with a new pipe and a can of tobacco.... When sufficient members had arrived, the girls were asked to leave, and after a scramble of putting them out the boys continued playing soccer and volley ball.... Hal came in toward the end of the game, but could not play because of his leg difficulty. He was wearing a brace and walked with a limp. I was unable to talk with him because I needed to keep tab on the game throughout....

...*November 19. Seventh Meeting.* This was an evening of activity necessitating a great deal of decision-making, since Hal was still unable to play

rough games and the others wanted soccer, dodge ball and other games that involved running. Since it was impossible to arrive at a compromise, there was a great deal of moving of furniture to permit ping-pong in one part of the room and rough games in another. The girls returned and begged to play with the boys, who finally let them. The evening ended with a co-ed play period.

I asked Paul if he had been feeling well. He said that he had been feeling O.K., but that he had to go to the hospital weekly for observation.

...*November 26. Eighth Meeting.* Hal, Ned, Vito, and Paul were the first to arrive. Paul had just had an operation removing a gland from his lower abdomen, and as a result could not play any strenuous games. Hal said his leg was better and that he was allowed to play more. We played a make-shift game of basketball. With the arrival of Dick and Harry the group wanted to play soccer. Before starting I asked them all to get in a huddle as I had something that I wanted to talk over with them. I pointed out the danger to property which playing games in a room like the auditorium presented and asked them if they would like to have me see if it would be possible for the agency to secure the use of one of the school gymnasiums in the neighborhood (all of which were closed at night). They were wildly enthusiastic. I cautioned them not to make too great plans as I did not know whether it could be arranged. . . .

...*December 3. Ninth Meeting.* The evening was spent in playing soccer. The group's play was marked by much more organization and teamwork. . . . Roger substituted for Paul at times so that Paul would not become exhausted. Pete came in about 9:15 and spent some time talking with me on the sidelines. He told how he had lost his job as paper boy because he didn't show up one day and somebody else sold his papers. This was told with much fooling around, charging onto the floor, toppling the standards and breaking up the game. The boys protested strongly but were powerless to control him, and I finally had to insist that he leave the building.

...*Contacts Between Meetings. December 7.* Called the Social Service Department of the hospital to inquire about Paul. He was not known to this service, but I was referred to the record room where I was given the name of the doctor caring for Paul. Called the doctor, who said that he had had Paul under observation for some time because of a chronic swelling of the lymph gland. He said it was not serious and that Paul could participate in all kinds of activities but that it would be well to watch that he did not get exhausted. He had no information about Dick (Paul's brother) but said that the whole family had recently been tested for T.B. at another hospital.

Called Juvenile Court to inquire about Pete who was to have a hearing on the tenth of this month. I talked to the worker's supervisor when I learned that the worker was not in and told her that we were concerned about a psychiatric examination for Pete before a sentence was given. The supervisor

said that none had been made as yet, but that the worker had noted that one was indicated, and that, even though the examination had not been given before the hearing, it would be presented at the hearing that psychiatric information was needed before a commitment. She invited me to the hearing.

December 10. Attended hearing at the Juvenile Court. The probation officer asked me to be a character witness for Pete. Had a short interview with Pete prior to the hearing and explained to him my part in the proceeding. At the hearing, I presented evidence to indicate the need for a psychiatric examination for Pete.¹

...*December 17. Tenth Meeting.* I had never seen the club so relaxed as at this meeting. There were no tensions, arguments, or evidences of irresponsible behavior. Each member chose his activity and took his turn when it came. The boys danced and learned jitterbug steps, played pool and then ping-pong. They formed teams of twos and threes to make running catches and passes with the football. This was the last meeting before the Christmas holiday, and they agreed to have the next meeting on January 3. [However, the club did not have a real meeting again until January 14.]

...*January 14. Eleventh Meeting.* Harry and Harold were on hand when I arrived. They immediately wanted to know if I had heard about the trouble that the other boys had gotten into. I said that I had heard something about it. Others came in, and they all began to talk at once. While I was trying to listen to everybody, Tom, one of the boys involved, arrived; he took over to tell the whole story in more detail. The events are summarized for clarity:

On December 10, about 9:30 and again at 10:30, Tom, Ned, Hal, Pete, and Vito broke into a tavern. They took over seventy-five dollars, around fifty cartons of cigarettes, and some Hershey bars. They hid their loot in a garage and later in a heating manhole in the neighborhood. Another boy who had not taken part, but who was a particular friend of Hal's, stole the loot from the manhole. The boys think that Hal told him where it was and that the new boy was to sell the stuff and split the proceeds with Hal.

On December 17 the same boys broke into a drugstore and took a little under ten dollars, candy, gum, and padlocks. They hid this loot and it was stolen before they could do anything about it. They didn't know who took it.

On January 8, about two in the morning, the police came to all their homes and took all the boys to the police station. At five-thirty in the morning they were taken to the Juvenile Court and held there for questioning until four o'clock in the afternoon.

At just about the same time the F.B.I. traced a robbery in which guns were stolen from the stadium by six boys, four of whom were also involved in the

¹ In this court the child does not hear the witnesses.

robberies already described. Harry was with the gang the second time they stole guns and he therefore described the episode and their recent encounter with the F.B.I. On January 11 some F.B.I. men came to their homes, and on January 13 they came to the school to tell the boys to be ready to be called at any time.

...*January 22. Twelfth Meeting.* When I entered the building all except Hal were sitting in the lobby chairs. Hal was playing ping-pong. There was an immediate request for a meeting, the first direct request this year. At first there was much talk about the cast on Paul's leg. Everyone was curious about it and asked how long he would have to wear it. This continued until Paul became fed up and said it was the club that we needed to talk about. Harry felt that what happened to the club would depend upon what happened to the boys after the Court hearing. Paul, who was not involved, said there would be a club no matter what happened at the Court, and he felt we should set up rules and decide who could and who could not be members. Paul announced that he would not stay in the club if Tom came back. Hal was quiet during this discussion and didn't register enthusiasm one way or another....

I asked what they wanted to do most at this time. They said they would like to talk about getting jobs and what they might do this summer. Paul was interested in joining the Merchant Marine and wanted help in getting in touch with the office in Philadelphia since he had received no answer to his letters. Harry said that Paul couldn't pass the physical examination. This led to an argument which ended when I suggested that Paul talk it over with his doctor and that, if his doctor thought that he was physically able, I would be glad to be of assistance to him in finding out more about the Merchant Marine. Harry thought that he would like a job as an usher since he was tall enough to qualify. After we had discussed the various theaters, he decided that he would apply at a few of them some day after school. Harold has a permit to be excused from school this week to look for a job. He is sixteen and has to contribute to the support of the family. He now has a part-time job as a soda jerker at a drugstore out of the neighborhood. He wondered if I could help him find a full-time job. He has been to the U.S.E.S. but had found that they don't accept applications from anyone under eighteen. He asked me if I knew of any other employment agencies where he could apply. I told him that I would make inquiry and would have a report ready for him at the next club meeting and that if he didn't want to wait that long he could come and see me any time after tomorrow. The others were interested, too, and so we agreed to discuss this at our next meeting.

After the meeting closed, Hal went to the game room. I went over to talk with him and opened the conversation by saying that I understood why he had not been able to keep the appointment with me yesterday that he had asked for. He said that he guessed that I knew that he had to go down to the Federal Court. I agreed and asked if he wanted to talk with me now. He

said that it was no use to talk with me now. I stayed in the game room. Pretty soon Hal came over and said in a low voice that his mother wanted my help to find a lawyer. This I doubted. But I asked Hal if he would like to go up to the office with me to talk about it. We went to the office. Hal said that he had gotten himself into the jam and now it was up to him to get himself out of it. He had talked with no one about it except at the Court and that hadn't helped very much because it had been in terms of what he did and how he had done it. It was not possible for him to talk to his mother because he felt so sad to have caused her so much trouble. He said that I was the only one to whom he could talk. I asked if he thought that I could help. His answer indicated that "help" to him meant getting him out of trouble at the Courts. He didn't think that there was much that I could do. He said that he would never do anything like he had done again if he gets out of this all right. I pointed out that most of us get into trouble of some sort and that we can't get out of the trouble without those who know how to help us. I said that perhaps he did not feel like having someone give him a hand right now but that later on he might. I said that I hoped he would feel that he could come to me for help if he decided that he wanted it. He said that he would think it over and maybe he would come back. I told him that I would be at the agency Monday night.

...*Contacts between Meetings. January 24.* Second conference between the workers of the Public Welfare agency and the Community Center, concerning the M. family and Hal and Ned in particular.

Saw Hal in the game room but he made no move to talk with me. I said that I hoped to see him at the club meeting, but he did not attend.

...*January 24. Thirteenth Meeting.* The boys had agreed at the last meeting to discuss getting jobs this week. Harold had secured full-time employment at the drugstore where he had been working part-time. Harry had not gone to the theaters as he had planned. He said that he thought he ought to dress up to apply for a job and as he wears his old clothes to school he had not been able to do so. I suggested that he take his good clothes to school with him and dress there after school and then he could get to the theater office before closing time. We went over all the details of making an application at an employment office. Paul said that he wanted to work at the Federal Enamel Company. His godfather had written a letter of introduction to the plant manager but even with that he had been unsuccessful. He asked if I would write a letter for him. I said that I would be glad to, but what about his leg in a cast? Would the doctor permit? He thought so. We agreed that when he received a written O.K. from the doctor I would take whatever steps I could to help him get a job. I gave the boys a list of agencies that offer job-finding services to youth. These included the office of the Housing Authority where they lived, Catholic Charities, and the vocational testing service. We discussed each one and how to go about making application to each.

...*Contacts Between Meetings.* January 31. Called Mr. F., probation officer at the Juvenile Court, to arrange for an interview on February 7.

February 3. Interview with Hal. Hal had just finished a game of ping-pong as I entered the game room. I asked if he were free as I would like to talk with him. He said that since he had "nothing else to do we might as well." We went upstairs to the office where we had talked before.

In response to my question, Hal said that "things were pretty tough"; that he wished the whole thing were over with and that if he ever got out of this he would never get in trouble again. He was sure that this offense would be difficult to get out of as it was four charges in one. We talked about his other "scrapes" which led to his telling about his first trip to reform school. He wasn't happy about going back again and said quickly that he hadn't done anything bad like stealing the last time he was sent there. He told about the numerous times he had run away from home. Finally his mother got "scared" and got the Juvenile Court to help her. When he was found, the Court sent him away. It all started because the teacher "had it in for him" and he felt that he was "getting even" by playing hookey. When I asked if he felt the same way when he ran away from home, he said that it wasn't the same; every time he thought it was going to be fun, but it never was. He knew exactly why he ran away from school but had no idea why he ran away from home, saying that he had a good home and really had no reason to leave it.

When I asked how he was spending his time these days, he told me of his activities at home and in the agency. He told me of his future plans, but his face clouded when he said that probably "they" wouldn't give him a chance to carry them out now, and that it didn't pay to make plans anyway. When asked what he had been thinking about this whole affair, he said that he had been thinking a "million things," but every time he gets "fed up" with the whole thing. When asked what happens then, he said he has to get up and walk around or come over to the Center and play ping-pong — anything to forget about "it." He agreed that this helps only as long as he is busy, "then it comes back again." This statement he dramatized by putting his hands, palms open, in front of him as though he were holding "it" before him. He could enjoy himself all evening at the Center, but when he was alone — "there it was again." He could talk with someone and forget about "it," but as soon as that person left — "there it was." At school, he would fool around with "the guys" in the halls, but when he approached the classroom — "there it was"; and his hands came up this time with more intensity.

I said that this must bother him a lot and he must want to get rid of it. He said "it sure does," and that "it" gets in his way all the time. When asked what he thought "it" might be, he said he didn't know, but that "it" was really a lot of things. I quickly added "that seem like one big thing." We decided that "it" must be closely tied to what might happen to him at the Juvey. After a short pause, I asked if he thought this "thing" might go

away if the judge sent him away. He couldn't be sure about that, and looked down, thoughtfully poking at the table with his finger. I said that I wondered, too; that perhaps a thing as big as this didn't go away quite so easily, and I wondered if there might be something he could do to make it go away. He thought a little while and said that he didn't know what he could do about it. I said that was not unusual, but it was certain that he would like to get rid of "it"; perhaps if he knew some things that he might do he would want to try them. He was sure this was true, but he had not thought there was much he could do.

We then discussed how talking things over with someone often helps to straighten matters out; how everyone gets in trouble at some time or another and usually has to get some kind of help; how sometimes a friend, a teacher, or an older person whom one respects can help. I said that there were also people whose job it was to talk things over with others who are in trouble; that these people knew how to help others remove problems such as his from their minds. I added that I was not one of those persons, but that I knew several who were, and if at any time he would like to consider this for himself I should be glad to talk more with him about it and see what could be done. After a considerable pause, Hal said that he would like to think about it for a while, and then said that it was late and he would have to leave. I reminded him that I would be glad to see him at any time and that if necessary he could arrange an appointment through the Program Director.

February 7. Third conference between the representatives of the Public Welfare Agency, the Community Center, and the Juvenile Court. This conference, like the others, was called by the Community Center for the purpose of exchanging information and making co-ordinated plans for the work with the M. family, with particular reference to Hal and Ned. At this conference the workers reviewed all the contacts which each agency had had with the M. family. The probation officer reviewed the charges against Hal and Ned and the former offenses of each. The case worker described Hal's reaction to his drunken father when much younger and said that ever since the father left the home Hal had been reminded that he "looked like and acted like" his father. His first contact with the Juvenile Court was a result of his mother's appeal for help because Hal repeatedly ran away from home. At this time he was sent to an Industrial Home for Boys at which he spent thirteen months. Since returning home, he has been connected with a great many minor delinquencies which have now snowballed into the present difficulty with the Federal Government. The social group worker reported that Hal had inherited the position of leadership in the club from his older brother who was an effective and accepted leader. Hal put everything he had into the club, but he would go "all out" in such a manner that he failed because he could not get real acceptance from the other members. His delinquencies have given him a certain kind of prestige among the members, and judging from the relationships in the group there is little question but that Hal was more of a leader than any of the other members. However, the

seriousness of the present charges and community opinion in regard to them has greatly reduced Hal's status with the other members. Hal is now doing serious thinking and is in a frame of mind to do something about himself. He has demonstrated his capacity by finishing the current semester in school creditably, in spite of his arrest. The worker recounted the plans that Hal had been making for new program for the club and said that his resistance to help from the worker was breaking down. In view of these things it seemed that Hal would be amenable to help if he had time enough to work it out.

The possibilities involved in the Court hearing for these boys were then discussed: (1) continuing the case until Hal could make an adjustment with help from the social case worker and the social group worker; (2) getting psychiatric help through the Court; and (3) commitment. The workers wondered whether, if Hal were committed, he could receive in the institution the help which seemed to be needed. The probation officer felt there might be a possible chance that the case could be continued but that this was not likely because of the number and seriousness of the charges. It was agreed that both the social case worker and the social group worker be invited to present information at the court hearing on February 25.

February 14. Conference with Mr. F. at Juvenile Court concerning Harry, Pete, Chester, Tom, and Vito. This was an exchange of information between the two agencies for better understanding of the boys and of the situation, preparatory to the hearing on February 25.

...February 17. Fourteenth Meeting. Harry, Harold, Tom, and Chester were the only club members present at the meeting this evening. However, they brought four other boys who said that they were members last year and wanted to return to the club. (Note that none of the leaders in the stealing episode were present; of the members, all but Harold were involved, but this is their first offense. None of the visitors were in this jam.)

I reviewed the plans discussed at the last meeting and stated that we were going to consider all the possibilities — the pros and cons of having a club, and what would be involved *for them*. It was obvious that there was no question in their minds at this time that they were going to have a club. They said, "You gotta have jerseys and caps" — "We want games in the gym with competition" — "We wanna meet with girls" — "We wanna go swimming." I asked them what was the matter with the club during these past few months which had made it impossible for them to do these things. They pointed out the irregular attendance, but said of course they would not repeat this. Without dampening their enthusiasm I said I wanted them to really think before making the decision; that they did not have to have a club to do some of these things; that they could sign up for gym periods and join swimming classes in some of the other centers; and that at the canteen which met twice a week they could dance with girls. They still insisted that they wanted a club. I said they could have a club if they wanted one, but they would have to take some responsibility in creating one. I pointed out what

some of these responsibilities are: holding regular meetings and planning the activities, scheduling the rooms and keeping the schedule, showing consideration for property and equipment, being responsible for their own conduct in and around the building. They seemed to take this quite seriously and after some discussion it was decided that the discussion of the future of the club would be continued next week.

...*Contacts Between Meetings. February 18.* Interview with Chester concerning the hearing on February 25. Interview with Tom concerning the hearing on February 25.

Interview with Hal, Ned, and Pete. I asked Hal how things were going. He said, "O.K." Ned and Pete joined us; they had it all figured out and thought that they would each be sent to a different place. Ned said that he was a second offender and he was sure he would be sent away. Hal and Pete said they were first offenders and still had hope. Ned challenged this and we discussed what constituted having offenses against one. Hal and Pete became less optimistic but were unable to face the whole situation as realistically as Ned. This gave an opportunity to talk about what it meant to be sent away, and eventually we were discussing the fact that when people could not learn to behave when they were "free" they were sent to schools to learn how. Hal, speaking from his experience at one of them, said that after you are there about eight months you become a "big shot" and if you behave right maybe you can get out in ten months. I pointed out that they could demonstrate that they could behave "right" and maybe get out in a few months. They seemed to get a little comfort from this . . .

...*February 24. Fifteenth Meeting.* Of the group who had been attending the club previous to the arrests, only Harry and Tom were present. Seven other boys turned up, all claiming membership in the club. After movies the boys gathered in the club room for the purpose of further discussion on whether or not to have a club and what is involved in having one. Ten or twelve girls burst into the room and there was a great deal of noise and confusion. The girls wanted these boys to play games with them as the other boys had done previously. It was difficult for the boys to make a decision but they finally appealed to me to put the girls out. I succeeded in doing this with difficulty. It was hard for the boys to settle down to a discussion. Two of them were worried about the results of the hearing tomorrow and the general stimulation from the girls made serious conversation very difficult. I reminded them that they had decided that they would not make their decision until the following Monday night. They agreed but thought that they ought to discuss it some tonight. I added that whether or not this group formed a club did not determine whether they could use the community center and enter into the activities. Actually there were many activities at scheduled times which they could enter. Having a club was something special and the difference between having a club and joining the activities was that they had

the opportunity to plan their own activities and carry them out either in the community center or in other agencies in the neighborhood or in the county for that matter. I reminded them that I was a worker at the community center and was there to help them to plan, organize, and conduct their program. After some discussion I again pointed out that it was not necessary for them to have a club, that actually we could carry on many activities in the regular program in line with the things they said that they wanted to do. They asked if they could meet on another night when there were fewer people in the building. I told them that as a rule there were fewer people in the building on Tuesday and Thursday nights but that it was pretty crowded every night. They decided that they would meet again next Monday night. I said that was the last night that we could discuss this matter and that the decision Monday night would be final. They all agreed to this.

...*Contacts Between Meetings. February 25.* Attended the hearing with representatives from the Community Center and the Public Welfare Agency. Three workers from the Center and the worker from the Welfare Agency presented the material discussed in the previous conference. Hal, Ned, and Pete were sent to reform schools and the other boys put on probation.¹

Questions

1. Note the testing process as the members decide whether to accept their new worker.
2. What do you think of the worker's handling of the boys' question, "Do you drink?"
3. In what roles did the members of the group cast the worker?
4. What may repeated accidents indicate about the needs of an individual?
5. Why did the worker put a time limit on the period the girls could play with the boys in the gym?
6. Note the importance of the social group worker's knowledge of illnesses and the limitations of convalescence as illustrated by the needs of members of this group. How did the worker use his knowledge of the physical conditions of the members in directing the activities of the club?
7. Is there any evidence of commonly accepted values within this group which affected the behavior of the members? In what ways did the agency affect the norms of the group? Analyze the role of the worker in the process.
8. Discuss the help the worker gave to members within the group and in personal conferences. What help did he give Hal directly? What was the value of his contacts with the school, the Public Welfare Agency, and the Court?
9. In what way and for what purpose did the worker affect the process of re-formation of the club? Indicate the resultant help to specific individuals and to the group-as-a-whole.
10. What evidence do you see of the development of an *esprit de corps* in this group?

¹ See discussion of Pyke's Pack in Chapter 4, pp. 119-121.



THE GLAMOUR GIRLS

Widening Horizons

The members of the Glamour Girls have been part of the agency since early-grade-school days. Five of the seven members have a close bond and are usually together at school, in the neighborhood, and in the agency. The members have high standards and tend to regard themselves as superior to most other groups in the agency. One member said that she would leave if any one brought any of those "Sue City Sue" girls into this club. Another repeatedly suggested that the club enlarge its membership in order to make possible a more varied program; each time the other members agreed in theory but someone was always unwilling to invite any of the girls that were suggested.

...*Record.* Virginia said, "What can you do with only five girls? We ought to get some 'nice' girls to join up." Dorothy said, "It's hard to find the 'right' girls." I asked what she meant when she said "right" girls. They couldn't quite define the word and finally Dorothy said, "Girls like us!" . . . The girls decided that people they liked to be with were "nice" and "right."

The age-range of the girls is fourteen to seventeen: one is fourteen, one fifteen, one sixteen and four are seventeen. All attend the same high school and all but one of the members live in a public housing project. *Betty Lou* is the elected president of the group but she attends irregularly. She has no father, her mother is a household employee, and Betty Lou works after school, frequently having to work past the time of the club meeting. She is seventeen, in the twelfth grade, and the only child in the family. *Dorothy* was secretary of the club until late spring when she was replaced because she never wrote any minutes. She is seventeen years old, in the ninth grade, the second in a family of three. Both her father and mother work, her father in a machine shop and her mother at housework. *Grace* succeeded Dorothy as a secretary and took great pride in her office. She is the only Roman Catholic in the group and the only one who does not live in the housing project. She lived there until very recently, however. It is now necessary for her to take a street car and a bus to get to club, but in the five months since she moved she has not missed any meetings. This would lead us to believe that the club is fulfilling a real need in her life since she sees her friends at school every day and would not need to come to club to keep up their acquaintance. Grace, aged seventeen, in Grade 10A at school, is the

youngest child in a family of six. Her father is dead; her mother keeps house, supported by the older children. *Louise* and *Mary*, sisters, are seventeen and fifteen years old. Their father is a house cleaner and their mother a housewife. There are four other children in the family, one younger than Mary and three older than Louise. They have a family car and occasionally the father or one of the brothers will use it to transport the entire club and the worker to camp or some other place of interest. In the latter part of the last program year, Betty Lou resigned as president of the Glamour Girls and Louise, as vice president, took over her duties. *Fannie* is the youngest member of the group and very popular with all the others; however, her attendance is irregular because she lives in a different part of the housing project and her parents will not permit her to come to the agency alone at night. *Fannie* is fourteen and in the ninth grade; she is the older of two children, and both her father and her mother work. *Virginia* was not a member of the club until the early spring, although she had belonged to other clubs with these girls in past years. She was brought back to the group by Dorothy, but was quite coolly received by the other members. It was *Virginia* who always pressed for a larger group, and the others seemed to regard her as an upstart. *Virginia* always had to struggle to get consideration of her ideas. She is sixteen, in 9A in school, and is the second child in a family of six children. Her father is dead and her mother is employed in housework. All the members of this club are Negroes. Prior to this year their only organized group affiliations were in the agency. During the course of the program year under consideration, the worker succeeded in helping them to join a dramatics group and a dancing class in a nearby settlement. She also made arrangements for them to swim as a group in the pool of the Y.M.C.A. and to use the bowling alleys of a Boys' Club in the neighborhood. These were *group* affiliations, not individual ones, and they all attended together. When one was ill or unable to go, none of the girls went to the other agencies. However, this was not their pattern in regard to attendance at Glamour Girl meetings. Even when several members were ill or the weather was bad, one or two members still turned up at club meeting.

The program which was planned and carried out by the members was varied, including crafts, creative dramatics, cooking, dancing, parties for themselves and with other groups. The club participated in all-agency events and occasionally helped with parties for younger members of the agency. The discussions which took place in the course of these activities were the most important part of the year's experience, for they led to clarification of ideas, provided considerable new knowledge, helped the members to undertake new experiences, and were means of changing some attitudes.

...Record. I found that Virginia enjoys discussing girls' love affairs. She told several stories about girls whom they all knew. At one point she began to whisper to Dorothy, who said, "Say it out loud. No one is going to say anything. You can talk about anything you want." Virginia said, "Oh, I don't like to say some things in front of my elders." Grace burst out laughing and I said, "Pardon me, while I get my beard out." Then I looked straight at her and told her that it was true she did not need to be afraid of shocking me, or to feel ashamed of anything she might want to say, we just talk out loud in this club. Virginia said, "O.K. I was just saying — and I don't know whether it's true or not — but I heard that she was going to have a baby and that is why they had to get married. You know, a lot of girls just don't know the facts and they don't learn anything at school either." I asked her if she thought that she knew all about sex, and she said that what she didn't know she asked about.

We then talked about the persons one could ask for information about the things we don't understand in ourselves and that we hear about from other people. The girls said that when they put all that they knew together they learned a lot from each other. Some of them named older girls who had "told them things," and Dorothy said that she learned a lot from the boys. The girls laughed. Dorothy insisted that she was telling the truth, but the girls did not believe her. I said that I was thinking about their mothers and the teachers at school. Dorothy said that she couldn't talk to her mother about things like people having babies because her mother would think she was bad and would yell at her. Fannie was the only girl in the group who said that she discussed with her mother subjects like marriage and babies. When Dorothy said that she talked to Miss K. at school, there was a howl from the group which ended in a chorus of "I don't believe you." Louise said that Dorothy just said that because she has a crush on Miss K. Dorothy said, "That's right, I just l-o-v-e her." The girls greeted this with a disgusted grunt. Grace said, "We have classes in biology and we learn some things there, but the trouble is we don't understand a lot of it and we wouldn't dare to ask the teacher." Virginia said that she had asked the teacher a question once and the teacher was embarrassed and made her feel as if she were "bad" because she asked the question. I asked if part of the difficulty was that the words in the textbooks and those the teacher uses are different words than they use when they are talking alone and that they got all mixed up. They agreed that this was true, and then Mary said, "Miss R., you always understand; how do you do it?" I told them I had been a high-school girl myself once and I could remember how I felt about things. Dorothy said that she guessed most grown-up people forget. I said that I hoped they would bring up for discussion in their club meetings anything they were troubled about and didn't understand.

The girls were making leather belts when this conversation took place. Although, needless to say, little progress was made on the belts, they could

be finished later at another meeting; but this discussion would not have been as effective if it had been postponed or even if it had been a planned discussion meeting. The worker was ready to follow the interest of the moment and to help the members use the group experience to meet their real interests and needs rather than their expressed interest. This discussion started on a very gossipy level. This is a difficult situation for a worker to handle, for the value of group experience to the members will soon be lost if the meetings are permitted to degenerate into mere gossip. On the other hand, the worker who shuts off free discussion of the members will find that he is cut off from the main stream of the group's life. In this instance the worker wisely remained silent. In Dorothy's explanation to Virginia, we see evidence that this worker had established a relationship of trust with the members. They felt she understood them well enough so that they could talk about things that they had learned not to mention before most "elders." Note how skillfully the worker directed their conversation from talk about *other* girls to interest and concern in themselves. She asked Virginia if *she* knew all about sex. Note also that the worker used the word "sex," thereby identifying the area they were talking about and showing that she could talk about sex in the same matter of fact way she talked about anything else. In this discussion she also helped the members to evaluate their sources of information. In the course of the discussion which followed this excerpt, the worker helped them to see that many of the older girls have had as little opportunity for factual information as they themselves, that many things learned from unreliable sources only make one afraid, and that it is important that every girl and boy have some way of knowing what is misinformation and what is true. We are interested in the way the worker helped the girls to recognize that one of the problems is a matter of vocabulary. The staff of the agency which sponsors this group has made up a glossary (for the use of the staff and volunteers) of neighborhood street terms pertaining to sex. This is a very great help; unless a worker understands the words used by the members, he is as much at a loss as the Glamour Girls were in their biology classes at school. "Words" are not so important, however, as the worker's attitude toward the members and their problems. This social group worker was sufficiently free from the inhibitions which surround the subject of sex to be able to identify with the members and help them discuss their problem. We are not surprised, then, to find the girls seeking her help at another meeting.

...*Record.* The Glamour Girls came to the movies in the auditorium. On their way up to the auditorium they stopped in the office. Dorothy said that they had a problem they wanted me to help them with and could they have a meeting after the movies. Louise said that they wanted to wait until after

the movies because then they would have plenty of time to discuss it. I said that I could meet them and arranged for a room where we could have the discussion. . . . I asked them what problem they had for me. Several of the girls shouted, "You tell her Dorothy." Then Dorothy said bluntly, "How many eggs do we have?" I asked her who "we" were. It seems that in their biology class one of the questions asked was, How many eggs does a female human being have in a lifetime?

The worker asked several questions through which she found that they were in a state of confusion about the procreative process.

...Record. I was able to supplement and illustrate what I said with the De Schweinitz book, *Growing Up*¹ which I hurriedly found. The girls discussed many of the superstitions of childbirth — and they pulled out many of their childhood fears and with decreasing reluctance began to discuss their present fears concerning the phenomena of childbirth. The girls described their menstrual periods and told how uncomfortable they were at times. I helped them to see that this period is a natural one for every woman and that pain is not necessarily a part of the process. We discussed the importance of regular health examinations. Dorothy said several times, "I'm going to the doctor's soon. It's good, isn't it, Miss R., to be examined?" To this statement I replied in the affirmative.

These group discussions were supplemented by personal interviews and conversations, some of them by appointment and some of them more casual, before and after meetings or during trips which the group took to points of interest in the community.

The agency which sponsors the Glamour Girls is an interracial one. Special events and agency-wide activities include both the colored and the white members in the constituency. The agency sponsors natural groups, and each group operates as an autonomous unit within the general structure of the agency. This means that each club has the privilege and the responsibility of setting up its own membership requirements. As a result, some groups in the agency are composed only of colored members and other groups only of white members. They participate together in the special events, but some groups otherwise have little to do with one another. The Glamour Girls was a group that kept to itself, and the social group worker was concerned with helping these members widen their social horizons. She was unsuccessful in helping them to include other girls in their club, but she did enable them to move as a club into larger groups in other agencies. The dramatics group and the social dancing class in the settlement were interracial. When the girls returned to their club meeting after their first visit to the settlement, Dorothy said to the worker, "It's for everybody, too,"

¹ See bibliography, pp. 641-644.

meaning that in addition to all the other things they had enjoyed they were particularly impressed with its interracial aspect. The following excerpts from the records of the Glamour Girls give some indication of the growth of these members in their attitudes toward white people, as they developed an interracial event within this agency.

...*January 29.* Mary said that she had been thinking that we ought to have a dance. Dorothy suggested that we have a formal, but practical Grace asked where we would get the gowns. Dorothy said that she had a gown, and Grace rejoined that if the club had a formal she would stay at home and so would a lot of others. . . . Mary said that she didn't think they should have a formal dance, that she had a barn dance in mind — "all wear jeans and straw hats." Louise said that was more like it. Mary went on with her idea. "We've been talking a lot about other people and everything, so why can't we invite everybody — like other races. We could ask the Jitterjives and the other kids." This suggestion was met with thoughtful silence. I asked how they would want to plan such an affair — by inviting the other groups to a party, or by asking them to join with us in planning a joint affair. Grace suggested that we think about it for a while, because she felt that we should have more time to think about a mixed party. Louise asked what I thought about it. I thought it a fine idea, but agreed we did need to think about it and discuss it among ourselves and then perhaps ask the Jitterjives to discuss it with us before we made final plans. It was decided to sound out the Jitterjives, and if they showed any evidence of interest, we would invite them to work on a planning committee.

It is important to note the role of the worker in this discussion. She was almost too quick to give her approval to the suggestion that the Glamour Girls plan a party with the white Jitterjives. It is Grace who sounds the warning and pleads for time to think about such an activity. The worker is sensitive to the tone and words of Grace, and when she is asked for her opinion she picks up Grace's remark and gives assurance that they will not plunge headlong into a situation before they have had the opportunity to think it through. The worker, however, did not just let this idea fall by the wayside. She brought it into reality by immediately suggesting the structure of organization which such an event would have to have. She presented two alternatives: an event in which one group would do something for another group, and another kind of situation in which two groups would do something together.

...*February 5.* Betty Lou called for the minutes. Dorothy giggled and said she hadn't any; then she began to tell about the plans to have a mixed barn dance with the Jitterjives and to "make it co-ed." They wanted to invite the Jitterjives to discuss the plan with them. I asked them if they had ap-

proached any of the Jitterjive girls. They said no, but thought that they would accept. I questioned this on the grounds that we had no evidence from that group that they wanted to do anything with us. They thought about this for a while and became dogmatic, saying that they knew those girls liked them. I asked them if they wouldn't like to talk with the worker who meets with the Jitterjives. Mary went downstairs to see if Miss T. were free. I had already discussed the situation with the other worker and knew that just last week, when the Glamour Girls were talking about a party with the Jitterjives, the latter had used their club meeting time to air their feelings against the "niggers." Miss T. and I felt that unless this first step of getting the two groups together was carefully planned it might be more of a set-back than a step forward in their relationships.

With Miss T.'s help the girls began to think about the many factors necessary to make this affair successful. Miss T. questioned whether the Jitterjives were as ready as the Glamour Girls for an interracial affair. Then too, the Jitterjives did not enjoy square dancing, and regular dancing might become bi-racial rather than interracial. The girls said that at school the dances were interracial, yet when questioned, they admitted that Billie S. was the only member of the Jitterjives who participated in the school dances. We wondered if the Jitterjives might come more readily if they were invited to an all-girl party. Mary said that she thought that we should do it that way to begin with. Betty Lou thought that we should not assume a begging attitude — that we should ask them once and for all and not beat around the bush, "because people don't change about such things." Miss T. said that sometimes groups may not be ready to do something at one time, but in a week or two they change their minds. Several girls snorted at the idea. Miss T. asked why the girls wanted a party with the Jitterjives. Mary said, "We talk too much about white and colored getting together but we don't do anything about it. Well — we want to try. Some white people I don't give two cents for — some I like and they like me — same with colored people, you like some and some you don't. But lots of people you got to know to like 'em. Well, it's like we said; we want to start now." There was a painful silence, broken by Betty Lou: "We say we want to make this a community. Well, we can't if we don't know folks in it." Grace said, "We just want to try. If it fails — well, we tried, anyhow." Mary began, "I have one thing more to say and I hope you don't get hurt, Miss T." Louise (her older sister) interrupted, "Shut up, Mary — and don't say it, do you hear?" "Don't tell me to shut up. If I have anything to say I will say it." Mary looked at me and I smiled and said that both Miss T. and I wanted her to say just what she wanted to say. Miss T. said, "What is it, Mary?" Mary looked directly at Miss T. and said, "I don't think that you want us to have this party *and* I don't think you are in favor of it." Miss T. replied, "I do want you to have this party and I am in favor of it — but I want it to be a success. I do care about it — if I didn't, I would say to go ahead and I am afraid that it might not turn out to be successful."

I asked Miss T. if she would tell us why she felt that way, saying that I did not think the group was clear as to why she felt that the Jitterjives were not ready for our party. Miss T. then told them about the discussion that the Jitterjives had had about Negroes and how they had showed their prejudices at that time. Dorothy immediately flared up and said that we never talk against white people: "Do we, Miss R? Now tell the truth." I told Dorothy that there was no need for her to get upset about the discussions in other clubs, since we too talk about the things we like and don't like, and that the Jitterjives were discussing Negroes in general and not the Glamour Girls. Louise said that they had a right to talk about what they pleased, anyway. She went on to say that we might talk about white people — sometimes — and besides the Jitterjives like us. Grace said that we have gone camping with them. I reminded her that that was only one occasion and that we really had not had much to do with them. Miss T. said, "Would you have had a dance with them last year?" The answers were emphatically no! "Then," said Miss T. "people can change their minds." There was silence. Dorothy said, "Well, when we have parties, they look in — when they have parties, we look in — no one has ever thought about getting together. The adults had a Christmas party and everybody mixed, colored and white. It was successful." Miss T. said, "But it took the adults a whole year of working together." . . . Mary said, "I think we'd better begin with something small — only girls; and I think that we could just invite them, huh, Miss R?" I asked the president, Betty Lou, to summarize the ways we could go about this now that we had more information . . .

They finally decided that, although *they* were ready for an interracial party, maybe the other girls were not. They thought it best for Miss T. to ask the Jitterjives informally whether they would want the party or not. They decided to relax on it and if the Jitterjives want to join us, "Tell them that we'll be happy to have them come. If not, well that's O.K. We'll try another time." I said that Miss T. would let us know and that we would plan further after we hear from her. Miss T. left. Louise remarked, "She must have a tough group to work with." Someone said, "This was our best meeting."

In the intervening week between the meeting of January 29 and that of February 5, the Glamour Girls had thoroughly discussed their proposed interracial event and they arrived at the meeting all set to make their final plans. But none of them had been able to mention the idea to any member of the Jitterjives whom they had seen each day at school. The worker was faced with the difficult task of helping the girls recognize the reality in the *lack* of relationships between the two groups. In the above record, we see the worker helping the members to discover this reality *for themselves*. The tension in this situation was created by the attempt of the Jitterjives' worker to discuss *around* the situation rather than frankly to face it with the

girls. We are reminded that in the wider community similar attempts are made to avoid the reality of racial prejudice. As long as the girls were faced with an unknown situation, they were baffled and did not see their way to finding a solution. When the worker from the Glamour Girls helped the other worker to discuss frankly the situation in the Jitterjives, the members of the Glamour Girls Club knew just where they were, and after expressing some feeling of resentment, they began to plan in the light of their new knowledge. Note how the worker helped the whole group to take responsibility for the final decision. When Mary made the suggestion that they begin in a small way, the worker did not permit this to be Mary's solution but reminded the president of her responsibility and thus made the whole group aware that it was a matter for official action.

The idea of having a party with a group of white girls did not burst full grown out of the head of Mary. Her club, the Jitterjives, and all the other clubs in the agency are part of a community in which the schools, churches, social agencies, and representative citizens are working together through a Community Council to improve relationships among many nationalities and the two races in the neighborhood. Most of the public events in the neighborhood are interracial. There are forums, civic betterment committees, parent-teacher associations, and many special committees organized by the Community Council which co-ordinates all these groups. There are both colored and white teachers in the public schools, and the boards and committees of many of the social agencies are interracial. These groups all deal with the rights and privileges of the people as citizens. Within this interracial atmosphere, the personal intimate groups — such as the Glamour Girls and the Jitterjives — are still more bi-racial than interracial. While individuals are able to participate in interracial affairs in agency, school, and community, they are less able to accept interracial relationships in small groups because the demands arising from a small intimate interracial situation are quite different. The bond of the large civic groups is intellectual, but that of the small group is emotional and is not controlled by reason. The social group workers serving the Glamour Girls and the Jitterjives were concerned with helping the members of these groups to share a real group experience and not merely to occupy the same room at the same time.

...*February 11.* There was a business meeting and Louise asked me if I had any word from the Jitterjives about the party. I told them that Miss T. had reported that the club had accepted the invitation and was waiting to learn the date. The girls wondered if they had accepted just to be polite. Louise said that perhaps we had better let the whole matter drop. I asked them how they would feel if another club invited them and then let it drop. They discussed this for a while and said that they were afraid the other girls would

not show up the night of the party. They finally decided that they wanted to go ahead with the party and set the date for the middle of March.

...*February 25.* They discussed the coming party with the Jitterjives and decided to contribute fifty cents each, payable in two installments.

...*March 5.* Grace opened the meeting. "What shall we discuss first, the party or the play?" Virginia, a newcomer, said that she was asked for some money, but that no one had told her why. Dorothy told her about the party. Grace said, "Let's collect our quarters right now. How many have their money?" They all did.

...*March 12.* We began our meeting with a discussion of the forthcoming party. Louise said that we ought to get the food part done. She suggested cracker sandwiches, punch, coconut cake, peanuts, and candy. I asked how much money she thought we would need for refreshments. She and Dorothy began to figure the cost. It came to four dollars. The club had just enough money to cover it. Grace came in and asked to see the menu. She was shocked at the extravagance and said that cookies and pop were enough. Dorothy said that we could just squeeze by but that we didn't need all that stuff and suggested that the sandwiches be eliminated. Louise said that we were cheapskates. Mary arrived at this point and asked to see the menu. She said that it was too expensive and that no one expected a club to have that much. . . . I was called to the telephone and the girls continued to work on the menu. When I got back Louise showed me the list and said, "Does that satisfy you?" The cake and peanuts had disappeared. I told them it looked all right to me and asked how the rest of them felt about it. Grace said that it was still too much, but the others were satisfied.

I asked the girls about the invitation. I had put materials on the table. Louise volunteered to make it. We all began to think of a clever verse. Grace said, "Jitter — Jitter — Jitterjives — drop dead." They finally ended up with "Come to the Barn, Wear your pants, And we'll all dance, At eight P.M."

During the rest of the evening they planned and tried out the games for the party. This involved them in a great deal of laughing and joking. They had a thoroughly good time.

...*March 19.* I arrived at seven o'clock and called Louise to see if there was anything they wanted me to do about helping with the refreshments. She said that they had bought everything and were coming early to prepare the punch and the sandwiches. Meanwhile Miss T. arrived and said that most of the Jitterjives had planned to come but that she did not know whether they would or not since they were very ambivalent about the party. Miss T. and I had worked together, planning mixers and other games to use if the plans of the girls were insufficient to meet the situation. Billie was the first of the Jitterjives to arrive. Ethel came soon with her mother and said that she could only stay until nine o'clock because she had to study. She is one

of the girls whose mother had said that she did not want her to "go up there with those colored girls." I talked with the mother and she seemed to respond in a friendly manner. The mother left and Ethel went into the office with Billie and Miss T. Some of the Glamour Girls arrived and went to the kitchen. Two more members of the Jitterjives arrived with books under their arms. They said that they might come back. Miss T. came out to talk with them. I showed them the invitation from the Glamour Girls and apologized for not getting it to them before. They were quite surprised at the trouble the Glamour Girls had gone to and asked where they were. I said that they were in the kitchen preparing refreshments. Cathy said that they had to go home first but they would come back.

Meanwhile the Glamour Girls were through in the kitchen and had gone upstairs. Miss T. suggested that Ethel go upstairs with me. On the way she repeated that she could only stay a little while and wondered if the girls would mind if she left early. I assured her that she could leave whenever she felt it was necessary. Upstairs we found Billie dancing with Louise; Grace and Fannie were together. I asked Ethel if she liked to dance. She said that she liked only slow music, that she did not like to jitterbug! She took off her wraps. I called Louise and asked her if she thought that it would be a good thing to play some mixers before we started dancing. She said that they had changed their minds and had decided that they would not plan anything except dancing. I said, "Would you like to have me lead a mixer game?" She said that would be wonderful, "one like we played last week." We started the game and after awhile Miss T. and three of the Jitterjives came up and joined in the game. The girls were all talking in shrill voices. There was a tense kind of feeling. Miss T. announced a square dance. Afterwards we played charades. Mary would not participate although she suggested words to act out. . . . The Glamour Girls served the refreshments . . . Ethel refused to eat anything. While we were in a circle Cathy began talking about the need for a canteen. She pulled out a typed sheet describing the canteen they wanted and passed it to me asking me to sign it in the name of the Glamour Girls. She said that we could have it one night and they would have it another night. I said that I thought this would take a lot of consideration in a business meeting; then I asked Louise what she thought, and she said that she believed we ought to discuss it first. I kept the paper. . . .

Cathy had brought her camera and wanted some pictures. She took each group separately and then the two workers. Then she wanted another picture of the workers. Miss T. said, "How about everybody?" Cathy said, "Oh, I forgot." The girls all came reluctantly, especially May and Ethel. . . . A little after ten Ethel shouted, "Oh, my gosh, I was supposed to go home early. Well, I may as well wait now." The girls talked together about school study hall problems, teachers they liked and those whom they did not like and seemed to find that they had common interests and problems. As the Jitterjives left they each were very polite, expressing their gratitude for a good time and saying that they would see the Glamour Girls again.

When they had all gone, the girls said in almost a chorus that they had had a good time. Louise said, "Well, I guess they enjoyed it — do you think they did?" The girls responded in various ways but each indicated that she thought the party was successful.

...March 26.... We began to discuss last week's party. Louise said she noticed that Ethel did not want to dance with the Glamour Girls. I told them that Miss T. and I were very much pleased with the way the Glamour Girls had been able to carry on when they knew that some of the other girls still hadn't reached the place where they could really mix freely. Louise said that she had tried to mix everybody for the square dance but that Ethel had deliberately chosen a white girl. I said that I was not surprised that she did because she was the most timid of them all. I pointed out that it was she who later suggested that we all get together again. I asked the girls how they felt about the other girls. They said that everyone seemed to get friendlier and friendlier as the evening wore on. I then said that it showed that when people got to know each other they didn't notice outer differences so much.

I asked how they felt about the canteen the Jitterjives were discussing. Louise told about the agency's experience with canteens. She felt that they were failures. Dorothy said that her mother was on one of the committees and gave it up in disgust. Grace said that canteens attract all kinds of "people you don't want." I pointed out that canteens have to have controls and wondered if the Jitterjives could carry it. The girls did not see how a bunch of kids could manage, where adults had failed. I then asked what good could come from a canteen if it were well run. Grace said, "Well, the white kids really don't have a decent place to go except up here, and we have lots of places to go. Maybe they can make a success of it, but I would not want us to try running one."

I then said, "How would you feel if there were a canteen for only white people up here?" Louise shook her head but didn't say anything. I said, "Do you like the idea?" They all said no, but they did not offer any comments. I said that I thought it would increase the separation between whites and colored. Dorothy said, "That's it, we'd be looking in again!" I asked Louise if she would tell us about the Interracial Assembly that they had at school. When she had finished I asked them if they knew any ways they could be using to promote better race relations. Grace said that her sister in the WACS said that the best way was to mind your own business and not to interfere with what the white folks did. I asked her if she agreed and she said, "I guess so — I don't know — well, what can you do?" I said, "You have already done it." They all looked at me and I continued, "Last week you entertained the Jitterjives and did something about it and every one of those girls had a good time with you." They all grinned at that. Louise said that at school they could do something about it because they are all there and they study and talk together. I said, "That's it, just by being friendly we can do something about it." Dorothy said, "Right here, too, we can

mix up." I then read parts of Ethel Alpenfel's book to them — the section on what is race and parts of the section on Negroes. Louise said that she wished that they had Negro History at school. I said that we had a very good library right in our neighborhood and we could get books there and read more about Negroes, if we were interested. . . .

(During the next meeting they all went to the Library and the girls were amazed to see so many books and magazines written about and by Negroes.)

Six weeks elapsed between Mary's suggestion that they give a party and invite "other races" and the party itself. During this time a great many things happened to the members of the Glamour Girls. They found themselves in a situation in which they could not deny the reality of racial prejudice against them. Their wish to deny this hard fact in their lives is expressed in their determination to believe that the members of the Jitterjives liked them. They were not entirely mistaken about this feeling, for the members of the other club did like them, but their liking was outweighed by their negative feelings. Their feelings were more closely related to what they believed to be true about Negroes in general than to the particular members of the Glamour Girls. The stereotypes which are influencing the Jitterjives are held not only by them but by their parents and the wider community of which they are a part. The opinions and attitudes of the people holding them will not change unless they have the opportunity to learn *by experience* that stereotypes are not valid criteria for evaluating people who are different from them. This is a long, slow process, but the gains that are made by each successful event of this nature are to be gauged by the use of geometric proportions rather than addition. Every individual affects a very great many other people and the positive gains are impossible to see at one time. For example, when the Glamour Girls were presenting their case for having this party, they used as an example a successful event of similar nature — the Christmas party given by the adults in the agency. This latter party had had a history not too different from the one we have considered. The Glamour Girls were invited to attend that party and help serve the refreshments. They had some resistance to taking part in a party in which there would be both white and colored guests. Yet five weeks later they proposed a similar event for their own age-level. Any situation which involves the changing of attitudes, particularly those that have deep emotional involvements, may be likened to the drop of water which makes a mighty ocean. The end, if the means are creative and constructive, is continuous rather than a finality as seen in the event itself. The worker helped the members to recognize the significance of their party in the meeting that followed it. Through following their discussion, the reader is able to gain a deeper understanding of the significance of this group achievement to the

individual members, to the group-as-a-whole, and to the various other groups with which each of these members had affiliations. The worker also helped the members to move on to other ways of improving the race relations in their neighborhood. She further recognized one of the most important factors which members of minority groups have to face in living within a culture dominated by a majority group — that of knowing about and having respect for their own cultural heritage and the contribution it can make to the development of a new integrated culture. These girls were in a psychological state where new learning was possible. They had had opportunities to learn more about themselves and their relationships with their boy friends; to express their hostile feelings. They had been helped to turn their energy into constructive channels. Now they were ready for some serious study, and the time was ripe for the use of the library as a program resource. The success of the social group worker in serving this group is accounted for by (1) the use she made of her understanding of each of the members as individuals; (2) her use of her understanding of the interaction of people in groups and her role in the process; (3) her use of a great variety of program activities; and (4) the use she made of agency and community resources.



THE SUB-DEBS

A Group in Transition

We have chosen to present the first four records of the program year because they so clearly reveal the help which the worker gave the members of the Sub-Debs in becoming part of an entity and in developing a structure to maintain it.

The Sub-Debs are one of the teen-age clubs at the Y, composed of high school girls. Current activities of the other high school teen-age groups include discussions on grooming, consideration of or activity directed toward getting the management of the local skating rink to open it to Negroes, discussions on forms of government, making favors for Christmas trays for children at the hospital, party plans, and "fun at meetings" — including dancing and games.

The Branch has organized an Interclub Council to which all clubs send delegates in order that program of the various clubs may be shared and the purposes and objectives of the Y constantly kept before the constituent clubs. From time to time the Branch sponsors a party for all groups and conducts membership drives in specific schools within the area.

...*History.* Three years ago, a group of high school girls organized themselves into a "Sub-Deb Club" and affiliated with the National Association of Sub-Deb Clubs sponsored by a national magazine. They subscribed to the Sub-Deb paper, had parties, and met in each other's homes. Later they approached the Y and asked to become a member club of that organization in order that they might have a place to meet. It is my impression that there was parental opposition to continued meetings in the homes. Throughout their first year at the Y, the Sub-Debs met under the supervision of a volunteer leader. While officers were elected and brief business meetings were held, the principal activities of the group were parties, with and without boys. The volunteer leader wrote of them: "Programs have been set up in the pattern of alternating business and recreation meetings. Among the recreation meetings the girls have had a Halloween dance, a Christmas dance, and an initiation tea. The girls are interested, too, in crafts and have learned to knit. One specific objective — that of relating more closely to other high school clubs — still needs considerable emphasis.... There is a need for expanding the program to include service projects in general and World Fellowship in particular."

The group kept a scrapbook of its activities. The girls frequently went bowling or swimming on meeting night or played in the gym. Toward the end of their third year they organized themselves into a sorority, took a Greek letter name, bought expensive pins, pledged and hazed new members, and conducted an elaborate initiation ceremony.

In the fall of this year, a member of the staff met with them to explain that they could not continue as a sorority within the Y, since this was opposed to Y policy, and that they would have to choose between continuing as a Y club and leaving the Y and continuing as a sorority. It was at this time that I became their adviser. All but seven members had dropped out of the club. Some of those who dropped out remained in the sorority, which continued, but as an entirely separate group, meeting in the homes of the members. Three of the seven who remained in the club, including the club's president, continued in both club and sorority.¹ The remaining four were club members only.² The members who had dropped out and the three who continued in both club and sorority had been the indigenous leaders of the group. The president became quite inactive during the course of the first few months. The Sub-Debs were pretty much starting from scratch, and the question was, "Are we a club and can we survive as one?" The club has continued its pattern of alternating club meetings with basketball practice (under the auspice of the Health Education Department).

...*September 24.* Those present: Lucia Coyle, Mary Ruth Coyle, Lucile Martin, Carolyn Uhland, Joan Beliajus, Dolores Beliajus.

¹ Karen Miller, 18, student in secretarial school; Mary Ruth Coyle, 17, senior in high school; Lucia Coyle, 16, junior in high school.

² Joan Beliajus, 18, high-school graduate, now a stenographer; Dolores Beliajus, 16, senior in high school; Lucile Martin, 16, junior; Carolyn Uhland, 17, senior.

This was my first meeting with the Sub-Debs. At 7:30 I saw Mary Ruth and Lucia Coyle in the lobby looking at recent publicity material. A staff member introduced us. After some preliminary conversation about the pamphlets they were reading, Mary Ruth suggested that we sit down where we could talk. I suggested that this meeting was going to be a pretty important one. Mary Ruth said emphatically, "I'll say!" I added that I understood that she and Lucia weren't entirely in agreement with last week's decision. Lucia objected violently, saying that they were and that everything was settled; there were going to be two groups, the Y club and an entirely separate group to which she and Mary Ruth and certain others of the Y club would belong. I said that it was good that they were settled about it, and they began to talk about the many clubs and groups they belong to: the Canteen, the committee meetings that plan for the Canteen, the Y club, the sorority. In addition, Lucia listed all the school clubs she attends weekly. I said it sounded like a pretty heavy schedule; maybe it was more than they could take on and they might have to decide what they wanted to do most. Mary Ruth began to talk about what she had been doing in the summer as a Nurses' Aide. She said she had made up her mind not to be a nurse on the basis of this experience. Her mother is a nurse and has discouraged her anyway from going into this profession. Lucia said she was going to go to a modeling school because she is so tall. I said that "After high school, what?" was a pretty important question and perhaps they would like to discuss it in their club meetings since many of the girls were in the same boat. Mary Ruth picked this up with enthusiasm. She is a petite, attractive girl, who is very courteous and friendly, but I am not quite sure what is behind this pleasant exterior. Lucia is a little sulky, but I have an idea that she gets across what she is feeling to a greater extent than her sister.

While we were waiting for the other girls to arrive, Mary Ruth discussed two girls in her class who have received diamond rings, "rocks" as she called them. This led to some consideration of the best age for marriage. Mary Ruth held out for twenty-five, while Lucia thought twenty-three was right. I suggested that sixteen or seventeen did seem pretty young because at that age you were apt to change your mind and that was hard to do after you were married. Mary Ruth said, "That's my problem. I'm infatuated with first one boy and then another. That's why I want to wait until I'm twenty-five to get married."

About this time four other club members came in together: Joan Beliajus, Dolores Beliajus, Lucile Martin, and Carolyn Uhland. Lucia greeted them rather sarcastically saying, "It was nice of you to come." They protested that they thought the meeting was for eight o'clock, the time they had been coming. We started in a group for the meeting room downstairs.

The girls began getting out chairs, and it was obvious that I was expected to participate in this activity so I did. We set the chairs up in a circle and then there was some silence and awkwardness about getting started. The president, Karen Miller, had not arrived nor had she kept her conference

with Miss Johnson two days ago. I said I knew the president wasn't there and I wondered if they wanted to wait on the chance she'd come or whether perhaps they had a vice-president who wanted to open the meeting. Lucia immediately said, "I'm the vice-president and we'll start the meeting." She pulled her chair around facing the group and called the meeting to order. Mary Ruth volunteered to act as secretary in the absence of Bertha Goethel, the regular secretary. She and I together pulled out a large table and she sat behind it so that she and Lucia were facing the rest of us — four other members and me. This seating arrangement contributed to some feeling of cleavage between the Coyle sisters and the rest of us, which pointed up a psychological division that became apparent as the meeting progressed. Mary Ruth made some critical comments about the regular secretary, who had not sent any minutes. Joan said, "I think it's terrible for a person to take the responsibilities of an office and then not carry them out." Mary Ruth answered quickly, "I knew she was not keeping the minutes but I didn't want to say anything about it." Had I not been so new as the adviser of this group I would have asked whether there was anything they could do if one of their officers was not carrying the responsibilities they had given her. However, I skipped this at this point and filed the thought away for future reference.

I expected the group to get into some discussion of where they were as a club in the light of last week's discussion. However, it was obvious from the way they went at this that the matter was pretty well decided and final. They didn't seem to want to discuss it. Joan made some comment and said, "We ought to divide the money and give half to your group." Twice she used the words "your group" in speaking to Mary Ruth and Lucia. The second time Mary Ruth's face grew quite red and she said with a good deal of feeling, "Don't say 'your group' we belong to *this* group too." Joan wanted to know what they would say, then, and Mary Ruth suggested "the other group." Following the treasurer's report the money was evenly divided and half of it passed over to Mary Ruth for the treasury of the sorority. This didn't seem right to me, but I didn't feel able at this point to question it. Lucia, as acting president, was responsible for calling the meeting to order and for keeping the discussion focused. Joan took a great deal of responsibility for participating in the meeting and so did Mary Ruth. Lucile and Carolyn had very little to say but were attentive and obviously interested members of the group. The girls decided to work on the constitution of the group next week, since it will have to be rewritten now that the group is once more a Y club and not a sorority. It was also agreed that the Y club would go back to its own colors of dark blue and white and the sorority colors would be light blue and yellow. Following the treasurer's report, Joan expressed dissatisfaction with the way the accounts are kept. She said, "Our accounts are so sloppy. Most organizations have their accounts looked at every year but ours should be looked at every month." It seems to me this is something I can go back to.

Next in order was discussion of a tea at which prospective new members would be present. Mary Ruth asked whether supplies and the Hang Out Room would be available for Saturday afternoon, the eleventh of October. I said I would find out. It was about at this point in the meeting that both Coyle girls wanted to know whether I could come next week, since they had so much business to take care of. The whole group decided they wanted to meet next week, instead of playing games in the gym, and requested that I be present. I said I would. Some confusion arose as to whether they should invite to a tea the girls under consideration for membership, and then vote not to accept them. They thought this would be against the policies of the Y as interpreted by Miss Johnson last week. Because they were not sure about this policy and neither was I, I asked whether they would like to have me find out about it before they invited the girls. They said they would, and I promised to bring the word back to them next week.

There followed some discussion of a Halloween party. Joan said, "Let's have just ourselves. I always have the best time when we have just ourselves." Mary Ruth's face fell and she wanted to know if that meant no boys. Joan said no, she wanted boys, but only the ones they would ask, no tickets sold. Mary Ruth said, "But we never had a better time than at the big party last June. Remember the June Bug Hop? Didn't you have a good time?" There was some agreement that a good time had been had, but Carolyn said under her breath, "Yes, I had a good time playing ping-pong." Carolyn seems to find difficulty in relating to boys and to prefer activities with girls at this point. There was agreement that further plans for the Halloween party would wait until new members had been welcomed into the group since, as Joan suggested, a party's a lot of work and the new members might as well do some of it.

Five names for prospective new members were suggested and written down by the secretary pro-tem, Mary Ruth. The group felt they would like their active membership to be at least ten members or maybe more. There was then some difficulty in knowing just who were members. Sometimes one member would tell another that she was dropping out and later say she was staying. Lucia suggested they ought to put it in writing if they were dropping out. There was some disagreement, confusion, and uncertainty about this. I said maybe it would help the girl who was trying to decide about dropping out — and the club too — if they did ask that resignations be in writing. Lucia thought this was a good idea and should be put to a vote. The group voted to have all resignations in writing and submitted to the treasurer.

I forgot to say that when the planning for the tea was going on the various duties were allocated and after some hesitation the Beliajus girls agreed to make the sandwiches. Everyone seemed to have one responsibility, and when the planning was getting a little wobbly Lucia said, "Now we have to plan, you know what happens when we don't plan."

Lucia then asked whether there was any further business. Nothing was

said and the group seemed about to disband. I suggested that when I had been talking with Mary Ruth and Lucia before the meeting there had been some thought that it was hard to know what to do after you left high school, and that most of them were graduating in June. I added that this was the beginning of the new year for the club and there would be some changes in membership. Perhaps it was a good time to think a little about what they wanted to do this year. Would they be interested, in addition to the parties that they had planned and would continue to plan, in devoting some meetings to discussion of what they wanted to do after they got out of high school? They might even ask some people from different fields to talk to them about what it was like to be a nurse, or a secretary, or something else. Joan said, with a little laugh, "I could tell them about being a secretary." This idea was not picked up with any enthusiasm, although Mary Ruth made a polite attempt to be interested in it. I enumerated several other things that they might want to consider as program, such as finding out what girls their age in other countries were thinking about and doing, perhaps even writing a letter to a group in another country, participating in the Community Fund Drive, thinking about personality, etc. Mary Ruth said, "All last year we were going to talk about manners and how to do our hair and things that we thought it might be fun to do." She added that she thought it might be nice to give a play. However, none of the others expressed much enthusiasm about any of these ideas. Lucia said, "We're too busy to do those things." I said I thought that could certainly be true and that we seemed to have a heavy calendar with the tea and the Halloween party coming up.

Prior to the meeting Lucia had said she had to go home early to retire. At about ten minutes of nine she announced that they certainly had had a good meeting and accomplished a lot. She then said, "I think that's all, let's all go to Bill's Place." Joan said, "Friday is pay day. I don't have any money, and anyway let's play ping-pong." The two Coyles said that six couldn't play ping-pong and the others suggested that four could play at a time and all could take turns. However, the Coyles held out for going to Bill's and asked me if I would go with them. I said that I thought the others really wanted to stay and our meeting time wasn't up; that perhaps we could all go to Bill's another time. The Coyles left after taking me upstairs to show me where to get the ping-pong material. They called back "So long" and "We'll be seeing you" several times. The four remaining members and I, in various combinations, played ping-pong until ten o'clock. Lucile and Carolyn came out of their shells and related very warmly and naturally to all of us. Carolyn deprecated her ability in ping-pong a good deal more than necessary. She tends to be a little babyish and lapses into baby talk. She obviously admires Joan very much. At one point, when Joan and I were sitting on the sidelines with Lucile, Joan began to talk about her boy friend with whom she plays ping-pong every Sunday. She said, "I can't beat him, he's too fast. I guess I'd better not anyway." I asked if she thought it would interfere with their relationship if she did, and she said, "Yes, I think so, because we

went bowling and I beat him and he didn't like it at all. Isn't that funny, you can never beat a boy at anything or he won't like you?" I said maybe that was true in sports but it might not be true in everything; maybe there were places where she could be first and he wouldn't mind.

Joan came upstairs to help put the ping-pong things away. At one point, while we were playing I had asked them on what basis some girls had decided to keep on with this club and the sorority too, while others had decided not to have anything to do with the sorority. Joan said, "We just didn't want to be in the sorority. We didn't want it in the first place." It seems probable that Karen Miller, Bertha Goethel, and the Coyle girls are the nucleus of the sorority, with only the Coyle girls counting on belonging to both groups. Following the ping-pong, Joan suggested that we all go to Bill's and asked if I wouldn't come along. I said I would. We played various pieces by dropping a nickel in the slot and had cokes and other refreshments. The girls talked a little about their families. I got a sense of real solidarity in the Beliajus family, with distribution of responsibility, the girls doing the ironing of their own clothes, etc. At one point I was able to enter into some jive talk with Dolores. As we were walking to the street car, Joan put her hand on my arm and said, "We had a lot of fun at tonight's meeting and we are terribly glad you are our adviser." I said I was glad too, and I would be looking for them at 7:30 next Wednesday evening.

Summary: The central problem at the moment in this group seems to be that there are two pairs competing for leadership in the club, the Coyle sisters and the Beliajus sisters. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the Coyle sisters are not quite sure where their primary allegiance is going to be, with the club or with the sorority. Because they are going on with the sorority, they felt a little uncertain of acceptance from the other four members present tonight. They seem unable to give up membership in the club at this point and want to be considered part of it. How they are going to resolve this problem, what the future of the group will be, what the addition of the new members will do to the group, remain to be seen. A further problem seems to be that the members want to continue with activities for fun only, without doing much to broaden or deepen their interests or bring the club into line with the general program of the Y. This probably cannot be met and dealt with until the group membership is more firmly established and the *esprit de corps* more defined than it is at present. Most of the girls are looking forward to June graduation. Whether that means a disbanding of the club or whether the members they take in will be younger girls who will carry on the club is also an unsettled question.

Questions

1. What did the worker gain by being the first to arrive?
2. What evidence do you find in this record that the agency has given the worker help in preparing to assume the advisorship of this group?

3. How does the worker enable the members of the club to function as a group in this first meeting?
4. Do you think the worker's suggestions for program content timely or premature? Why?

...October 1. Those present: Lucia Coyle, Mary Ruth Coyle, Karen Miller, Lucile Martin, Carolyn Uhland, Joan Beliajus, Dolores Beliajus.

I was sitting in the lobby when Carolyn arrived, shortly before 7:30, looking very eager and anticipatory. She said she had waited at the corner for the others (meaning Dolores and Joan and Lucile) but then decided they must have come on ahead. She talked a little about school. She said her mother wants her to be a secretary but that she wants to be a bookkeeper and is going to be a bookkeeper. She made quite a point of this difference, and I expressed some appreciation of bookkeeping. Apparently Carolyn, while still very much a little girl in some ways, is making some attempts to differentiate herself from her mother and her mother's wishes for her, and to take on something that is her own, though closely related to the mother's wish for her.

At this point Joan, Dolores, and Lucile arrived in a laughing group and there was much discussion as to whether they were late. It was 7:31, verified by Joan. We went downstairs and had just set up the chairs when Mary Ruth and Lucia turned up. This time the four already there got even for the calling-down the Coyles gave them when they were late last week. The Coyles protested it was only twenty-five to eight. It was agreed not to begin the meeting until Karen Miller came, and several of the members asked if I knew whether she was coming. I said I understood there had been a meeting of the presidents of the Y-Teen clubs and that Karen had been there and was planning to come tonight. Lucia immediately set up a card table and said she was going to do her homework during the meeting, which she did. (However, she participated throughout, usually in a negative and competitive way, but with essential good feeling and warmth toward the president, Karen. She called out, for example, before Karen had a chance to adjourn the meeting, "I say the meeting is adjourned"; and at one point when Karen asked me if there was anything else I had to bring to them, Lucia said quickly, "Oh, you haven't anything, Miss Barnes, let's get on with the meeting." Everyone laughed, including me, and Lucia reached over and took my arm and said, "I was only kidding.")

Karen came in about 7:45. It was immediately apparent that she is still the leader of this group. She introduced herself to me at once, but Lucia hadn't heard this and achieved another introduction, stumbling over my name. Lucile got a chair for Karen and set it up for her. Karen said immediately, "We have a lot of business tonight." She called the meeting to order competently and asked for the reading of the minutes. Mary Ruth rose and read them formally. I noticed that she included that we are going to discuss manners and cleanliness. That had been her suggestion last week

and there had been no decision in the club. She looked at me as though expecting approval, and I made no comment one way or the other. There was general agreement that a secretary must be elected immediately and some question as to whether Bertha Goethel was going to continue in the group. Mary Ruth said she was but just didn't want to be the secretary; she disliked taking notes. Two nominations for secretary were made: Joan and Carolyn. Karen suggested they leave the room and the voting was by show of hands. Carolyn was elected. I thought Joan was a little depressed from that point forward. She certainly took less leadership in the meeting than she had last week. Carolyn, on the other hand, seemed delighted and immediately walked over and took a chair between Karen and Mary Ruth. As she was taking the notes of the meeting in shorthand, she laughed and bit her pencil and in other ways indicated that she was having fun and got a real sense of status out of her secretarial duties. Karen said an honor had come to the club; the Sub-Debs were to choose two members for a picture. It was to be taken at the Y at 5:30 on Friday and would be printed in the Young Moderns Section of the morning paper. Much interest was shown. Karen distributed paper for a written vote. On the first ballot Karen had four votes. The others were divided among Dolores, Carolyn, and Mary Ruth. Lucia constituted herself the teller. Two more ballots were taken before Mary Ruth was elected. She looked pleased. Prior to the voting Lucia had said, "I am going to vote for my sister, aren't you going to vote for yours?" Joan said good-naturedly that Dolores would break the camera. However, I have an idea that she did vote for Dolores.

Karen mentioned another honor which had come to the club, the opportunity to participate in a tea at the Y on Monday, October 13, to which all the high school girls who might be interested in Y activities would be invited. The Sub-Debs were asked to take charge of arrangements. Mary Ruth immediately said, "All the work," but Karen said it really wasn't, it was the least work any club had to do, just welcoming people at the door, helping them hang up their wraps, and seeing that they had a good time. It also involved making a poster and she wanted to know who would do that. Mary Ruth seemed uncertain, and although urged by the group she finally said she wouldn't have time; so Joan volunteered that she and Dolores would make it. Some disappointment was expressed that the Sub-Debs' own tea had been planned for the eleventh. They thought it unwise to have the two teas so close together, and finally agreed that the girls who would have been invited as prospective members to the Saturday tea would be invited to play basketball next Wednesday at 7:30 when the group could get to know them. They also would be invited to the general tea by the Sub-Deb members and would be introduced to all Sub-Deb members. I was then asked whether I had found out whether they could be blackballed after the group had met. I discussed the two differences between a sorority and a Y club: (1) the Y club should provide for a more mutual relation; that is, that they could ask a girl to come, saying that she would have a chance to meet the club members and

to see if she might like to be a Sub-Deb, while the Sub-Debs would have a chance to know her and see whether she might make a Sub-Deb. (2) The program of a sorority may be anything its members decide, but the program of a Y-Teen club is in line with the program of any Y club and with the Y itself. I added that after they had met these prospective members they could vote on whether they wanted them to be in the club; that they had a right to decide who should be in their group. This policy seemed to be clear to them and they seemed satisfied with it. I added that this reminded me that, since the program of the club was to be in line with the general program of the Y, they would need to keep informed as to what that program was and therefore should elect a member to represent the Sub-Debs at council meetings. This member could tell the council what the Sub-Debs were doing and bring back to the Sub-Debs news of what other Y clubs were doing. They agreed to do this, but the election did not take place this evening. I had a little feeling that the girls in the sorority find one of its values in the fact that the program does not have to be related to anything larger than itself; that the sorority thus seems to provide them with a way of freeing themselves from adults and adult standards.

Before a decision had been reached to give up the plans for the Saturday tea, I had said that a list of all the members of the club had been given to me and that there seemed to be twenty of them. We would need to know how many were coming in order to have the right number of plates, etc. They wanted to know how I got the twenty and were surprised to know that their membership was supposed to be that large. We found that there are eight Sub-Debs at the present time and seven were present tonight. Bertha Goethel was the only absent member. Of the seven girls invited to join the Sub-Debs last spring, only Carolyn had joined, and several of the old members had dropped out. Carolyn was the only member who had actually already spoken to some prospective new members about coming to meet the Sub-Debs. She had asked four people, two of them sisters: one freshman, two juniors, and one senior.

Karen introduced as the next item of business the selection of two representatives to go to camp this weekend for a conference. She suggested that, before electing anyone, we see who would go if elected. Carolyn looked uncertain but finally decided against it. Joan had some obligations in connection with her church. Mary Ruth, Karen, and Lucia exchanged glances rather guiltily and said something about a sorority meeting that would prevent their going. Dolores and Lucile said they would like to go and the group elected them as the delegates. They decided to get in touch with Miss Johnson about arrangements and reservations the following day.

I brought up the matter of the treasury and said I understood they were not satisfied about the arrangements for their fund and added that the Y would be willing to keep their money for this year if they would like to manage it that way. They immediately said they would not. Dolores said they needed to have the money in hand, kept in her room; sometimes they had to

buy things for teas, etc. Joan said what she hadn't liked was that the books were kept so sloppily. Joan was then elected to review both the secretary's minutes and the treasurer's report every month. She accepted this assignment with some satisfaction, and I think it did a little to help her feel that she still has a responsible place in the club.

I asked whether they had thought any more about rebuilding their constitution, which is now the constitution of the sorority. Karen immediately said, "Oh, let's not spend much time on that." Joan was supposed to have brought a copy of the constitution, but hadn't. I think this can't be pressed at this time. Until they really feel themselves more of a group, they may not be able to work on the constitution of the Sub-Debs.

Mary Ruth introduced the question of the name of their club and said, "Let's change it from Sub-Debs." They seemed to want to change it to Y-Teens and expressed irritation that a club already had that name. Earlier when they had been discussing the Monday tea, some fear had been expressed that girls would be invited who would join other Y clubs instead of the Sub-Debs, but Karen said the Y-Teens already have all the members they want, and the Merryettes are a Negro group, so we would have a good chance of getting some. Apparently the Sub-Debs feel that the Y-Teen club has more status than they do.

Karen announced that she and the other presidents of Y clubs at the high school were to take part in a fifteen-minute radio program on "What kind of a parent do I want to be?" to be given on October 25 at 12:00 noon. The girls considered this a great honor for the club and expressed much excitement and enthusiasm. Karen said, "I want you to give me some ideas. We have to suggest questions like 'Suppose your child broke your best vase, what would you do?'". The group was drifting off in rather aimless discussion at this point so I brought them back by asking Karen whether she really wanted the Sub-Debs to help on this. Karen said she did, and I asked what they wanted to do about it. There was a suggestion that two weeks from tonight, at our next club meeting, they would really spend some time talking about what kind of parents they would like to be so that Karen would have some kind of ammunition for the program. Karen said that I would be in charge of the program, and I replied that it would be fun to work with them on it. Lucia said, "I know the kind of parent I am going to be. I'll use psychology except when I lose my temper." As Karen was about to adjourn the meeting, I asked if there hadn't been some request that the Sub-Debs participate in the Community Fund campaign at the high school. Karen said she had forgotten, but that was true. It would mean going from room to room and making speeches. Lucile, Carolyn, and Dolores immediately said they couldn't do that, but both Coyles were very much interested and said they would love to. I asked if they would want their club to talk a little bit about the Community Fund so they would know some of the things they might say, but they weren't a bit interested.

The meeting was adjourned a little before nine. Karen and Lucia — both

wearing their sorority pins very prominently — and Mary Ruth all prepared to leave, saying they were going to Bill's. They didn't ask anyone else to go but called back they would see us in two weeks and that they would be playing basketball next week. They asked me if I would be there when they played basketball and I said I wouldn't; I would meet with them just for their club meetings, but someone else would be there when they played basketball. Lucia said, "We had understood you were a great athlete." They asked me to see that they had someone who could referee the game but who would not expect to teach them.

Throughout the meeting there had been much laughter and hilarity and telling of jokes, interspersed with business. At one point Karen said to me, "We're not always this way." I said it seemed like a good meeting to me. The most laughter was at the expense of teachers they did not like, especially one who wore long underwear, an idea which sent them all into hysterics. Mary Ruth, when a pajama party was being discussed, talked about one they had at camp when she had sung a song — and she sang it, and very well, right in the middle of the meeting. Following this, Lucia told a joke and everybody laughed again. Someone suggested that the Sub-Debs give a pajama party as they had last year, and Mary Ruth and Lucia immediately said, "No, that would mean no boys." Joan spoke up and said it was much better to have a pajama party, they would have more fun than they ever had with boys. I asked whether they were still planning on a Halloween party, since it would mean reserving a room at the Y. They thought not, since most of them were already tied up with Halloween parties with other groups. While we were on the subject of pajama parties, Mary Ruth offered a compromise; they could invite boys to stay until twelve or one in the morning and then have their pajama party. Lucile said, "I'd wear my pajamas before the boys went home," and the group went into gales of laughter. Lucia said she had worn her pajamas at the pajama party at camp and boys were there, but she added, looking at Mary Ruth, "We had on everything underneath, didn't we, Mary Ruth, everything. Let's see, what did we have on?" Lucia had spent a good deal of time during the course of the meeting talking about some teacher, a man, of whom she is very fond, adding in a disgusted tone, "He's married." When Dolores had thought that perhaps she couldn't go to camp because she was supposed to watch the children in the nursery while their parents went to church on Sunday, Karen said, "Who wants to watch a lot of kids?" Mary Ruth had brought a book of all their club activities for me to see. I expressed a great deal of interest in it, but it was agreed that Dolores and Lucile would need to take it to camp this weekend and that I would see it when they brought it back. After the two Coyles and Karen had left, Joan seemed depressed. Dolores volunteered to get the ping-pong material, and we played ping-pong in various combinations of four and two for nearly an hour. At one point Joan and Lucile looked at the book of the past activities of the Sub-Debs. They particularly pointed out pictures of the two Coyle girls and Karen, identifying them by the pajamas they had

worn at the pajama party. Lucile sighed and said, "Those were the good old days." They were very gay in the early moments of playing ping-pong, with Lucile and Carolyn entering freely and spontaneously into the activities. However, Joan seemed to become depressed again and I suggested that perhaps we had had enough ping-pong. Dolores helped me put the things away and we all went to Bill's. I said if they'd each choose a song I'd put in a quarter to play them. Joan chose for the second time "I Wish I Didn't Love You So." Going over to Bill's she had walked with me; I thought she needed that, as the other three were conversing happily together. She told me how busy she was and described her activities for every night, which were either church or this club or her regular date on Friday night with a boy friend. She added, "I like sports," and after we had tested our strength on the grip machine that Dolores always leads us to, Joan confided to me, "I hold a boy's hand that hard until they say 'ouch,' and I pinch them, too." I said that didn't sound very romantic. While we had our cokes, Joan initiated a discussion of our respective churches, and we compared notes about services. There was also discussion of boy friends and school activities. Joan said in some distress, "My sister's so different from me. We like different music; she won't join the church no matter how hard we try." I said I knew they were different in a lot of ways, yet they seemed to have fun together just the same. They walked with me to the street car and waited until my car came, saying they would see me in two weeks. Dolores called out, "Don't flirt with the conductor."

Summary: It seems to me that the three girls who are members of the sorority, the two Coyles and Karen, are very much a subgroup now. They seem to have some sense of guilt about continuing with the sorority; they seem to be moving away from the Sub-Debs and yet are unable to give it up. Mary Ruth and Karen were very much aware of me throughout the meeting and kept looking at me to see what my response was. The four remaining girls seem depressed by what appears to them a desertion by the three who really have the greatest status in the group. Karen remains the unquestioned leader but they are not sure of her. When we were playing ping-pong, Carolyn asked, "Why didn't Karen come to the last meeting?" Dolores replied, "She overslept," and Joan said, "Oh, it was because of the sorority." It may well be that these three will move out of the Sub-Debs; they may at this point need to have something that feels more separated from control by parents than a Y club. It remains to be seen whether this will happen and if the four remaining girls have enough feeling for the Sub-Debs so that they will enlarge the group and carry on the club. Joan is showing some signs of personal disturbance, related, I think, to more than her loss of status in this club. She is eighteen and should normally have moved out of it some time ago. It may be that she will seek an opportunity to see me alone some time; if so, perhaps I can help her with what is involved in continuing as a Sub-Deb or leaving the group.

Questions

1. What do you think is the use to which the members are putting their comments as to who is on time?
2. What are the values to members of groups of open membership? closed membership?
3. What contributions can an interclub council make to a group such as this?
4. What are the advantages and disadvantages in an agency banking system for clubs? What concomitant learnings are inherent in well-managed club finances?
5. Discuss the worker's use of limitations in the business meeting and evaluate their contribution to the achievements of the meeting.
6. Note the worker's sensitive feeling, observation, and analysis in the play period and during the jam session at Bill's Place.

...October 15. Those present: Joan Beliajus, Dolores Beliajus, Carolyn Uhland, Lucile Martin, Lucia Coyle, Mary Ruth Coyle

A little before 7:30 Joan, Dolores, Carolyn, and Lucile burst into the lobby, each eating a taffy apple. Dolores said, "We would have brought you one if we'd known you were here." Joan and I went up for the ping-pong equipment and she told me that when they played basketball last week Bertha Goethel and two prospective members were there. While waiting for the others, Joan and Carolyn played ping-pong, but Dolores and Lucile went to the piano and played and sang camp songs they had learned the preceding weekend. When Mary Ruth and Lucia arrived about fifteen minutes later, Lucia decided to call the meeting to order. We assumed that Karen was not coming. Carolyn read the minutes, which were perfectly typed and beautifully done, full and clear. When she finished several corrections were made; someone said she shouldn't have included who was nominated for an office; another said that the person who seconded a motion needn't be included, neither should she have said respectfully yours. Dolores said, "At camp we decided the secretary should just sign her name and 'secretary.'" Carolyn looked a little downcast, since she had obviously got a good deal of satisfaction out of preparing the minutes and reading them and had taken a great deal of pains with them. I said I thought it was perfectly proper to include nominations and seconded motions in the minutes and that I did think that Carolyn had done a very good job of them. There was agreement with this and Carolyn then found courage to say that she was going to leave "respectfully" in the minutes but she would change the closing to "respectfully submitted." She thought it sounded better and she wanted it that way. The group agreed with her.

After the treasurer's report, Lucia explained that she and Mary Ruth had been to a meeting at the high school with all the other Y-Teen club members who are going to speak in the classrooms about the Community Fund. She asked if anyone else in the club would help. Carolyn volunteered. There was some discussion about what you said when you went into the classroom

and Lucia was brushing this off very lightly by saying you just read off a piece of paper. I said a little bit about the purpose of the Community Fund and reminded them that one of the agencies it supported was the Y. Since the Y means a lot to all of us, there's a real reason for helping to put the campaign across and get support for it. Lucia said that she had gone to the inter-city council and that at least three members of the Sub-Debs would go once a month, including the Social Chairman. Joan suggested that Lucia be one to go regularly since she is an officer and since "you and Mary Ruth want to go together anyway." Lucia seemed pleased with this suggestion. There was a spontaneous decision that the members would rotate as the third one, with Lucile going to the next meeting. Lucia said, "At this meeting there was a report from one of the Y committees on 'What Boys Like Best About Girls.'" All the Sub-Debs looked interested but nobody said anything. I asked Lucia what the boys had liked about girls, and she said they liked, first, for girls to be good conversationalists; second, for them to be not pretty but clean and nice looking; and third, no petting. Also she said that sometimes the girl's slip shows and boys like it to have lace on it, and they like you to smell of perfume but not too much. A great deal of interest was expressed facially by the club members, and no one thought any of this funny. Dolores added, "One thing we found out at camp: the Y program all over the country is that Y-Teens don't go steady with boys and they don't pet."

They talked a little about having a tea of their own and inviting prospective members, but then decided it would be too expensive; there wasn't enough money in the treasury, but they might have a coke party. They reached no conclusion on this. Carolyn thought the two girls she had invited wanted to join, but that their mother wouldn't let them because she thinks this club is a sorority and she is against sororities. She thinks her daughters are trying to fool her when they say it has nothing to do with sororities. I asked whether they would like to have me talk to the girls' mother about this and they said they would. In fact, Mary Ruth specifically requested that I do so. Lucia announced a general membership meeting of the Y, to be held on November 18.

She then called for a report from Dolores on the weekend at camp. Dolores gave a very well-organized report, stressing the program activities and omitting any mention of the fun. She said that four kinds of Y clubs had been discussed: those that were sponsor-dominated, those that were leader-dominated, those that had cliques, and those wherein everybody participated. Then she said, in a mimicking voice, "Of course the Heights Club was perfect, just perfect. It was the kind where everybody participated. They had an Indian princess come and speak to them. You have to be an honor student in order to belong to the Heights Club and that's not a Y idea," fixing me with a firm eye as she said this. I asked what kind of club they thought the Sub-Debs was. Dolores said, "We used to be a cliquish club, but we aren't any more. We used to go around and find out how others were going to vote and vote in cliques." Carolyn said, "I still ask people how

they're going to vote, but I'm not influenced." Joan said, "That's because you're strong-minded." Dolores also described the program of the Y throughout the country, its interest in World Peace and in sponsoring discussion groups on Family Relations and Boy-Girl Relations. She told about pamphlets that were available and said she thought Sub-Debs ought to get the one called "Presenting Y-Teens." She said it told what Y-Teen clubs do. When she mentioned also the possibility of getting a pamphlet on "Boy-Girl Relations," Mary Ruth expressed a great deal of interest. Dolores moved that Joan, as corresponding secretary, write for the pamphlet "Presenting Y-Teens." I suggested that since "Boy-Girl Relations" had also been mentioned they might want Joan to write for that one too, and they agreed that she should do so.

Dolores said that both Margaret Schmidt and Julia Jensen wanted to get back into the club. There was strong feeling on the part of the girls that they did not want them back. Lucia said, "Not after the way Margaret left. She can stay out!" Dolores said also that Bertha Goethel was no longer a member of the club, that she wants to play basketball but not come to meetings. The question was raised as to whether written statements had been obtained from the girls who had dropped out. Carolyn thought one should be secured from Bertha. There was some suggestion that the club publish a newspaper and Joan was asked to be editor. She accepted. There was general agreement that each member would submit an article. At one point Lucia said, "When we have a party, if we want to put a poster up about it at school we have to have a teacher sponsor it." She looked at me as she said this and I wondered a little whether she was trying to get rid of me in this fashion. However, the other members quickly said this wasn't necessary, that Miss Johnson had found out that any Y club could put up a poster in the school.

Lucia was trying to adjourn the meeting at this point, and I asked whether they wanted to talk about "The Kind of a Parent I Want To Be" in order to have some material ready for Karen tomorrow, even though she wasn't at the meeting. They finally decided they wanted to do this and we had a rather spirited discussion for fifteen minutes. Lucia said, "Parents don't know the difference between sassing and explaining. You try to explain something and they say you're sassing. I hate it when they raise their voices too, because what will the neighbors think. Another thing, they always tell you how they do something. For instance, you're washing the dishes and they say they use more soap and get through faster." Mary Ruth said that nagging is one of the worst things — telling you over and over. Carolyn said she thought it was wrong for parents to treat you like a little angel and say you're always right and everyone else is wrong. They also should explain why they ask you to do something. And even if they tell you it's for your good, Joan added, that doesn't help any. Dolores thought if you were given an allowance you should have to stick to it and not get money for extras even if you asked for more. Carolyn thought it was important for families to do things together, especially on Sundays. Dolores said, "But we're never at

home." There was general agreement that fathers should not be disciplinarians only, because that way you became afraid of them; that mothers should discipline just as much as fathers. "The most important thing," one of the Coyles said, "is that parents keep liberal-minded. And if you have to be disciplined, it should be right after you do something and not weeks later." I told them they had made a lot of suggestions that I thought Karen could use tomorrow.

The meeting adjourned and the two Coyles invited everybody to come to Bill's. Joan obviously wanted to go, but Carolyn, Lucile, and Dolores were very firm in saying they wanted to play ping-pong. After the Coyles left, Joan went to the piano and played hymns with one finger while the others engaged in a violent and raucous ping-pong game. The hymns were sad in tone and she seemed completely removed from the rest of us. At one point she began to play "chop sticks." I went up and played with her and said her music had been good to hear while the game was going on. Both Lucile and Carolyn were very free in their playing and it is obvious that they and Dolores are closely related and have lots of fun together. It was hard for them to stop playing even after an hour, when I suggested that perhaps they'd had enough. At one point Dolores turned to me and said, "Aren't we crazy? Like two-year-olds, having so much fun over nothing." We all went to Bill's afterwards and on the way I walked with Joan. I asked her whether the girls in her office belonged to any clubs and she said yes, to the Club-on-the-Square. It's made up of both boys and girls, though. They've asked her to join but she doesn't want to. She wants to belong to an all-girls club like this one because she does other things with boys. I said that it was hard to give up a club that you had had a lot of fun in for a long time, that I had just wondered whether she might have more in common with a club made up of girls who were doing the same things she was doing, instead of girls who were going to school while she was working. This seemed to upset her a good deal and she said that the last adviser had tried to get her to join a business girls' club but she knew what she wanted and she wanted this club. She said the Coyles and the Beliajuses have lived close together for a long time; they used to do things together in the summer, like going swimming every day. "I like this club and I'm going to stay in it." I said of course she could if she wanted to, it was her club as much as anyone else's. I had just wondered about it from her own point of view since she was no longer in school and the other girls were. She repeated that she liked it because it was all girls.

When we sat down for our food, everyone again chose a song and Joan once more chose "I Wish I didn't Love You So," although she hesitated between that and "So Far, I've Nothing to Remember, So Far." She showed me a program on interracial relationships that she is going to lead in her church, and she also told me that she is going away for a weekend with one of the girls who goes to college. This girl's brother will drive her home afterwards. It seemed to me she was telling me that her interests are different

from those of the other members of the club. I want to keep in mind trying to be helpful to Joan in her struggle to leave this club and find something more nearly in line with her interests. Joan said she was starved and ordered hamburger, milk shake, and potato chips.

We parted outside of Bill's, Dolores saying, "We had a wonderful time tonight."

Summary: It seems to me that in this meeting the Sub-Debs were feeling themselves a Y club more than at any time previously. I think also they felt themselves one group. There was less evidence of a subgroup. The Coyles entered freely and naturally in the discussion, and so did everyone present, with even Lucile taking part. Joan was active during the meeting but depressed after the Coyles left.

Questions

1. Discuss the use that these girls are making of the material from the National Agency in the development of their superegos.
2. What do you think of the worker's suggestion that she visit the mother of the girls invited to be members? When is such an interview helpful?
3. Discuss the worker's role in this meeting as an agency representative, enabling the group to meet the objectives it had set for itself.
4. What help did the members receive personally through participating in the preparation of the radio skit?

...October 29. Those present: Lucia Coyle, Mary Ruth Coyle, Karen Miller, Carolyn Uhland, Joan Beliajus, Dolores Beliajus, Lucile Martin

(Prior to the meeting I had seen Karen Miller when I rehearsed the presidents of the Y-Teen clubs for their radio skit. Karen had come promptly for both rehearsals. She was very gay and relaxed with the other presidents, but I always have a little feeling that she is watching me closely and putting her best foot forward with me. She made some rather embarrassed statement about not having been permitted by her mother to come to the last Sub-Deb meeting, but volunteered that she was coming to the next one. I said I thought something that she as president would want to be thinking about was the size of the club and the need to get our new members pretty soon, since the school year was getting on. She agreed with this and said that several of the old members wanted to come back but the present members wouldn't let them. She added, "One is even a former president." Since the radio skit was about to go on I could not follow this with her at the time. She did well in the program and told me afterwards that her boy friend who is studying radio had gone over the script with her. She had made certain minor changes in line with his suggestions. I told her I thought that had been a good plan.)

I arrived at 6:30 P.M., an hour early for the meeting, and was amazed to run into Lucia in the lobby. She explained that she and Mary Ruth had come for an afternoon meeting of the council and had stayed through for the

Sub-Deb meeting. I asked if she wasn't hungry, and she said they had had a sandwich before the council meeting but she was thirsty and wanted a coke. Throughout the entire club meeting I tried to get cokes but did not succeed until after the Coyle's had left. I had brought some games which we might play after the meeting, as well as a sample of the Y-Teen bracelet and pin, in which Mary Ruth and others had expressed some interest. Lucia and I went downstairs and threw darts for about half an hour before Mary Ruth came. Lucia expressed a great deal of interest in the bracelet and said she would like one. As she was throwing the darts she said it was a good way of getting rid of your temper and then began to talk about her shorthand teacher, who was "old enough to be my grandmother," and who had asked her why she was taking shorthand anyway. Lucia said she thought she would drop out. I asked her if she really couldn't manage it and she was sure she couldn't; she had gotten a condition and there wasn't much chance of catching up. I asked if that meant having to choose some other field than secretarial work for herself. She said she would graduate from high school and then go to secretarial school, and besides, she reminded me, she was going to a school for models. Mary Ruth came down about seven o'clock and Lucia kissed her affectionately on the forehead. We all played darts and then I showed them a card trick which interested them a good deal. Promptly at 7:30, Dolores, Joan, Lucile, and Carolyn arrived. I had been upstairs trying to get cokes, so they were there with the Coyle's when I came down. They looked a little miffed; it may have distressed them that the Coyle's were ahead of them this time. Mary Ruth called to Joan to watch her do the card trick she had just learned. At first Joan looked disinterested, but when Mary Ruth looked crestfallen she went up to her, put her arms around her shoulders, and said, "All right, I'll look at your trick," as she would speak to a younger child. After it had been successfully performed she said, "Wonderful, Mary Ruth." There was something lightly patronizing in her tone, however. Lucia tried to show the trick to Carolyn but couldn't get it right, and then Carolyn asked me to show her and did it right the first time she tried it. Dolores said with some impatience, "Why doesn't Karen come?"

At 7:40 Karen arrived and the meeting came to order. Carolyn read the minutes, which were well done, but she was more relaxed and it was not so meticulous a performance as last week. Lucia got the cord for the music box, and as the club wanted records played throughout the meeting, it was a little difficult to follow the sequence of what was going on. The treasurer's report revealed that all had paid their dues last week, and everyone paid them again tonight. Karen followed these reports by thanking the group for their contributions to the radio skit, saying that all of them had been used. Apparently none of the group had listened to it. Dolores wanted to know if anyone had made any mistakes. Karen assured them that no one had. Lucia then said very sarcastically, "We all ought to thank Karen for coming to the meeting. Let's have a vote of thanks to Karen for coming." Karen was the target of some little hostility at this point. She seemed somewhat

distracted throughout the meeting and eager to get it over. She explained that her father was coming for her at 8:15 as she had a lot of studying to do. Before the meeting she and Joan had compared notes about the way they took shorthand, and it occurred to me again that both these girls seemed rather removed from the interests and activities of the rest. Mary Ruth told of going from room to room in high school for the Community Fund; she said it was a lot of fun and that since none of the other Sub-Debs would go with her she got a prospective member to go. Several teachers had told her how well she did and she was very set up about this and not at all hesitant in telling the group. They listened with interest but no one made any comment.

The meeting was about to disband, with Karen asking if there was any new business, and I said I thought there was something serious to be considered and that was whether they were content with the present size of the club. It was pretty hard getting new members, I continued; and maybe they were comfortable going along as they were. They immediately said with a great deal of vehemence that they were not; they wanted new members. I said I really questioned that a little bit, since they didn't seem to do much about getting new members. Dolores then read the names of five girls whom they want to have join the club. I asked whether it would help them to set a definite time when these girls would be invited and they agreed that they would ask them to come two weeks from tonight at the regular meeting time, hold a short business session while the prospective members waited upstairs, and then have a coke party. Dolores and Lucile are to bring potato chips and pretzels. I am to see that the coke machine is in operation or that sufficient cokes are available. Dolores suggested having favors for each new member, but this was vetoed. It seemed to me they put very little planning into the party. Joan tossed it all off pretty much, saying, "We'll have fun, we can dance and play darts and ping-pong." Then she volunteered to make invitations with little coke bottles on them. It was agreed that five girls would be invited so that with our seven members and me there would be thirteen present. Lucia said we ought to have someone else; thirteen was an unlucky number. Prior to the meeting, she had said she wanted the bracelet and not the pin because the pin cut friendships, and she had turned to her sister and said, "Remember how each time a boy friend gave me a pin we broke up?" No one else was worried about the number thirteen, however, and it was passed over. Someone asked me whether I had called on the mother of the Dexter girls as I had promised. I said I had thought about it a lot and it had seemed to me that I would want to know first that the girls were really interested in joining and that they wanted me to call on their mother. Carolyn said that they weren't really interested, for she had had to ask them three times before they even asked their mother. It was the feeling of the group that the Dexter girls should not be pursued. There are five prospective members exclusive of them. I asked how they told the new members about the club and apparently it is just in the light of

"We have fun together and play games and have regular meetings and sometimes we have parties." Karen said, at one point during the meeting, "We ought to learn to do something here." I think she was referring to the possibility of learning to play bridge — something which she and I had discussed at one of the radio rehearsals. She was immediately called down rather loudly by everyone, but especially by Joan who said, "We learn all day, we come here to play."

After the party was planned, I passed the Y-Teen bracelet and pin around. Five (all except Joan and Karen) said they wanted the bracelets. None wanted the pins. Dolores is going to order the five bracelets through Miss Johnson when she gets the money.

I then recalled to them that they had been a little uncertain about keeping the name "Sub-Debs" for their club. I said perhaps it sounded like rather a young name for them, since they were in their later teens when people were often Debutantes, and mentioned the sign I had seen in a street car describing Debuteens, tying this up with the Y-Teen clubs. They were immediately enthusiastic about this and took a vote changing their name.

Lucia wanted to know why the club picture was not in the yearbook at school and again said, "If you want to do anything at school you have to have a school sponsor." Once again the others told her that Miss Johnson had said this was not necessary. The group seemed to have a good deal of feeling as to why they were not included in the school yearbook, and I promised to talk the matter over with Miss Johnson and let them know.

As the Coyles and Karen were leaving, the Coyles again said, "Who's going to Bill's with us?" Joan said, "I am," very definitely; but then looked at her watch and said, "Oh, it's only half-past eight; this girl is going to play ping-pong," and stayed. Throughout this meeting Joan participated freely and seemed much happier than last time. This may have been related to the fact that Karen took practically no leadership and seemed quite disinterested. After the three had left, the usual spirit of relaxation reigned while the remaining four played ping-pong. Lucile made some comments which helped me to understand her timidity and lack of self-assurance. She had come in a pretty red outfit, and the Beliajus girls and I commented on how nice she looked. At one point when she was dancing to the record that was playing, she said, "You should hear my sister make fun of me when I dance to music," and again, "You should hear her make fun of me when I laugh or when I say such and such." I asked whether her sister was younger or older, and she said, "One year younger." I said I liked to see her dance to the music, and several of the others danced too and seemed to feel comfortable in doing so. Joan, as usual, came over and sat beside me while the others played ping-pong. She told me about the Halloween party she was going to, and said, "We're not going with our own boy friends, but Joe will be there and I will make him jealous. I hope he gets stuck with Julia." She then described Julia in derogatory terms as being tall and thin. Joan is rather tall and I have noticed that she wears low-heeled pumps to minimize her

height. She added that Saturday night she would be going out with Joe. When someone commented on the beautiful moon there was tonight, Joan looked at me and said, "Always when we're with a bunch of girls." I said maybe it would be nice for Friday and Saturday nights too; she smiled. She also informed me that she had beaten Joe at ping-pong and he hadn't liked it. Dolores was her usual vigorous, joyous self throughout the evening. She and Joan seemed happy together and are quite affectionate with each other. Carolyn was a little more thoughtful and silent tonight than usual. She came over and stroked Joan's hair at one point, and Joan later on called her "Carolyn, my little dear." They danced together after the game, and Joan sang along with the more romantic records. Carolyn said to her in a joking way, "Oh, I didn't know you cared!" Of course one of the pieces was "I Wish I Didn't Love You So," and while it was playing Joan looked over at me and said, "Oh, I'm swooning."

I had finally succeeded in getting cokes for all present so we stopped at Bill's only while Dolores went in to get some pretzels. As usual, Joan and I had walked over together and we stood waiting for my street car while the others were inside. Joan told me about her weekend at a nearby college and said Joe had come up for her and she had driven home with him. She added, "I go with him all the time." I asked if she went with other boys too and she said, "No, my mother wishes I would, but I have a better time with Joe so why should I? We fight a lot and each one tries to prove he's right but it doesn't prove anything." I said it was good that she did enjoy his company but probably she would be meeting other people too. She is just eighteen. She said, "Oh, sure, I'm far from thinking of marriage, but when I do meet other boys I don't have fun with them." I asked her if she had ever cared for any other boy and she said, "Yes, I did, but it was a one-sided affair and he didn't care for me." I have a feeling that this is a source of her interest in the song, "I Wish I Didn't Love You So." I said that did happen sometimes and it was hard to take. Joan laughed and said she had fallen asleep in the car driving home with Joe and she supposes he thought she was bored. Just before we had set out for Bill's, Joan had said to me, "I think the Coyles aren't interested in this club any more. They always used to stay afterwards and we had fun doing things together." I said sometimes people's interests did change and it made it hard for the others. Dolores picked this up and said, "Did you hear Lucia asking me if I wanted to go on the hayride? That's their sorority hayride, and Mary Ruth said, 'Don't ask her.' I felt like going just because Mary Ruth didn't want me to, but that would only have made a fight." I asked whether the sorority was pretty active and no one seemed to know. This hayride is the only activity that they had heard of. I said they could all have been members of the sorority, couldn't they, and they agreed rather half-heartedly. I am not at all sure that they were made to feel welcome by this other group. As I was riding away on the street car Joan kept waving to me until my car was out of sight.

Summary: This next meeting when the new members are invited will be

a very crucial one for the club. It is very clear to me that Karen no longer wants to be part of this group and is held here by a sense of duty and fear of displeasing the mother figure. I really think I must discuss this with her and help her to leave the club and perhaps help the club to let her go. I'm not sure what is in it for the Coyles. It will be necessary to see how they fit into the enlarged club. Whether the five new girls will come and whether they will actually become members are open questions. I did suggest to the group this time that they might like to play different games after the meeting was over, but it was a poor evening because the Coyles had been at the Y since four o'clock and of course wanted to get home. At the recreation hour the preceding Wednesday only Joan, Dolores, Carolyn, and Lucile had come. They had done basketball drills. The Coyles made a great fuss during the meeting tonight about the necessity of having health examinations and were trying to figure out some way they could come without getting them. I said I knew that it did seem like a nuisance, and a real expense too, yet it was a requirement of the Y and was in the girls' own interest to be sure that they didn't engage in sports that were too rough for them. Bertha Goethel has handed in her written resignation to the club, though she really has not been a member all year.

Questions

1. Note how the worker helps the members to face their procrastination about getting new members. How does she seek to motivate them to action?
2. What do you think was the worker's purpose in suggesting a new name for the club?
3. Judged by the discussion of membership, of club emblems, and of the school yearbook, how would you describe the meaning of this group to the members?

13

Young Adult Groups

. HEIGHTS RECREATION CLUB

The Worker's Role with the Early Twenties

WHILE SOME GROUPS of young adults are natural groups, most organized groups served by social agencies are formed around some stimulated interest. Young people join groups to learn a new skill (in sports, active recreation, or cultural areas), to associate with others of a common occupation, or to participate in public affairs. In the Heights Recreation Club, a natural young adult group of girls and men, interests in all these areas are slowly developing. We shall present here a summary of activities over a few weeks, highlighting the needs of the president of the club and the social group worker's role in helping the club through individual work with her.

Because of the prevailing attitude toward sex, young adults seldom verbalize their concerns in this area in group situations. The worker becomes aware of the fears and anxieties of the members by being able to understand the language of behavior and to interpret the meaning behind their spoken words. This was the case in helping Catherine Patterson who was the dominant member of the Heights Recreation Club. The information on the face sheet of this club shows that Catherine is twenty-one years of age, has graduated from high school and is employed as a salesperson in a downtown store. She is of English-German descent, her father being a third-generation American and her mother a naturalized citizen born in Germany. Her father works in the steel mills and her mother is a housewife. She is the third in a family of four; an older brother and sister are married; and her other brother is five years younger than she. Catherine gives all her wages to her mother, who in turn gives her a weekly allowance. The other groups to which Catherine belongs are the House Council within the agency, a Sunday School class, and a young people's organization

in the Protestant church of which she is a member. From the worker's summary in the process record we learn:

...*Record.* Catherine Patterson is an energetic, talkative girl who demands a great deal of attention from everyone. She seems willing to go to almost any extreme to attract attention. She is particularly interested in men. When not talking about herself, she is talking to or about the men she knows and of her popularity with them.

One evening there was a meeting at which a representative of the housing authority described the new project not far away and the eligibility requirements for renting apartments there. In the question period that followed, Catherine asked if it would be possible for a young couple who were living with the wife's parents to rent an apartment in the project. The social group worker heard much more than the outward expression of the question and she determined to create an opportunity for a conference with Catherine.

...*Record.* The worker said that she was interested in the question which Catherine had asked in the housing meeting the other night. Catherine said that she thought that it would be wonderful to have a home of her own and live in one of those brand new apartments. The worker commented that a home of one's own usually means having a husband too. Catherine pulled her chair a little closer to the desk and said that she did not believe she could ever have a husband. The worker made no comment. After a few seconds Catherine seemed to rally all her courage and then said that she would be too scared; just think of having babies and all that! Just the same, she would love to have the independence that her older sister has. It seemed the only way a girl ever got to be her own boss was to get married and that her kid brother has more freedom at sixteen than she has at twenty-one.

The worker had been aware that Catherine's domination of the group was satisfying an emotional need and had suspected that the group was providing her with an opportunity to act toward the members as her mother acted toward her. The worker had observed that she gave the older members of the group little opportunity to participate in the group's decisions, disregarding them or refusing to accept their suggestions, unless limited by the worker. Moreover, the worker had been concerned about Catherine's attitude toward the men in the group and doubted her tales of popularity with other men; for while the men played up to Catherine in the group and seemed to accept her leadership, they did not really seem to like her. The worker had also observed that she was abrupt with men in their middle or late twenties, but was constantly courting the younger men in the group. At one time she tried to get the group to change its lower age limits in order that a group of eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds could join. In this move

she was unsuccessful, and she might have lost her position of leadership if she had persisted in her attempt to get her younger friends into the group. The worker remembered all these things as she listened to Catherine's stumbling attempt to express her real feelings in the privacy of the interview. This was quite a different Catherine than the girl with a "line" in the quick interaction of the club meeting. The worker also remembered about the wages and the weekly allowance. And she thought about the ordinal position of Catherine in her family. The fact that her older brother and sister were virtually adults when Catherine was little meant that she had had a position in the family similar to that of an only child with many parent-persons dominating her life. What was the effect upon her when her baby brother was born when she was five years old? All these things ran through the worker's mind as she listened to Catherine. This was the knowledge that she had about Catherine, and she viewed it against her understanding of the dynamics of human behavior. Thus it affected her feeling about Catherine. She recognized that here was a young woman whose relationships with other girls, with young men, and with adults were complicated and difficult because Catherine's relationship with her mother was still on a little-girl level. Catherine's outburst indicated fear and anxiety about sex and a lack of information in that area of life, but she had given an even greater indication of her concern about being able to grow up and be an adult.

...Record. The worker commented that it made Catherine mad when her brother had freedom which she did not have the opportunity to enjoy. Catherine evidently sensed the sympathy and understanding in the worker's voice, for she poured out her stored-up feelings about her brother, her mother's attachment to him, and her mother's unwillingness to permit her to make any decisions of importance for herself. She seemed to summarize the feeling when she said that as far as her mother was concerned she would be a little girl all her life. The worker asked her how she treated her mother. Catherine did not reply for a few seconds and then said that she did not know what the worker meant. The worker asked her what she sounded like when she replied to her mother. Again Catherine was silent; then said that she supposed she sounded like a little girl. The worker smiled and said that she would not be surprised if that were true, that many times mothers did not realize that their children had grown up, and that grown-up children had to help their mothers to recognize them as grown up by being grown up even when they were treated like children. Catherine looked very serious and then said, as if feeling that she must regain her status as the club leader, that she was not the only one in the club who felt this way about her mother. The worker said she was sure that there were others because many people find that their mothers or fathers have failed to notice that they have become

adults. Catherine asked if the worker thought that any of the men had feelings like this; then before the worker could answer Catherine said, "Oh, no, of course they don't — boys are always privileged." The worker replied that sometimes having too many privileges makes people feel dependent and like little children too. Catherine said that she would not mind feeling like a child if it meant that she got some of the privileges she wanted. The worker wondered what those who are in that kind of situation feel about it. Catherine quickly replied that she would love to know, "especially the boys' feelings." The worker commented that perhaps this was something they could talk about in their club. Catherine said, "Oh, no! I could never talk about things like this with boys around. Why, I have never talked to anyone like I have talked to you." The worker said she understood that Catherine would not want to talk about herself in this way in the club meetings, but that sometimes it was helpful to talk with other people about general problems of relationships. Catherine said that that might be true, but not with this group. "They don't want to do anything but eat and argue." The worker laughed and said they seemed to enjoy doing these things all right, but that did not mean they could not do other things as well. To this Catherine responded with a doubtful and unenthusiastic "Well, maybe."

It is evident from the above recording that the worker had come to the conclusion that Catherine needed help first in the area of family relations. We therefore see her focusing the interview upon Catherine's relationship with her brother and with her mother. This was an exploratory interview and the worker kept it so by not permitting the problem to be exclusively Catherine's; she stimulated Catherine to think about her responsibility in this relationship and then she indicated that other young people had problems in this area. This gave the worker the opportunity very tentatively to suggest that the members of the club might help each other with their common problems. It is important to recognize the quality of the relationship which this worker had with Catherine. She had been known to the worker for some time but their contacts had been on a rather superficial level. The few conferences which they had had were about the immediate program in the club. While the worker had recognized Catherine's need of help in her personal relationships, Catherine had never given any indication of wanting help from the worker. It was the anxiety in Catherine's voice, when she asked her question in the group meeting, which made the worker decide to create an opportunity to talk with Catherine *as a person*, not as president of the club. It is also important to note that the tone of this interview was set not by *what* the worker said but rather by *how* the worker felt about Catherine and her problem and what the worker did *not say*. Actually, the worker said very little throughout the hour-long conference, and what she did say was limited almost entirely to helpful questions.

Thus, she gave Catherine the opportunity to function in an adult role with another understanding adult. Through her understanding of Catherine as a person and her non-judgmental attitude, the worker was able to give Catherine a new concept of her own stature and to start her thinking about what *she* could do about her problem.

Catherine was not the only member of the club with whom the worker had had conferences, and she knew that many other members were likewise struggling with the problems of being grown up. Before the next meeting of the club, the worker placed on the bulletin board some cartoons which dealt in a humorous way with some of these problems. These cartoons attracted attention and caused some discussion among the club members.

When the club next met, there was a long and heated discussion as to whether to have a dance with an orchestra, one with the juke box, or an old-fashioned barn dance. Finally the plans were made. Then:

...Record. The worker was surprised to hear Catherine saying that Miss G has some suggestions for something different which we might do in our club. Everybody looked at the worker, who had to do some pretty quick thinking, for she had not expected to have Catherine put her suggestion about group discussions into such immediate action — if ever. The worker said that she and Catherine had had an opportunity to talk about the club during the week and that they had wondered if some of the members would be interested in planning some meetings to discuss any problems about which they wished they knew more. There was complete silence for a few seconds; then Jim said that he left all that behind him when he left school. General laughter followed this remark and several statements of agreement seemed to put an end to the idea. Catherine said, "What did I tell you, Miss G?" Eleanor asked what kind of things we would discuss. Again all eyes were cast in the direction of the worker, who said that what they discussed would depend upon what they were interested in, and she could tell them what some other clubs found interesting if they wanted her to. "Go ahead and tell us," said Tom, "I think we ought to do something in our club besides plan dances and horse around."

The worker then said that sometimes people were interested in talking about what is going on in the community in a more organized way than is done in casual conversation. During the big strike we all talked a great deal about it, but if we had planned to have a discussion about it and each of us had studied some particular aspect, we could have exchanged information and would probably have learned more about the issues involved than we did through random talk. Then, some of us have problems which are bothering us in our work, and we might get a great deal of help if we shared our experiences. Some are interested in learning more about why people behave the way they do — and at this point the worker was interrupted by Jake who called out, "I'll say we are; now you just take my old man!" Every-

body began to laugh and to shout Jake down. Ben told the worker that she should not let Jake get started on his "old man" because if she did they would never get to the end of that tale. The worker said, "Well, let's just take Jake's old man," and then she led a short discussion (with all the members participating) about some of the problems which could be included in such planned discussion periods. When the matter was put up to the group for a vote, every member voted to have some organized discussion as part of their programs in the next few weeks. Tom, Jake, and Eleanor were appointed to meet with the president and the worker to plan the discussion for the next week.

Recreation continued to be the central interest of this club, but even the dances and parties became more interesting and vital as the members invested more of themselves in the process of group association. There was less bickering, and events were planned with greater dispatch because now there were other things to think about and do than merely to plan the food and other details for special activities. Group discussions gave rise to an increasing number of personal interviews, and through these the social group worker was able to help various members use community facilities offering services in relation to problems of employment, vocational information and guidance, marital adjustment, and family welfare.



A CONVERSATION

Employed Girls Discuss Their Interests

Young adults enjoy "visiting" with one another. It is perhaps superfluous to point out that this is an important and significant medium of program content. The casual conversation may be the part of an evening's activity which is most meaningful and therefore most helpful to the participants. The meeting begins the moment the first member arrives and is not over until the last member has left. Such conversations are not only important parts of the content of the program but they also provide cues for other types of program and indications of areas of personal interests and needs which can help the worker in serving the group.

The following conversation taken from a record of an Industrial Club in a YWCA was not only satisfying to the participants but also revelatory to the worker in pointing out areas of interests and needs. The age-range of the members is twenty-one to thirty. All are native-born children of foreign-born parents. Two of the members work in factories and the others are in household employment.

MARY: Say, kids, you're all invited to a wedding soon. My sis's being married. We don't know just when. They're getting their license Saturday though so it'll be most any time. . . . Yeah, he's the one she's been going with a long time — must be almost six months. She's lucky — he's a roller at McElroy's. . . . Yes, my brother, he got married too just about three months ago. Is my mother ever broke up about sis's leaving now. She's going to give 'em a break though, but they don't know it yet. She's going to let them live at home! She's going to give a reception and shower for them too, so they'll get lots of presents.

MARGARET: Well, if they're going to stay on at home, I don't see why your mother feels so bad. Mom thought it was fine when I got married, but you should have seen the way she cried when we moved to ourselves. . . . Oh, no, we didn't move right away when we got married. We lived at home four months. We probably wouldn't have moved then if Johnny had been a Catholic. I think Mom thought when we got married that he'd turn Catholic, but he didn't and he got sore about her talking to him about it all the time. I think it's better this way and we live so close I see Mom all the time anyhow. She just says she doesn't feel the same about it when I'm not right in the house with her.

EDNA (Margaret's sister): I think Tom [a brother] talked Mom into a lot of that, Margaret. He's cuckoo! He thinks nobody's got a right to marry anybody but their own kind. If Johnny was an Italian everything'd be fine. . . . What's your sister's boy friend, Mary? Is he Ukrainian, too?

MARY: No, he's English — he's still got some folks, cousins, or something, in London. . . . When am I going to get married? (*sarcastically*) Yeah, when *am* I going to get married! I'm twenty-four and Dick's twenty-six — we'll have enough to live on by the time we're sixty. . . . No, he's not working. He's going to school again, studying to be a doctor. I'm going to night school again this year too. We've been thinking we might get married and keep it a secret — not right away, of course, but sometime before he gets started like he'd have to before we could set up housekeeping. He doesn't want me to work after we get married, and they lay you off at the factory as soon as they know you're married anyhow. . . . No, the union don't seem to be much interested in doing anything about it. Maybe the union don't want married women to work either.

JEAN: Elizabeth got married and kept it a secret last year, but she got caught and they had to tell about it.

MARY: Yes, we're thinking about that too. If we did get married and had a kid while Dick was still going to school — wouldn't that be just ducky! Hey, Jean, how about you? Thought you'd be coming in here with a ring by this time. You and your honey split up?

JEAN: Aw, my folks fussed about him so much I quit going with him. I was getting sorta tired of him anyhow. . . . No, he was a nice fellow — they just didn't like me going with a Russian. If I'd of cared for him much I'd

of fought it out with 'em, but he didn't mean that much to me. But, believe me, when I fall for a man, if he's a nice guy — and I wouldn't fall for him unless he was — believe me, I don't care whether he's a Polock, a Dago, or an Eskimo — I'm going to marry him!

MARGARET: Say, have you seen Esther lately? She looks like a ghost. Her folks fussed so about that guy she was stepping out with that she broke up with him and she sure is taking it hard. I don't hold with that. They may have thought they had to marry somebody born in the same country they were, but we were born in America and I think any of us have a right to marry any fellow who was born in America, no matter where his folks came from.

JEAN: Sure, I feel that way, too, and I think I'd do it. But just the same it's darned hard to have your mom crying all the time and your dad acting crabby about something you're doing. Esther just couldn't take it and I don't know whether you could either. Your mom didn't want you to marry a Protestant, but she didn't go to bed and cry every day about it. If she had, you might not be where you are now. Maybe you would at that, though; you always did manage to get your own way — and how!

ANNA: Say, you oughta see the fellow I got acquainted with down at the Court the other night. . . . Yeah, I go down there and rollerskate a lot. It's a swell place to get a guy. Well, this fellow's got a big car and everything. We've had two dates since. He wants to see me this weekend, but I'm scared to make a date with him. So far he's taken me back to Mrs. T's [her employer's home], but if he has a date with me while I'm home and he sees where I live, I'm afraid he won't come back. That's why I'm glad I stay nights. If I just worked days, I'd have dates from home all the time and the fellows like their girls to live in nice houses.

IRENE: I don't care — I'd rather go home nights any time. You have to work till all hours if you live in. When seven o'clock comes, I know I'm my own boss this way. The lady I work for now sure is swell to me, too. I wouldn't mind so much staying nights for her, but if you do it one place the next place you go wants you to, too.

ANNA: I don't care so much about the hours if I like the lady I work for. Mrs. T's particular, but she's nice about it. And she gives me lots of time off. I have two evenings off a week and two half-days, and one whole weekend a month.

JEAN: That sure would be swell! The old woman I'm working for now sure is hard to get along with. She thinks she's Mrs. God, all right. She wanted to give me just one night off a week and only one half-day every other week. I had a round with her and got a half-day every week, but I couldn't get more than one night off. I've been with her just three weeks and I'm on the look for another job. If you hear about anything tell me, will you? I don't care whether I live in or out, but I don't like being treated like a dog, and I want some time off once in a while — that is,

earlier than after ten at night. Maybe Anna would take me rollerskating with her so I could get a fellow with a good car, too.

Questions

1. What indications do you see in this record of the social norms of these members in regard to courting and marriage?
2. What evidence is there of shifts in social class identifications within this group?
3. The worker took no part in this conversation. Did she miss an opportunity? Was this an occasion for sensitive listening or for participation?
4. Do you see any evidence of the need of any individual in the group for personal counseling? If so, how could the worker make herself available for such help?
5. What methods might the worker use to stimulate program content for the group-as-a-whole in the areas of preparation for marriage, child care, vocational opportunities, and intercultural education?



THE NAACP YOUTH GROUP

Social Action in the Midst of Conflict

Community House Policies Affecting the Group:

All members of groups meeting in the House must be members of the House.

The House has an interracial policy directed toward achieving a fifty-fifty balance of white and Negro members from the interracial neighborhoods served.

All the groups are free to discuss any issues and to take action as a group, provided this action does not conflict with the basic policies of the House as set forth in Section 1 of House Policies. The Community House shall not be committed to any act or policy without the consent of the Board of Directors. Staff members and group leaders shall be free to act in their advisory capacity to groups in discussion and action, but the activity of staff members in the community shall not be such as to commit the Community House to any policy not previously approved by the Board of Directors.

...Summary Record: June-December (First Year). The NAACP Youth Group was organized in June, by Mrs. Martha White. Mrs. White approached the program director for permission for the group to meet at the Community House on Friday evenings. This permission was granted. At that time the staff did not make any proposals to Mrs. White or the group about staff service since it was felt that the group would not accept help.

In fact, owing to a background of distrust of the House by the adult Negro community, the staff considered it a gain that the group wished to meet at the House at all.

FACE SHEET — THE NAACP YOUTH GROUP

Name	Age	Occupation	Race or Nationality	Marital Status	Membership in House
1. Earl Adams	29	Clerk	Am. Negro	Married	7 years
2. Dolores Boughton	24	...	"	Single	...
3. Bessie Brown	28	Secretary	"	Single	...
4. Edward Burton	24	Cleaning shop †	"	Single	6 months
5. Priscila Caldwell	22	Clerical	"	Single	2 years
6. Debbie Carson	21	Domestic	"	Single	2 years
7. Esther Clening	25	Secretary	"	Married	...
8. Wallace Dixon	20	Clerk	"	Single	3 years
9. Violet Duggan	22	Student nurse	"	Single	3 years
10. Elsie Farmer	27	Tel. operator	"	Married	2 years
11. Sophie Graham	27	Typist	"	Married	2 years
12. Beth Green	20	College student	"	Single	3 years
13. Albert Howard *	36	Foreman	"	Single	16 years
14. Phyllis Johnson	23	Tel. operator	"	Single	2 years
15. Arthur Lieb	31	Radio repair	Jewish	Married	1 year
16. Margaret Lieb	29	Housewife	Jewish	Married	1 year
17. Charles Martin	26	Shipping clerk	Am. Negro	Single	2 years
18. John Myers	28	Cleaning shop †	"	Single	2 years
19. May Russel	23	Teacher	"	Married	2 years
20. Daisy Scraithwaite	23	...	"	Single	1 year
21. Lucia Skinner	24	Student (Radio)	"	Single	6 months
22. Jean Smith	22	Dressmaker	"	Single	2 months
23. Paul Watson	22	Foreman	"	Single	10 years
24. Martha White	25	Teacher	"	Married	10 years

* Board Member

† Works in

During the summer the group held weekly meetings, of which no statistical or other records are available. Generally, however, the attendance averaged ten members, with Mrs. White and Albert Howard as the most regular and active participants. Mr. Howard is much older than the other members and is a board member of the House. He is also an officer of the adult NAACP branch. Mrs. White, organizer of the group, is a young woman aged 24. She has lived in this community since she was a year old and feels that she really knows the community, its people, and its problems. She graduated with an academic certificate from high school and attended normal school for two years. She has taken further training in child psychology and has been for several years a Nursery School worker in the Child Care Center located in the House.

Mrs. White approached me during the summer to inquire whether her

group could give a public fund-raising dance at the House. I explained that the House had for some time had a policy of prohibiting public dances and that Mrs. White probably knew why the policy had been instituted. Mrs. White said that she certainly did know and that the public dances in the early years of the war had become a real menace, but she felt that any dance her group might give would be different. I said that, even so, it would not be possible to change the policy, but that large invitational dances, which might raise funds, could be held.

I then asked Mrs. White to tell me more about the group. With great earnestness she told me that every attempt to organize Negro young adults had failed and that they became listless and cynical. Lack of proper recreational facilities for Negroes was a real problem. As a result many boys took to lounging on street corners and did not make anything of their lives. The Youth Group hoped to develop a program which would meet some of the recreational needs and give the Negro young people a sense of belonging. She said that she was encouraged about the Community House and felt that gradually a good relationship between the House and the Negro community could be worked out.

In September, Mrs. Cushing, a Negro staff member, returned from a leave of absence. It was agreed that we would make her services available to the group, first by technical assistance, and later — we hoped — by being included in the planning and the meetings. Some real progress was made in this direction, but unfortunately Mrs. Cushing had to leave in November so that close contact was not established. Only a brief summary statement included in the record is available on this phase of the group's life.

The closer contact with the staff through the Executive Director was brought about by Mrs. White's need for help with the group's relation to the chapter of American Youth for Democracy (AYD).

...Summary Record: December — October. During this period, the group's efforts were distributed among becoming a formal organization, carrying out and evaluating a joint meeting with the AYD (evaluation included discussion about problems the group could work on), and running a very large and successful party at which they raised \$300.

While these interests constituted the program, the meaningful activity of the group lay in determining its real purposes. It became increasingly apparent that the group was sharply divided into two subgroups. One subgroup was led by Martha White, the president, and included Beth Green, Elsie Farmer, Albert Howard, and Violet Duggan. This group wished the Youth Group to fulfill two purposes: (1) to work on various problems affecting Negroes, and (2) to have good times through social activities. This group felt that both needs must be met if the Youth Group was to survive. The other group led by Phyllis Johnson, Sophie Graham, Priscilla Caldwell, and two others wished the group to devote itself only to social action. Some, if not all, of this subgroup had become politically involved with the AYD. In

addition to this clash in thinking, there was an intense personality clash between Phyllis Johnson and Martha White, owing to a bitter quarrel between members of their families.

Thus there was a constant undercurrent of bitter struggle for many meetings. It finally came into the open on March 1 with Phyllis Johnson openly attacking the group for "doing nothing" and calling for a vote as to the purpose of the group. Members of the other subgroup pointed out that such a vote was impossible, since the Youth Group, through its affiliation with the NAACP, automatically had a civic purpose. These members tried to get the other group to state what specific action they wanted the group to take. Phyllis Johnson and Sophie Graham were unable to do this and became increasingly insulting toward the others, but especially toward the president. The worker finally asked for the floor and suggested that what both sides seemed to want was to get down to a program of action. The worker then suggested three appropriate suggestions for action and the group was then able to move ahead. They undertook and carried through a simple project for educating the community about FEPC.

Following this stormy meeting, the group was able to move ahead though their activities remained rather diffuse. After several failures they abandoned summer meetings and concentrated their efforts on one large social to hold the group together till fall.

It was during this period that interest in alleged discrimination in the local high school was first expressed. At the group's request, the Executive Director had arranged for a speaker from the national office. Since the National Youth Secretary was unable to come, the office sent Miss J., secretary for Intercultural Education. Among other things, the group asked Miss J. about her work, and this gave rise to a discussion about the local high school situation. The worker told the group about some public meetings being planned by the PTA on the subject of educating children for democratic living. Some members were interested and Miss J. strongly supported this type of activity. It was the worker's impression that the group was disappointed because Miss J. was white. Perhaps they might have gone further with the school and educational discussion had the speaker been a Negro.

...Summary Record: October-June (Second Year). In October, a new and professionally educated social group worker was assigned to the group. It took the group some time to reorganize after the summer break. The most significant event was that two white members joined the group. It was the worker's impression (later confirmed) that Mr. and Mrs. Lieb were affiliated with a political group which was interested in recruiting Negro members and that this was their purpose in joining. The group was ambivalent about having white members but gradually came to accept these individuals. The other significant event was the resignation of Martha White, president, and the election of Beth Green to succeed her. Beth Green is a young woman with very great intelligence, sincerity, and common sense. She relates well

to and knows how to use a professional worker. While very quiet and modest in manner, she was quickly able to give firm leadership to the group and help them move ahead.

For a while, the group cast about for activities. They attempted to tackle discrimination in the only local bowling alley but were unable to make a test case owing to the fact that the alleys were scheduled right through to June. During the fall, the group reverted to discussion of the high school problem and an "educational committee" was appointed with seven members. Albert Howard was asked to bring in a report on the local school board and school administrative setup for a December meeting. Instead he presented an altogether inadequate report on the literacy rate among Negroes. The worker did not know whether he could have misunderstood the assignment or whether by design he chose to discuss this rather obsolete topic. Following this, Mr. Lieb reported on suggestions for tackling the local school situation. Before there could be any discussion, Phyllis Johnson reported on an anti-Bilbo rally. The group reacted typically: it expressed instant enthusiasm — but an enthusiasm which makes it necessary for the group to spread itself thinly over many areas without accomplishing anything on any one project undertaken. The worker tried to point this out. She did not actually know the motivating force behind this rally but felt it might possibly be the AYD group and was interested in getting the group to be sure how it was going to fit into this picture — if it was going to fit in. Before this meeting was over, enthusiasm had reached a high pitch and elaborate plans were discussed to raise money for Kentville Hospital. The meeting ended with several things hanging in the air. No decisions about future action were reached, but the worker felt that perhaps this was the only pace at which the group could move at that point. She felt also that with adequate leadership from the group, some of the disjointedness of meetings might be alleviated.

Early in January, Mrs. White, former president, who had been absent from meetings since late November, came in to see the worker. She said that she had attended a meeting of the "education committee" at the home of Beth Green during the holidays, and that she had been overruled completely in her objections to the strategy the group had planned in dealing with the school problem. The worker said that she also had been anxious for the group to plan their procedure very carefully; otherwise they might only alienate the community. The worker learned that the clique led by Phyllis Johnson and Arthur Lieb favored a mass rally at which discriminatory practices at the high school would be denounced. Mrs. White and Beth Green were the only members of the committee who favored careful fact-finding conferences.

At the next meeting members reported on several projects, including an anti-Bilbo rally and the interracial policy of Kentville Hospital. There was also some discussion of the relationship between the local and the national organization. Beth Green's report on the school situation had to be postponed until the following meeting.

A week later, Miss Green gave her report. After some discussion, the group decided to assemble detailed, factual information from parents whose children had been discriminated against in the Guidance Department at the school. A smaller committee was organized to interview parents and children for this purpose. Several weeks later, at the end of February, the educational committee reported that they had detailed information on seven cases of children who on entering high school were forced to take vocational courses instead of the courses they wanted. Beth Green had attended a tea given by a mothers' club (Negro) and had told them about the project and received a pledge of support. The group, however, did not take any decision regarding the next steps in the high school problem. Beth Green, in talks with the worker, indicated some discouragement over the "irresponsibility of members regarding committee meetings."

It might seem that the high interest in the situation had bogged down in the necessary but arduous fact-finding job. Two weeks later, however, the group got down to discussion. The worker helped the group to see the inadvisability of a rally and also the need for involving other community individuals and groups. There was much resistance to bringing any other individuals in, except a few Negro leaders. After discussion, a committee prepared two letters, one to the parents who had supplied the information and the other to a select list of Negro leaders, inviting them to a meeting on March 21 to discuss the findings and decide on the next steps.

The meeting was attended by some of the members, plus three Negro leaders. The Negro clergymen had refused to come, and one had chided the young people for tackling a job that was too big for them. The president invited the Executive Director to attend and consult with the group. One of the Negro leaders (non-member and rather noted for his "appeasement" attitude) suggested that a letter be sent to every organization in the community, including the Legion Posts, Chambers of Commerce, Republican Clubs, etc. The Executive Director advised against this approach. She suggested that, since the problem involved the high school, the first step should be to seek a conference with the principal and frankly discuss the findings of the subcommittee. There was much resistance in the group but the majority favored this approach and it was finally voted. Mrs. C. and Mrs. T., older people in the community, the one a professional musician and the other a professional social worker, were invited to accompany the Youth Group delegation. Mrs. T. was out of town, but Mrs. C. accepted and went.

Beth Green, as president, phoned the principal. She stated her name and organization and requested an appointment for a small committee of the Youth Group. Mr. M., the principal, at first refused. He told Miss Green that he would not see them alone, but that if she brought a group, he would have the whole administrative staff present. Miss Green was upset and discussed this with the worker, who in turn talked with the executive. The worker then advised Beth Green to try again, but to say that if Mr. M. felt that he needed the whole staff they would come anyway, though they felt it

would be easier to talk with him alone. But on the second call, Mr. M. had apparently changed his mind. He was very cordial and gave them an appointment alone. The committee of three, plus Mrs. C., discussed with him frankly their findings. Mr. M. in their presence checked the records of all seven cases. He was able to show that in four cases there was sound cause for discouraging academic aspirations in view of very low grades. In three, however, he felt that their objections to the school's action were justified and he wished to look into the matter further. He invited the group to visit the school on registration day next fall, observe the guidance interviews, and bring their criticisms to him.

The committee members were very well satisfied with their interview and felt that they had accomplished something in alerting the principal and in gaining recognition for their group as a responsible community organization which had the right to concern itself with community problems.

No further action has as yet been taken with the school. The group is currently interested in seeing that Negro children receive sound educational and vocational guidance before they enter high school so that they may choose their courses wisely.

Questions

1. Conflict situations are created by differences in norms, objectives, and personalities. Discuss the conflict situations in this record, showing how these sources of conflict were interwoven. How does understanding the source of conflict help the worker to determine his role in helping the group to handle the situations they create?
2. The social group worker helps members of groups to clarify issues and move ahead toward socially desirable objectives. In what ways did this worker carry out this part of her function? Give specific illustrations.
3. Discuss the program content of this group from the point of view of its autonomy and the policies of the agency of which it is a part. Were the policies helpful to the group? Did the limitations in them give the group support in its objectives or hinder it?
4. What were the two methods of social action proposed by the subgroups in this organization? Identify the individuals supporting each, and discuss the individual and social forces which may have motivated them.
5. Do you think the method and results of the social action entailed in the interview with the school principal satisfied the group that wanted the mass meeting? What future problems in this group can you predict?



CONSTRUCTIVE GRIPING

Convalescing Soldiers Face the Future

The use of the group to help people recover from physical and emotional illnesses has been receiving increasing attention during the last decade. Prior to World War II, experimentation in this area was carried on largely with children. During the war, however, extensive projects were developed with young adult servicemen in hospitals and convalescent centers. The recreation workers of the American Red Cross made (and are making) significant contributions to the adaptation of social group work methods to work with the sick and injured. Within the army there were occasional projects developed by social workers with group work training, who were working in the personnel classification of the armed forces. One of these projects was written up and published by the social workers who gave such service, and from their article we present the following material.¹

These patients (all of them in a Neuropsychiatric Convalescent Facility) have manifested difficulty in relating to a group in an authoritative setting. The treatment process is focused on the individual patient's conflict and struggle in readjusting himself to the military group.

He is brought to grips with this struggle in a way which recognizes his problems and offers support and help in resolving them to a degree wherein he can again function with some self-responsibility. In attempting to achieve this goal, the main stress is on the character of the patient's day-by-day reactions to his surroundings and activities within the group structure of the Convalescent Facility. It is with these reactions that the case worker and group worker are concerned.

... The case worker is concerned with giving the soldier an opportunity to realize and experience his positive potentialities and regain his self-confidence. As such, controlled group activities and discussions serve as the medium by which the patient again experiences himself as a part of a unit. Through a close liaison of case worker and group worker, and with the precise understanding of the division of responsibility between the two, there is a mutual exchange of knowledge about the patient's progress. There is a continuous, concurrent understanding of "where the patient is" at any time in relation to his emotional, psychological, and physical ex-

¹ Victor Rubenstein and Abraham Novick, "A Case Work-Group Work Approach to the Treatment of War Neuroses," *The Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, vol. 22, No. 4 (January, 1946), pp. 274-299. Except where otherwise noted, the remainder of this discussion of "Constructive Gripping" is quoted directly, by permission, from this article.

pressions of self. As he can again function with groups, and their inherent limits as well as freedom of expression and movement, he can become ready in varying degrees to live once again in the Army within a military unit with a specific objective.

To help the patient as he attempts to relate once again to groups is the responsibility of the group worker. It is the group worker's adherence to army orientation, and at the same time his acceptance of each patient's feelings and drives in relation to military realities as these are expressed within the group that becomes the dynamics of the group work process. . . .

A number of factors brought about a lively and active group. All the soldier-patients had made an adequate civilian adjustment and had also adjusted well in the Army prior to breakdown overseas. All had been in combat or under combat conditions. There are individual differences involved: an older person who could be respected and looked up to by the other men (Patient *B*); a quiet, meek, and immature person (Patient *E*); two extremely tense, hostile, and resentful patients (Patient *D* and Patient *F*); one man who doubted the value of participation, with some bitterness against the Army (Patient *C*). The group consisted of a mixture of non-commissioned officers and privates. . . .

...*First Session.* We decided to wait for *C* who came in about five minutes late. He expressed his regret for this and mentioned that he had been on sick call. *I indicated that the group was their own, and it was on problems of adjustment to the Army, and maybe we ought to decide how to approach this.*¹ *E* followed this remark by asking why it was so difficult to get furloughs and why the weekend passes were of such short duration. He pointed out that *D* lived in Boston and that he would never be able to get there on a weekend pass. *C* expressed himself about how the Army had been "giving them a run-around" in terms of furloughs. Everyone except *B* talked about the unfairness of not having received a convalescent furlough. He passed it off by mentioning that "it is the Army." Most of the statements on the part of the rest of the group members revolved around their feelings that "something was coming to them" as a result of their having been overseas for such a long time, having given their "all" to the Army, and that the Army should repay them. The furlough became the means by which they expressed their feeling.

F seemed so bitter that it was difficult for him to talk. *A* said that a furlough means that he would be able to see his wife and children as well as his parents. *I clarified the machinery of applying for furloughs, as well as my own position in the group, and separated myself from the administrative position of having to decide whether they were or were not entitled to furloughs.* Aside from the right to have a furlough, I wondered what it meant to them. *C* thought

¹ Our italics throughout.

being relieved a while from the need to do things in a certain way would help the boys considerably. He was backed by *D* who elaborated on how sick and tired he was getting up every morning at a certain time, being "bossed around" by a Pfc. who had never seen combat, having to be on the "go" constantly, and constantly being driven. There was, by this time, a considerable freedom in discussing the problem. *B* thought he would like to go home and see his family as often as possible, but that there were inherent difficulties since he was in the Army. He was ready to accept this as a reality. *A* again expressed his feeling about visiting his parents and wife. *I pointed up the fact that some of them seemed to be looking at a furlough as a solution to the problems that they were facing. I wondered whether that could be the solution. . . .*

F stated that a furlough was not going to solve his problem. He saw a furlough as a means of straightening out affairs, visiting people whom he had not seen for a long time, and making contacts. There was some discussion around this, with *A* and *F* on one side holding that they could see a furlough only for the purpose of seeing people and making contacts, and *C*, *E*, and *D* feeling that it would help them personally and make them feel much better. *B* seemed very neutral. The rest of the men were talking with considerable feeling, at times almost shouting their remarks. The two factions in the group continued to argue among themselves as to the value of the furlough without much change as far as their ideas and feelings were concerned. *I then posed a question whether the furlough was being looked upon as a means of getting away from Army routine. Also, if they received this amount of time, whether it would serve their purpose.*

B very calmly addressed himself to *D* and *C*, stating that "you still can't get away from the Army, and that you would have to return to the same old Army routine after the furlough was up." There was further discussion around this, which brought about a unanimous agreement that they really couldn't think of a furlough as an escape process.

D at this point, with an almost painful expression on his face, expressed recognition of the fact that a short furlough would not be helping any members of the group, but wondered what "psychoneurosis was." He stopped for a moment and then continued, stating that he thought that a psychoneurosis was due to the fact that one was unable to stand Army routines any more, becoming "fed-up" with doing the same thing every day, and finally "blowing your top." Maybe a furlough would help, since it would relieve that everyday routine. *I asked the group what they thought of it.* A few of the group members gave a picture of their own symptoms and onset and circumstances which brought them about in order to illustrate what they thought was a psychoneurosis.

C talked of his experience in Italy in the combat engineers, the pressure of work, the extent to which they were driven, and battle conditions which made him tense and fidgety. He then described a psychoneurosis "as being unable to do anything about such conditions, so that one begins to express it in terms of physical symptoms."

D talked of being unable to stand the same routine day in and day out and that he just "blew his top." At this point, a few members of the group began to describe briefly how they got to the hospital and the nature of their nervousness.

A mentioned that he felt most of his nervousness stemmed from too much hospitalization. He would have been much happier if he had been returned to duty following his hospitalization for hemorrhoids and removal of tonsils. "Sitting around doing nothing for months made me fidgety and nervous. I began to think about everything under the sun, I worried about everything and my mind wasn't occupied."

E said that "too much combat" made him jittery. *F* started to say something, but then changed his mind and said that he would "rather not talk." The others began to discuss further their symptomatic pictures. There was banter back and forth about how each one felt under combat conditions, accompanied by considerable release of feeling, with almost a sigh of relief in seeing that others felt the same way as they did. The secretive and fearful aspects of their condition seemed to be removed in this discussion.

F, who had been listening intently for about five or ten minutes to the remarks of the other men, suddenly expressed himself with profanity and wanted to know why the Army gave it such a name as "psychoneurosis."¹ "You'd think we're all nuts." *E* mentioned that while he was at a previous hospital some girls would ask him what ward he was in, and when he would tell them, they would mention, "Oh, psycho, a queer guy." *F* pointed out that "it does not sound like it from the way the guys are talking here." He pointed out that half of the people walking on the boardwalk right now could probably be classified "psychoneurosis." He pointed out that "we still could do certain jobs in the Army and certainly could get along in civilian life."

A suddenly banged on the table with his hands and said, "Boy, this is good stuff." There was considerable laughter.

At this point, *D* seemed to be a little concerned about the fact that, despite the feeling of the group, there appeared to be considerable difference of opinion outside of this setting. With feeling, he related an incident that occurred to him in the South Pacific Islands. He had reached a point where he had been unable to stand the daily routines. He had become "fed up" with the constant pressures that were placed upon him. He pointed out that he had been overseas for two and a half years practically in the same spot, and it had become too much for him. He "blew his top" at an officer and was punished. With feeling, he rationalized his offense in terms of his condition at the time and his inability to control himself at that moment. He found it necessary to clarify to the group that his record was clear otherwise.

The group identified with him very quickly. For the next few minutes there was intense and heated discussion of the problem of authority in the Army.

¹ Suggested reading: William C. Menninger. *Psychiatry in a Troubled World* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), especially Chapter 8.

I then turned to B and asked him whether he couldn't tell the group about the way men were treated in his theater of war. He pointed out that he had been in charge of a platoon in the CBI theater and had had considerable responsibility. He was in charge of a large group of men scattered over a large area near virgin country. All the men were removed from any phases of civilization. He described it as being akin to the Pilgrims settling in America. With this kind of life, there was bound to be considerable trouble. He made it his business to know his men personally; in fact, to know every man in his platoon personally. They would read their letters to him. He would know about their wives and sweethearts. They would come to him to discuss their problems. When they broke rules and regulations, in this way, he understood what it meant and would sit down and talk with them. This would help to clear the air.

I suggested to the group that, apparently, treatment of men depended a good deal upon the type of officer and "non-com" with whom one came in contact, rather than a general policy of the whole Army. F, who had been so full of feeling before this, agreed wholeheartedly. They felt that actually there were all types of soldiers.

This was followed by expressions of sympathy towards D who had had a "bad break." He took advantage of this and indicated that he had not yet received his combat infantry badge, to which he was entitled. There was some talk about how he could go about getting it. *It was pointed out that the commanding officer technically gave the medal to the soldier, and that he had the right to apply for it.* B then suggested that D go down to the Personnel Office regarding his request and verify his right to have it.

Since time allotted to this session was over, *I suggested stopping at this point.* There was unanimous agreement that they would like to continue discussing problems of this sort.

*Questions*¹

1. What methods did the worker use to help these men take the group as theirs and at the same time to limit its scope?
2. How did the worker help the men to distinguish between facts and feelings about the furlough question?
3. What did the worker do which distinguished this session from a "bull session"? How did the worker help the men to help each other?
4. What are the values of helping people to partialize their problems?
5. What does D's question about psychoneurosis tell about the feeling tone of the group at this point in the discussion?
6. What values for these members do you see in the way the worker handled this question? Could he have handled it in any other way and stayed within the limit of his function in this situation?
7. How did the worker's permissiveness help D and the others to take responsibility on the question of the medal?

¹ Presented by the authors of this book.

...*Second to Fifth Sessions.* These sessions continued the discussion on the nature of psychoneurosis. . . . The patients focused their remarks on attempting to understand the way they felt, and why they should be affected in their typical and peculiar manner. . . . The group asked whether it would be possible to have "a talk" by the psychiatrist on the nature of their feelings. . . .

...*Sixth Session.* *D*, in opening this session, mentioned that he had seen his case worker regarding his infantry medal, and that proceedings had already begun to secure it for him. He beamed as he talked about it. *B* said, "I told you so," and the others expressed interest and wished him luck.

A discussion began concerning the remarks of the psychiatrist at the previous session. *F* stated that he felt that if he returned to duty his symptoms would only be intensified. He was "fed up" with the Army. The other men began to express themselves as well. *E* stated that he would like to get out, but figured that it was up to the doctor to decide whether he was or was not fit. *D* remarked that the Army wasn't bad if you get the right spot and the right position. A couple of the patients felt that they could return to duty "right now." There were also other remarks expressing feeling concerning duty.

A wanted to know what duty meant. *D* pointed out that he would never go overseas again. They would have to catch him first. Other patients also expressed their fears of duty, conceiving it as further combat in forward areas. Considerable restlessness was noticeable during the session as the men came face to face with the basis of their problem. *B* was deep in thought and then mentioned that the idea scared him. He talked of his tendency to overwork himself, not knowing when he had had enough. He guessed that everybody in the group had some feeling about duty. *C* expressed some hostility about the attempts "that were being made to get them to go back to duty." He talked of not feeling well and remarked about the condition of his stomach. There was further discussion, each patient bolstering the other in expressing feeling. *I then asked the patients how much they wanted to go back to duty.* There was silence for a few moments. *D* laughed. *F* muttered something underneath his breath. *C* laughingly said, "That's not fair!" *B* talked of some of his experiences in India. He pointed out some of the conflicts he had regarding his duties, "Although I did it, I wanted to run away." The other soldiers began to express themselves along these lines. They talked of their feelings about fighting. They always wanted to be home. Now that they were home, that they were safe, "they did not want to go back to danger." Although a couple of the patients mentioned that further duty might not mean danger, they "were ready to expect the worst." *A* recalled his own conflicts in battle. There were so many times, in the heat of battle, when he felt he "wanted to quit," and yet knew that "my conscience would not let me. . . . There was a war to be won and I couldn't let my buddies down, particularly those that had died." At this point, a few of the men expressed guilt about their own feelings. The dis-

cussion became heated. *I wondered whether it was really necessary to find excuses for the way they felt about duty and separation from the service. I added that there was nothing wrong with having conflicts about this.* Fear was a natural thing in facing duty and the responsibilities of being a soldier.

The soldiers started discussing what they could do, if they "had to go back." There were various remarks about light duty, combat, and the type of work they would like to do, such as clerical, stockroom, truck driving, etc. I suggested that they might want to discuss this with their case workers.

Following this session, the group worker conferred with the respective case workers regarding the feelings expressed by the patients concerning duty. It was felt that the patients were ready to come face to face with their feelings concerning duty, with a more personalized expression of their conflict in relation to the case worker.

This session illustrates the security of the patients in reaching the point of being able to express their feeling around the nature of duty. They appear to be able to move along as a group. Their remarks affect each other. General recognition of their impulses to leave the Army affects the group as a whole. *B* talks of his conflicts regarding his duty status and the rest of the group members follow in similar expressions. *F*, in the beginning of this session, expresses himself negatively and the other members follow. There is an element of conflict. The discussion is part of a process through which strengthening of their positive drives, in relation to duty, develops. It is noticeable that the patients no longer express themselves in terms of highly individualized experiences. Their gripes and resentment are secondary to the purpose of the group, namely, the problem of being responsible again and subsequent return to duty. They are beginning to solve their own problems in relation to this purpose.

The group worker's awareness of his function is illustrated in this session. He does not go into a discussion of the specific duty for which the patient would be recommended. He is aware of their lack of readiness for this, and secondly, he would get into a maze of difficulties if he attempted to do the case worker's job of individualizing a consideration of duty. He does encourage the patients to express their doubts about duty and to bring them into the open. His recognition of their feelings frees them to come to grips with the problem of duty in a positive way.

...Seventh to Ninth Sessions. These three sessions dealt further with the soldiers' feelings concerning duty, with an increasing lessening of their fears and greater emphasis on the kind of duty they would do . . .

B talked of going back to duty as a training sergeant. He felt he was well enough to do it. *A* wanted to go back to the combat zone in Transportation. *C*, who had so much feeling about his stomach difficulties, expressed himself positively about going back to duty and talked of having discussed, with

his case worker, the nature of the work he felt he could do. He had had experience in stockroom work in civilian life and wanted an opportunity of doing this in the Army. *E*'s immaturity seemed to have disappeared as he talked of his knowledge of heavy guns, his experience with them, and his wish to be an instructor. *F* talked of his mechanical experience: "I can do a job, just as anybody else; do a good job too." *D* talked of his plumbing experience and his interest in getting an assignment with the Post-Engineers. There was greater relaxation and freedom of expression. . . .

Here we see the results of strength emphasis. The patients have worked through their individual difficulties, conflicts, and fears, to the extent of being able to express themselves positively in relation to duty. This did not mean that a complete change had resulted, but that they were free enough to concentrate on what they could do.

Another factor is involved here as well. There was no guarantee in the Army that the patients could obtain their desired assignments since Army needs were primary. Preparation for return to duty included a consideration of this reality.

...*Tenth Session.* The patients immediately began to talk about their going back to duty. They seemed somewhat restless. There was considerable laughter and discussion about what they would find when they returned to duty. *F* remarked that he felt his stay here had helped him immensely. He felt, though, that he should remain here longer. It would help him still more. *C* expressed some doubts about going back. He talked about his stomach bothering him during the past two days. *A* felt he was ready, but seemed more nervous and fidgety than usual. *E* talked of what a swell place the hospital was. Maybe, he could be stationed here. *B* was the only one who stated that he felt ready to return to duty without qualifications. "The army is a career for me." *D* had doubts about his ability to perform duty.

At this point, the group worker expressed some appreciation of the difficulties they were facing in returning to duty, and encouraged them to talk about how they felt individually. The patients repeated some of the fears they had expressed in earlier sessions. They "did not know what to expect." "Maybe I won't be able to make it." "Other places are not like this." "I'm going to be on my own." "Why can't I be placed here?" "They won't send me back overseas again?"

This rediscussion of their feelings led to further emphasis on their strengths. "Work will get me on my feet again." "I want to be in the Army until this thing is over." "I've gone this far, might as well stick it out." "Hope I can be placed near home." "You have to admit they did send us to our own Service Command Hospital." "I can take care of myself." "As long as you talk up, you'll be all right."

The patients' fears about immediate return to duty are expressed and encouraged. Some of the patients react to this event by expressing their

wish to remain. The difficulties involved in the change and the prospects of leaving for an unknown setting are recognized. The patients are not pushed, but are prepared for ending.

...*Eleventh and Twelfth Sessions.* These sessions continued the ending process begun in the previous session — a "living with" the idea of going back to duty. The patients' feelings regarding return to duty simmered down to a discussion of their individual duties. During the twelfth session, the patients reached a point of accepting their return to duty. They expressed their appreciation of having had the opportunity of participating in such a group. *F* talked of having been "helped a lot." *C* exclaimed that "I certainly got things off my chest." *D* stated, "I wish I had had this before." *B* remarked, "Thanks a lot."

Ability to differentiate is noticeable in this session. The patients no longer express themselves in a total and final manner. There is good and bad. A good deal depends on themselves. The ending permits a natural and gradual opportunity for leaving the setting.

*Questions*¹

1. Note that the methods of work with this group are no different from those used in any group in which the worker helps the members to achieve their individual purposes and the group-as-a-whole to achieve a corporate purpose.
2. What are the purposes of the members?
3. What is the purpose of the group-as-a-whole?



A SOCIAL DANCING CLASS

Program Content as a Tool for Recovery

...*Record.* The patient, Harrigan, was referred by the psychiatric case worker on an open Neuropsychiatric ward. Harrigan was a tall, nice-looking young man about twenty years of age. He was extremely shy with girls; he wanted to come to the parties but felt that everyone was looking at him; he refused to accept any passes to go to town and stayed on the ward over weekends. The psychiatric case worker felt that if Harrigan could acquire skill in social dancing he might overcome his feeling of inadequacy. He felt that he was very awkward and besides he "could never think of anything to say to girls." He always felt uncomfortable around them. The psychiatric case worker felt that his contact with girls his own age had been limited and that an opportunity for such contacts might prove beneficial. She felt that

¹ Presented by the authors of this book.

dancing might prove to be a medium for initiating contact with girls. Individual lessons were therefore planned for Harrigan.

At the first lesson, he was very uncertain of his ability to learn. He thought that dancing was a very difficult skill to acquire. The recreation worker's first objective was to show him that dancing was really a very simple skill. Harrigan showed a good sense of rhythm, and simple forward steps to the music were first demonstrated by the worker. A simple side step was the next progression. Following this a combination of forward and side steps was made to the music. Harrigan was delighted to learn that he was able to do this smoothly to the dance rhythm. The first lesson ended on a note of satisfactory accomplishment. The following lessons were scaled to easy progression. After six lessons, Harrigan had acquired a smooth, easy fox trot with a turn and a "conversation step" for variation.

The worker's next objective was to get the patient to make the transition from individualized dancing lessons to trying his skill in a class. There were several other N.P. patients who had been given individual lessons. Two of them were brought together with Harrigan for group lessons. They watched each other and in a nice spirit of fun commented on each other's dancing skill. They were invited to the next dance and all agreed to go. They said that they would wait and see about actually dancing when they got there.

When the dance took place, the worker found two of them already dancing when she arrived. The third one, Harrigan, was sitting on the sidelines and taking no part. The recreation worker realized that he had good skill in dancing, but just lacked confidence when in a group. She therefore selected a USO hostess who was an excellent dancer and introduced her pupil, saying, "How about you two having this dance?" Harrigan hesitated, but was urged by the worker to try one dance. He was a little tense at first, but soon found the floor was so crowded that nobody was paying much attention to him. He remarked at the end of this dance, "It wasn't so bad." He was, however, rather tense throughout the evening and had to be encouraged two more times.

During the next group lesson, the three patients discussed how they got along at the dance. Steps were practiced as they led the worker in all the steps they had learned. All three expressed interest in the next dance. Harrigan continued his dancing lessons for two more weeks and attended two dances during this time. After the last one, he said that he had been in town to the USO, danced with some of the hostesses there, and got along all right. He showed great satisfaction in his ability to dance. His whole manner was one of greater poise and ease. The psychiatric case worker reported that he was much less withdrawn than formerly. The medical officer expressed satisfaction in the fact that his improved attitude toward recreation had aided in his recovery.

Harrigan now asked frequently for weekend passes and the medical officer reported that he would soon be able to go back to duty. At the last dancing class, the recreation worker reminded Harrigan that he could con-

tinue adding to his dancing skill at his new post. She suggested that he attend the dances there. The recreation worker felt that Harrigan had reached the point where he could use his own initiative in finding recreation.

Questions

1. What social work skills did this worker possess in addition to that of being able to teach the steps in dancing? Cite examples from the record where she used these skills.
2. Note how the worker helps this patient to use his newly found skill as a transition to his return to duty.



THE SUHFIW CLUB

Young Married Couples

The Suhfiw Club is composed of seven married couples, ranging in age from twenty-three to forty years. Five of the couples have children, some of whom participate in clubs and activities in the Settlement. The educational range extends from those who left school in the eighth grade through those who graduated from high school. They represent a variety of occupations. Only one woman is regularly employed (sells in a department store), although three of them "help out" in their husbands' businesses (grocery store, meat market, and watch repair shop). The other women keep house for their husbands, who are steel workers. The members represent a wide variety of cultural heritage: Hungarian, English, Polish, German, Ukrainian, Dutch, and Irish. The group presents a picture of ethnic intermarriage since only one husband and wife belong to the same nationality (Irish). The religious identifications are also diverse: Roman Catholic (5); Greek Catholic (1); Protestant (5); and unidentified (3). Six of the members attended the same high school and have been friends since that time. Some of the members live near the Settlement but many live in distant parts of the city.

The club was suggested by a social group worker when Peter Kodaly, who lives near the Settlement, was heard to complain that the Settlement did "everything for kids and nothing for the grownups." When the worker talked to Mr. Kodaly, he said that he thought a club should be started for young married couples. He brought his friend, Jake Halenda, to the agency to talk over plans for starting the club. They sent letters to fifteen couples who they thought would be interested. Only Mr. and Mrs. Kodaly and Mr. and Mrs. Halenda attended the first meeting. Postcard notices were sent to all the others, and Mr. and Mrs. van Bos and Mr. and Mrs. Schwartz,

in addition to the Kodalys and the Halendas, were present at the second meeting. At this meeting program plans were discussed; dances, bowling parties, volley ball in the gymnasium, and attendance at operas and plays were the interests listed. The third meeting had an attendance of eleven — all who had previously attended (except Mr. Schwartz who works nights every third week), and four new members, Mr. and Mrs. Wagner and Mr. and Mrs. Murphy.

...Record # 3. Mrs. Schwartz thought that they should have a club slogan. Many suggestions were made, all related to what they wanted the club to mean to them; the words Fun, Hospitality, Sportsmanship, Wholesome, Unity, and Integrity were bandied about. Finally someone said they should make up a name, and Mrs. Schwartz suggested using the first letters of the words they thought important. After scrambling the letters in various ways they developed the word *Suhfiw*, which became their new name. Mr. Halenda asked for a club song to include the code words in their name. Mr. van Bos asked if they could find a musician to compose a tune, and Mr. Halenda said they themselves should compose it. All were told by Mr. Kodaly to think of a tune for the words. Mr. van Bos suggested a club charter, but followed Mrs. Schwartz's suggestion, "Let's take what we can handle." They decided to forget about a charter for the time being.

Slowly and democratically the group made plans for the Halloween party next week. They decided to dress in costume and they asked me to get up some ideas for a program. They specifically want to dunk for apples. Mrs. Kodaly is going to bring the tub. The refreshment committee is composed of Mrs. van Bos, Mr. Wagner, Mrs. Kodaly, and Mr. Murphy. Mr. Kodaly said he would put a notice in the Community News about the party. They sent me upstairs to ask the other young adult group to come. This club accepted, and promised to have nine present and to share expenses. Mr. van Bos is going to get five gallons of cider; Mrs. Kodaly, the apples and coffee; Mr. Murphy, the sugar and milk. Mr. Black, another staff worker, is going to arrange to get ten dozen doughnuts. The group planned on having about forty people present.

Questions

1. Analyze the recruiting process. What factors contributed to its success?
2. Identify the variety of roles which the worker filled during the organization process and in the third meeting.
3. Discuss the development of the group's structure in the light of its needs.
4. What light do the program suggestions shed on the needs and interests of the members?

...Record # 4. All the members were present at the Halloween party, including Mr. Schwartz. . . . He said that he had heard of clubs for men and clubs for women but never a club like this where they were both together. He is

willing to drive from a distant part of the city to attend the club functions. He believes they should plan for some fun in their program as well as for special forums and theater parties. . . .

At 11:00 P.M. I saw that the groups had thoroughly enjoyed themselves and seemed ready to go home, so I formed them into a double circle for "Good Night Ladies." Everyone helped clean up, Mr. and Mrs. Kodaly and Mrs. Schwartz doing the most. Mr. Kodaly asked me for the tickets to the opera a week from next Saturday, and I gave out fourteen of them. Mrs. Schwartz wants a matinee ticket for her nephew. Before Mr. Kodaly left he said that the group wants to play volley ball in the gym next week and hold a business meeting afterward.

...*Contacts Between Meetings.* Mrs. Kodaly volunteered to help with the Halloween party for the four- to seven-year-old children at the House on Friday afternoon. She enjoyed the work and had a good time with the children. Her six-year-old son was at the party.

Mr. Kodaly also helped with the Intermediate Age Halloween Party on Friday night. He enjoyed the work with this group even though they were exceptionally hard to handle.

...*Record #5.* Mr. Kodaly appeared early to talk with Mrs. B., another staff worker, about the Christmas play. He is playing an adult part in it. He stopped in the office to talk to the staff and the conversation got around to the types of work in which people were engaged. I said, "I understand that you are a watch maker." He proudly identified himself with his work and went into detail about it. He talked about his education and said that he had taken extension courses.

Mr. Halenda came early and informed me that he would not be present for the volley ball game or the meeting as he has to go to a "meeting." He was so well dressed that both Mr. Kodaly and I kidded him about going to a "Chamber of Commerce" meeting. He said that his wife would be at the gym for the game.

When the Murphys, the Wagners, and Mrs. van Bos arrived, we went over to the gym. Mrs. van Bos said that her husband had to work that night. Mrs. Halenda and the Schwartzes were waiting for us at the gym.

Two volley ball games were played against the teen-agers who were also in the gym at the time. I had explained to the Kodalys ahead of time that this would be necessary as the teen-agers wanted to stay in the gym as long as possible. Mr. Kodaly didn't like this, so I explained that the younger people felt as though they were being displaced by the older groups in the House. He interpreted this to the other members and they accepted it. As soon as the game started the adults were seen to be mere amateurs in comparison with the younger people. They naturally resented this and showed it in such ways as quibbling over the rules and slowing up the play. Mr. Kodaly was the chief complainer and was not able to take any of the remarks

made by the young people. One of the women heard the young boys shout "old bags," and soon they were all upset. . . .

The group came back to the house and started a business meeting. They immediately started to talk about playing volley ball with the younger people. I was out of the room when they decided to play volley ball every week by themselves. Mr. Kodaly had talked with the staff member in charge of the gym and found that it would be possible for them to play alone. He informed me that for next week's program they would go to the gym, and the following Saturday they would go bowling. Later in the meeting they received a challenge to play volley ball with a mixed young adult club (un-married). After some discussion, the challenge was accepted. Mrs. Halenda and Mrs. van Bos, who lack experience in the game, were the only ones against competing with the other young adult group.

The House Executive talked with the group about the need for volunteers in the House program. The special need for instruction and supervision at the new pool table was emphasized. All nodded their heads in agreement that the service would be helpful, but no one volunteered outright to come. Mr. Kodaly and Mr. Wagner asked about the times such help would be needed. When the House Executive asked for suggestions on fees to charge at the table, the men said that fees just a little under commercial fees would be advisable.

Mr. Kodaly's report that the treasury held twenty-three cents brought a laugh. Mrs. Schwartz asked why they didn't elect a treasurer and develop a club treasury. This point was discussed by all, Mrs. Schwartz seeing value in it for planning special events, and Mrs. van Bos supporting her in this view. Mr. Kodaly demurred, saying that they could pay individually for special events because the cost would never be over fifty cents per person. The group then sided with him — no vote was taken. I commented that they might later find a reason for a treasury and could then vote on the issue.

Mr. Kodaly asked if they wanted to elect permanent officers. Mr. Schwartz suggested that they might have a different chairman each week. Mr. Murphy felt that this might be a way in which everyone could take part in the program. I mentioned the need of officers for a longer period of time when it came to planning for club events, and pointed out that Mr. Kodaly and Mrs. Schwartz had been elected for a temporary period. Mr. Kodaly said that he was willing to hold the office only as long as they wanted him to do so. Mrs. van Bos asked why they should choose officers when there were so few members present. They seemed to want to leave things as they were for the time being.

The meeting developed into a lot of sporadic ideas about program for the future. Mrs. Schwartz mentioned the Planetarium; Mrs. Kodaly, the square dances at another agency; Mrs. van Bos, the Flower Show; Mrs. Wagner, the use of the pool table for the men while the women played bridge. No discussion developed on any of these ideas, so I asked them what definite plans they wanted to make for these events. Everyone is going to the opera

Saturday, including a new couple who are prospective members. Mrs. Schwartz decided that she would call the Planetarium for their schedule and report back to the club. Mrs. Murphy said that it would be difficult for them to assemble as a club to go to all the affairs mentioned and she suggested going individually to the Flower Show whenever it was convenient. Everyone agreed on this, and it was decided to hold meetings on Wednesdays and special events on Saturday nights. I went back to the suggestion on separate activities for men and women, and explained that it would be possible to arrange this at some future meeting in order to have variety in the program.

Everyone was getting restless, and Mrs. Schwartz moved that they adjourn and go up the street for some coffee.

Questions

1. Discuss the positive and negative values of the experience in playing volleyball with younger members.
2. Identify the places in the record which reveal administrative procedures in the agency which help members of this club to become identified with the agency-as-a-whole.
3. Evaluate the worker's role in the program-planning process.

...Record #6. The group met at the gym and played volleyball with the other young adult group. Present were the Kodalys, the van Boses (arrived late), the Wagners, the Halendas, and Mrs. Schwartz. The club was beaten severely in every game, but they were able to take defeat much better than last week. The women are gradually improving in their ability to play and are not afraid of the ball as before.

After the game they came to the House for their meeting. Since they were scheduled to meet in the kitchen, everyone favored something to eat. They had coffee left over from the party, and several of them went out to buy doughnuts. Before the meeting I had talked with Mr. Kodaly about the business to bring up; he had in mind the reports on program resources. I asked if he could announce the House Family Night and the desire to have every group participate. He agreed to do this. The group was much excited about the notice in the Community News of their Halloween party. The paper was passed around and all read it. Mr. Kodaly asked which staff member had written it and I admitted that I had. (He had asked me to do so.) I asked Mrs. Schwartz about her husband and she explained that he works the "swing shift." I then asked about the Murphys, and Mrs. van Bos said that they were out of town visiting relatives.

Mr. Kodaly asked for a report on the Planetarium and Mrs. Schwartz listed the events scheduled for the next two months. She added her opinion that the December Christmas Show would be the best. She also went into detail about the exhibits that would be put on by the various industries. A unanimous decision was made to wait for the Christmas Show. Mr. Kodaly started talking about some country square dance halls where they could all

enjoy themselves and have a good time. Mr. Halenda had also been working on the idea with Mr. Kodaly and he added comments on how they would feel comfortable at the dances. Mr. Wagner asked why they couldn't get a fiddler and a caller and have a dance of their own. Mr. Kodaly said that it would be better to go out and mix with other people. Mrs. Schwartz brought up the fact that the staff could teach them to dance right in the House. Mr. Kodaly then mentioned that I had talked of this last week, but he had learned that the best caller on the staff was off on Wednesday. I explained that there were other staff workers, including myself, who could help them with the simple dances. Mr. Wagner said all they wanted were the fundamentals. Mr. van Bos agreed that the simple calls which could be used over and over could be learned in a short session at the House. After a little further discussion in which Mrs. Kodaly and Mrs. Schwartz told what they already knew about square dancing, Mr. Kodaly asked if they could hold a learning session in the House the last week in November, the week the gym would be closed. I said that it could be arranged, and all agreed to the plan.

Mr. Halenda mentioned that he had a movie camera and might take some pictures of the group in one of their activities — playing volley ball or square dancing. Mr. Kodaly said that he had a projector so they could show them. Everyone began talking about renting films for a future meeting. Mr. Kodaly said he could get a football film. Mrs. Halenda mentioned the Kodak store where they get films. I mentioned that for an educational group such as this they could get films from many sources. Mr. van Bos didn't like the inference that they were an "educational group." Mr. Wagner called it a "civic group." When I mentioned industrial and travel films, Mr. von Bos disagreed with me; however, Mrs. Kodaly and Mrs. van Bos thought that they might inquire about films from some of the large companies. I said that I would look for some film catalogues on such sources and I would report on it later if they wished. This idea met with immediate approval.

I brought up the subject of the women in the group belonging to the Women's Interclub Council. The members were a little slow in understanding the idea even after I explained the organization of the council. The men were a little confused as to how they fitted into the picture and I told them it was up to the women; that they could belong to the council without hurting the purpose of the club. Eventually four women — Mrs. Halenda, Mrs. Kodaly, Mrs. Wagner and Mrs. Schwartz — decided that they would attend the council party next week and would decide at the next club meeting about electing two delegates to the monthly council meeting.

Mr. Kodaly asked me to tell about the Family Night. I did so, and added that each group in the House was invited to put on a skit of some sort to help show the people of the neighborhood what it is doing. After a slow start, the idea took hold and soon each member was making suggestions for a skit. I injected the idea of dramatizing their club name and they built on this. Mrs. Schwartz said that they could show each letter as it stands for the code word:

S for sportsmanship, *U* for unity, *H* for hospitality, *F* for fun, *I* for integrity, and *W* for wholesomeness. Mr. van Bos joked about this but everyone else complimented her on her originality. Mr. Halenda volunteered to be production manager; Mrs. van Bos, to print the letters on large cardboard.

After the dishes were washed, everyone contributed ten cents to pay for the food and the meeting adjourned at 11:15 P.M.

Questions

1. Note further opportunities for integration into the program of the agency-as-a-whole.
2. What evidence do you see in these records to date of the need of the members to belong to a club with status in the community? What is the difference in Mr. Wagner's mind between an "educational club" and a "civic club"? What kind of club do the activities of the Suhfiw Club indicate that it is?

...*Records #7 and 8 (Summary)*. At the seventh meeting, the members played volley ball as usual, but they had developed sufficient skill to give some competition to the adolescents who were also using the gym. Although they lost, they even seemed to enjoy the "kidding" from the younger members.

The business meeting was devoted to program planning, including preparation of a skit for "Family Night." The women reported the activities of the Interclub Council and indicated that they would like to affiliate with it.

The eighth meeting was held on the night of the staff and volunteer party of the agency. The members had a short meeting and then joined the others in square dancing. I believe that this party was very helpful to the members present. It helped them to feel definitely part of the agency, to meet the House staff members, and to enjoy activities together. They were given a great deal of security through this invitation to join the personnel who have the job of administering the House program. The dancing skills which they learned will enable them to have a party of their own. They were also helped to relate to Negro workers whom they have heretofore neither seen nor communicated with.

...*Record #9*. I talked to Mr. Kodaly beforehand about the program planned for the meeting. He had no special ideas on exactly what the group planned to cover. He did say that they were not going to play volley ball, for they had not held a business meeting for several weeks. After a little help in recalling important matters waiting for discussion, he decided to bring up the trip to the Planetarium, the participation in the Family Night Christmas program, and plans for adjourning over the holidays.

Mrs. Schwartz came early and alone. I asked her opinion on the agenda for the meeting and she said that the women should decide at this meeting whether or not to join the Interclub Council....

A new couple joined the group at this meeting; they had attended the club's opera party the previous Saturday night. Mr. and Mrs. Higgins live in another part of town but formerly they lived in the neighborhood of the Settlement.

The group voted that the women should be officially a part of the Women's Interclub Council and Mrs. Kodaly was appointed the delegate. The date for the trip to the Planetarium was set and arrangements made for transportation.

Mr. Kodaly talked about the "Hanging of the Greens Party" to be held at the House the week before Christmas. No one was sure of making it because of the heavy schedule that week. I told the group they could either work as a group in decorating or, if only a few could come, they might volunteer to help some of the younger groups. Mr. Kodaly also brought up the fact that Family Night was being held on Tuesday of the same week. He announced at great length that he was playing in the Christmas play. He didn't seem to like his costume of form-fitting underwear for his characterization. The Schwartzes, the van Boses, the Higginses, the Halendas, and Mrs. Kodaly were sure they could be there. I gave them tickets and Mrs. van Bos took a ticket for her adolescent son. This shows great interest on the van Boses part, for they have a long way to come.

I reminded them of the House plans to co-operate with the "CARE" program. Mr. Kodaly took this opportunity to talk extensively on what he knew about the program, praising it highly. I had shown some of the literature on "CARE" to Mr. Wagner before the meeting and found out that he knew a lot about it and had planned on sending a package to friends in Italy who had befriended him during the war. I asked him in the meeting if he wanted to say anything about it and he added to Mr. Kodaly's comments. Everyone present agreed to bring their contributions next week when they go to the Planetarium.

...Record #10. (Visit to the Planetarium.) Here Mr. Kodaly had an opportunity to talk about the celestial navigation course he had taken during the war. Because he was talking about what he knew to the exclusion of other peoples' thoughts and interests, I brought in what I knew about celestial navigation [worker was an officer in the air force during World War II] to help him talk it out and then led the conversation around to what the group members enjoyed at the Sky Show. He followed right along.

At the railroad exhibit of miniature carved models, the carving expert presented Mr. Kodaly with a sample of carved work. Mr. Kodaly thanked him with the statement, "This will be the first souvenir for the club to remind them of their experiences." Everyone had fun at the telephone exhibit, talking into the phone and hearing the message repeated back by recording. Mr. Kodaly talked Hungarian into the phone.

I rode back with the Kodalys and the Halendas. We stopped at the Halendas' for cake and ice cream. They have a modest, well-furnished home

of which they are very proud. While waiting for the women to prepare the food, Mr. Kodaly talked with Mr. Halenda and me about the proper way to raise children. He believed in not being too strict, especially in relation to limiting the children's play to certain sections of the house. He thought they should learn to protect household furnishings, but they should feel that the house is theirs. "Home means a lot to them," he said. Mr. Halenda talked of the strict household in which he was raised, but also recalled "the good old days" when he used to go out with his buddies of bachelor days.

At the table, conversation dwelt on Mr. Halenda's market. He said that he would have a guilty conscience if he sold cheap meat or cheated his customers; he wouldn't be able to sleep if he mixed a cheap cut of meat with expensive meat. He told of the black market days and how he tried to keep his customers happy. His wife verified his conscientiousness and told how he worried if there was any difficulty with a customer. The Kodalys seem to be his most faithful and steady customers. Mr. Kodaly also talked of his business, apologizing for the lack of fancy furnishings in his office. He mentioned that big business is pushing out the little man.

...Record #11. The Schwartzes and Mrs. Halenda came at 8:15 and chatted about the Christmas decorating party held on Monday night. (Four members of the group had participated in the Hanging of the Greens celebration.) Mrs. Schwartz brought up the possibility of having a special lecture by a doctor. She had talked with another staff worker who knew a doctor who lectured to PTA groups. I told her that I knew about the doctor and it would certainly be a good idea to have him for a future meeting. Mr. Schwartz added that it would be good to have him talk on "Family Health," but his wife thought it might be better to let him choose his topic. The doctor would know the subject on which he was best informed; then the group would get the most out of the talk.

The Kodalys and Mr. and Mrs. van Bos arrived. Mr. Kodaly talked about his part in the play the evening before. His wife kidded him about the baggy underwear costume he had to wear in portraying the part. He took kidding also from the other members and appeared very self-conscious about it. I said that perhaps the people who wore that type of clothing looked a little baggy in it too. His wife interrupted to say that it was his own fault, for he wore the costume home from dress rehearsal underneath his own clothes. This brought a good laugh. Everyone seemed to be pleased over the performance and Mr. Kodaly asked to whom the money would be sent that had been collected for "CARE." I answered his question by saying that names of persons overseas could be given to the Director but I wasn't sure how he would select them. There was a lot of informal conversation over the plight of people in Europe. Peter Kodaly mentioned that his family had been sending parcels and money to relatives in Hungary and to date they had received all but one of three parcels. His wife blamed the loss of that one on the Russians. A lot of feeling was expressed against the Russian govern-

ment for its methods of searching parcels and removing money. I asked Peter Kodaly if the money had been sent through legal channels. He said that they had tried that, but the Russians kept so much out as tax that they now were sending money illegally, wrapped up in the parcel contents. Fred Schwartz talked at length on the poor people he had seen in North Africa and Italy — how the black market flourished and how American soldiers made fortunes through illegal trading of currency and goods. I didn't offer much to clarify this train of thought except to say that American soldiers couldn't be expected to act differently overseas than they did at home; that speculation and gambling was an anti-social force in our American life about which we ought to do something. Fred Schwartz agreed and added that American kids would have to be taught something besides shooting crap. I asked him if there were any other types of behavior shown by the soldiers, and he said that there were many who followed the rules of good behavior.

I reminded them of the lecture about which the first three had started talking. Peter Kodaly picked it up and gave his idea on the way the lecture should be conducted: everyone writing questions on slips of paper to present to the doctor for discussion. Ellen Schwartz presented her idea of letting the doctor speak on whatever topic he knew best. I summarized the two ideas and suggested that they could make up a list of topics in which they were most interested which could be presented to the doctor ahead of time; around those topics, he could organize his presentation for a lecture. Everyone except Ellen Schwartz seemed to favor Peter Kodaly's idea because they understood it more clearly. General questions arose on the use of drugs for healing and for treating disease. Two possible dates in January were suggested, depending upon which was more convenient for the doctor. Peter Kodaly came up with the idea that he could explain the menstrual cycle to them but Margaret Kodaly and Ethel van Bos condemned the idea as being too personal a topic. I added that he might hit on that topic in discussing something else related to family health. Carl van Bos broke up this discussion by relating an incident from the daily funny paper.

Ellen Schwartz brought up the question of volley ball and asked when they were going to play again. It was quickly discussed and approved for the next meeting. They decided that the next meeting would be on January 14 because the Russian Christmas on January 7 would affect at least four of their members. Mrs. Halenda said that they celebrate the regular Christmas. Margaret Kodaly asked why the group never got the kitchen for a meeting. I explained that they could schedule it and they agreed that they would play volley ball next time and then have a business meeting with some coffee and rolls. Margaret Kodaly expressed her views on the value of food in the program "to make everybody more sociable."

I mentioned that the other young adult group was willing to go in with them on a square dance night. It was quickly decided that they would hold it on whichever night the doctor did not choose for his lecture.

The Schwartzes left, but the others stayed and talked for another half hour.

I mentioned the need for suggestions on House equipment that might be bought as the next project for program funds. I asked what they thought of magazine subscriptions for a reading table. Carl van Bos offered to contribute his supply of *Popular Mechanics* and *Science Illustrated*. Peter Kodaly offered his supply of *Reader's Digests*. Carl van Bos described the Boys' Club in another part of town where he was a member for about twenty years. Ideas for visiting other social agencies grew out of this conversation and when I suggested a Settlement in another part of town they all agreed on it as a trip for future program.

Questions

1. Trace the development of structure within this club.
2. Re-read all the records and see what you think the worker's role has been in working with the group. In what way does it differ from the role of a worker in a school-age group? an adolescent group?
3. In what ways has he worked with individuals?
4. How has the worker helped the group-as-a-whole to plan program? assume responsibility? widen interests? feel a part of the total agency? Discuss wider issues inherent in this group situation.
5. What personal values influence the development of norms of this club?
6. What social factors affect the process of the development of norms by this club?

14

An Adult Group and a Club for the Aged

THE ELITE WOMEN'S CLUB

A Friendship Group Moves into Public Affairs

THE ELITE WOMEN'S CLUB was organized eighteen years ago by Mrs. Wallace, an early settler in the community, who is well on the way to becoming the patron saint of the group through the efforts of her daughter, Mrs. Harold. Until her death, five years ago, Mrs. Wallace was president of the club and ruled it benevolently, though as a despot. At Mrs. Wallace's death, Mrs. Harold was asked to become president. Last year she was ousted from this post. At the time this happened she discussed with the worker the circumstances of her taking the post:

...*Record.* I really didn't want to, but they asked me. I tried to do everything my mother did to keep the club going, but the others stopped coming and nothing would work. Everybody resented it and accused me of being against her. But I love this club like my mother did, and I'll keep coming until there isn't a stone of the House left.

The members are all Negro, ranging from twenty-five to fifty-four years of age. Eight members live within walking distance of the House, one in a nearby Housing Project, and six in other sections of the city. Eight of the members were born in this community and seven migrated from various southern states. Although the club numbers fifteen, it is an inner core of five who make the significant events of the club, namely, Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. Harold, Mrs. Martin, Mrs. Fowler, and Mrs. Rudd. Although the group repudiated Mrs. Harold's leadership, she still occupies the status position in the group. Mrs. Martin is the most disliked; however, the hostility which the members feel toward her is so overpowering that none of them is able really to oppose her when a conflict situation arises.

The records of this group are particularly interesting to study, since they

illustrate many of the factors relative to an understanding of human nature and of the social situation. In many ways this group is typical of any group, white or colored, which is in the process of moving from one social class to another. Mrs. Wallace has become a symbol which represents social position, based on the heritage of an "old settler." Mrs. Harold carries on the tradition, and with other friends has moved to a "better class" residential district. But in this neighborhood she, like Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Rudd, is a "newcomer." In this transition period, therefore, they return to their old locality where they find some of the old comfortable security. They are, however, few in number and in order to have a club which will carry on the traditions of the past they have included as members some individuals of "less status." Note, in the records which follow, the "old guard's" resistance to turning the Elite Women's Club into an open club for the adult women of the House.

Like others experiencing social mobility, they must find those to whom they feel superior. They express these feelings, directly in regard to those of their own race who they feel do not meet *their* standards, and indirectly toward Jews in particular and rich people in general. The following excerpts from the current record reveal the release they gain from the practice of "scapegoating."

...*Record.* Mrs. Harold said the B's were extremely wealthy and gave parties practically every night. She prepared the food; other people served. She described their silver and said that even the salt and pepper shakers were passed by the servants, which comment caused much head-shaking. A good deal of anti-Semitic feeling underlay Mrs. Harold's comments although nothing overt was said. She spoke of the young daughter who modeled clothes because she was very beautiful and had a good figure. "But if we wore all those fancy girdles and things, we'd have good figures too." Mrs. Harold said that one mark of rich people and especially of rich Jews was that they did not wear pants. She knew, because there were never any to wash. Mrs. Barnes said she knew this was so. A discussion arose on the type of girdles worn and the cleanliness of wearing things you could wash. Mrs. Fowler was finally of the opinion that it didn't matter whether or not you wore pants as long as you could wash whatever you did wear.

Mrs. Harold said another thing rich people didn't have was a mop. They expected their servants to get down on their hands and knees and scrub the floors by hand. However, she had insisted on having one, and got it. Mrs. Fowler added to this her experience with her employer and how she got her way with a mop. After Mrs. Harold told about the tremendous waste of food that she saw and how corners were cut in other ways, everyone said that most rich people were exceedingly stingy and saved when they needn't.

Mrs. Barnes said her relationship with her employer seemed different.

Her way of handling the employer-employee relationship was to make her job an unimportant, passing-of-the-day kind of thing, and she talked of how she and her employer were on a reducing diet together.

Other things that came out were that rich people always had twin beds. "They are too almighty to sleep together." Mrs. Henderson broke in here and said twin beds were sanitary and she believed in them.

At this time, I asked if they had noticed that what we had really been doing had been to unload some of our prejudices against people that happened to be better off than we were. All the women laughed and said it was true.

...*Record #1.* Mrs. Harold asked Mrs. Henderson to open the meeting. Everyone rose and Mrs. Rudd started the Lord's Prayer. Then Mrs. Henderson stood up, went to the table, and summarized for the members what had happened at their last meeting several weeks ago and what their coming plans were. These included various trips to different points of interest including the Planetarium and the Flower Show. Mrs. Henderson spoke of the dramatic production to be given at another settlement and asked the ladies if they would like to go. Mrs. Stover said she couldn't go because she was working all the time. Mrs. Murray wanted to go because Mrs. Henderson did; that was very evident. Mrs. Harold said she couldn't go but of course that wasn't any reason why the rest of the members shouldn't.

Mrs. Henderson showed us some things she had made: aprons, a dress, and a pair of curtains. Everyone commented very nicely, and Mrs. Harold was one of the most extravagant in her praise. However, she immediately steered the talk to Mrs. Stover and her great abilities as a seamstress. Mrs. Stover went into great detail about her work in making clothes for very stout women.

It was Mrs. Harold who brought the group up short by asking Mrs. Rudd if she'd like to pay her dues. Both Mrs. Rudd and Mrs. Henderson paid money for their Christmas Club savings and their dues. There was some talk about the two funds.

When that transaction was completed, Mrs. Harold asked me very directly whether I could tell them now what they were going to do next week. As I looked at her inquiringly, she amended her question and asked if I had any suggestions for them for next week. I asked what they might like to do or had been thinking about doing. Mrs. Harold replied that they weren't quite sure, but they did like to do things with their hands; they "sure were a hand-working group." Mrs. Henderson laughed and said, "We don't know very much but we certainly want to learn a lot." I said that was splendid because we certainly could. Mrs. Harold quickly asked if I knew how to do that kind of hand painting where you use your fingers. I said I did, and perhaps that might be a nice thing to do next week. The rest of the members seemed politely eager and Mrs. Henderson then suggested that perhaps some of them might work with clay. Mrs. Rudd said she had made something of clay last year, a little ash tray, and she certainly liked it. Mrs.

Henderson nodded, and remarked it might be fun. I said perhaps we might use this coming week's meeting to try several things and see what we liked best. Everyone nodded eagerly. Mrs. Harold said she bet I knew how to crochet and knit and all that; she thought I looked like I could. I shook my head and said I didn't know how to crochet, but didn't she? She said she could crochet anything in the world. That was the only thing she did know how to do. I said perhaps she could teach me how. I added that perhaps other members had special skills and certainly we could all learn from each other. Mrs. Henderson said, "Well, if there's ever any need for sewing, Mrs. Stover would certainly be the expert." Mrs. Harold, who had talked previously about their fifteenth anniversary banquet at which she had done all the cooking, said if any cooking was needed she could certainly do that. Mrs. Rudd spoke about the bake sales they had had, and I thought that might still be a good idea. Mrs. Rudd thought they might have dinners. Mrs. Harold said their usual procedure at refreshment time had formerly been to cook full-course meals, although now they limited themselves to small snacks. "You don't know how much we can eat," she said.

At this point, Mrs. Henderson thought that Mrs. Harold had better serve the refreshments. Mrs. Harold asked Mrs. Rudd to help her, and when I offered to help too, she accepted. The group had root beer and cookies and talked generally. Miss Painter, the evening supervisor, came in to speak to Mrs. Harold about the Community Fund and to ask the group whether they would like to contribute. Mrs. Harold was prepared to give a speech on why the group should support the Community Fund and started to do so but was stopped by Mrs. Henderson who said that surely the group was going to contribute but they might wait until next week when more members would show up. Mrs. Harold agreed.

At ten-twenty, Mrs. Harold said that she had to leave and could the meeting close. Everyone stood, and Mrs. Rudd started the Mizpah. Mrs. Harold explained to me that was how they always ended. They left soon after and rather warmly said that they would see me next week and would certainly bring aprons so they wouldn't get dirty.

Questions

1. What does the request for the worker to tell them what they were going to do next week indicate? What is your evaluation of the way the worker handled this request?
2. What do you think Mrs. Harold is saying to the worker when she tells her that she looks as though she could crochet and knit?
3. Analyze the process through which the women were helped to express their real interests. Contrast this with the president's report in the early part of the meeting.
4. Interpret the interpersonal relationships in this group as revealed in Mrs. Harold's use of Mrs. Stover in the first part of the record and Mrs. Henderson's use of her in the last.

...Record #2. Mrs. Harold asked that the meeting be opened, and the Lord's prayer was recited. Mrs. Henderson then got up and discussed the play they had attended at another settlement house. In a very able manner she discussed that house's interracial group and the work of the director. She felt that he was really trying to help the races work together. She read part of the program and proudly said that the heroine was a colored girl while the leading man was white. There was no comment from the group.

The Community Fund was discussed next by Mrs. Henderson. Mrs. Harold felt that the group had seen in the tour what the Community Fund really did and therefore realized it was essential that they help. I tried to point out how the Fund helps the Community House. Mrs. Harold added quite a bit to what I said. However, she was quite vehement in saying that the ones who were helped the most were people like those on Sandy Street. She felt also that all the money that came to the agency went to the other branches and that it really wasn't fair; they get most of the new equipment and new materials and this House is just forgotten. I said that this House is now going to be redecorated. I also said that there were groups here at the House that the women from Sandy Street could join; for example, a sewing group is just getting started. Mrs. Henderson said that perhaps they had better contact these women and ask them to join their group. Mrs. Harold and Mrs. Rudd nodded violently.

Mrs. Harold rather impatiently asked when we were going to do our painting. When I said the paint was ready, they all flocked upstairs to the craft room. Mrs. Fowler said very quickly that she didn't want to mess around with anything, that she'd probably look on while the others worked. Mrs. Harold said she could hardly wait to get started; she really wanted to try this. Mrs. Henderson asked if there were a sheet large enough for her to use on her coffee table. Mrs. Rudd said she wasn't going to paint, that she would rather look on and wait awhile. Mrs. Parker just stayed in the background and smiled. There was some paper work left by the children in the afternoon group and Mrs. Rudd fingered one specimen. I asked if she would like to make one and she said she guessed she'd try. She and Mrs. Fowler began to cut out paper but as soon as they saw the other women beginning to finger paint they quickly joined them. Mrs. Henderson, after seeing me demonstrate with red paint, decided she'd like to use red too; she got a large sheet, applied starch and paint and began to work. Mrs. Harold said she was going to do something in green and would I tell her how to make green. Mrs. Fowler looked at the sample I had brought and said she wanted to make a brown picture, then looked at the sample again. I said that was purple and she said she didn't care what it was but she liked that color. I said that I did too. She looked at me in a surprised way and asked if the picture were mine; when I said "Yes," she said nothing further. Together we got the same color and she was satisfied. Mrs. Rudd took the bright blue and began to work with very small circular motions. Her color was praised both by Mrs. Henderson and by me, and she took some pride

in that. There was no room at the table for Mrs. Parker, and when she seemed a little reluctant, I asked her to try finger painting for a little just to see how she liked it. She went to a table by herself and began to work with black paint. She did very well. All worked enthusiastically. Mrs. Henderson did a good deal of showing off, experimenting with the medium. She finally wound up with a large painting that looked like a road, a rainbow, and some trees. She had a lot of fun asking the others what they thought they saw. Mrs. Rudd just made little circular blue marks on her paper, a very restrained sort of design. Mrs. Fowler made two paintings; on one she had printed her last name with good rhythmic motion, and on the other, her first name. Mrs. Harold had tried a pale blue mixture, and when I suggested that she use her palm in wide, sweeping motions, she finished her painting in about three minutes. She said she didn't want to go any further with it because she was satisfied with it the way it was. She started on some other painting. Mrs. Fowler and Mrs. Rudd were quite anxious to let me know they were doing this for their children. Each woman went off with some of the work she had done. When I asked what they might like to do next week, Mrs. Henderson quickly said that they'd like to sew. The meeting was closed with the Mizpah, and the members said they had really had a good time and went home.

Questions

1. Note the feeling expressed by Mrs. Harold about the agency's neglect of the house to which this group belongs. Trace this feeling through this record. In the light of all you have learned about this group and its members, how can the agency-as-a-whole help the group-as-a-whole?
2. Why does the worker point out that there are other groups in the agency to which residents of Sandy Street may belong? What are some of the causes of the ambivalent feelings of the women?
3. In light of the discussion of program media in Chapter 10, what significance do you attach to the members' reactions in the finger painting period?

...Record #3. Mrs. Harold, Mrs. Henderson, and Mrs. Parker were the only members present, although each of the others had notified either Mrs. Harold or Mrs. Henderson why she could not come. The three members and the worker discussed mixed marriages, with the members expressing conviction that they brought only unhappiness. They also discussed "why some people could remember better than others"; argued about the comparative merits of individual agency-fund-raising and participation in the Community Chest; complained about the staff turn-over, asking what is the matter with the House that so few people stay very long; claimed that they lost their workers just as they got to know them; questioned whether to invite women from Sandy Street, "in spite of their manners," to join their club.

...Record #4. Mrs. Henderson said that perhaps they would have to postpone the planning of the neighborhood party, since all the members weren't

present, and perhaps Mrs. Harold would write them again this week. I wondered what kind of party they wanted to plan and if there wasn't something they could do tonight to prepare for the meeting next week. Mrs. Harold said she thought maybe just a little party to make the people from Sandy Street be more friendly with the Elites might be the thing. I wondered when we might have it. Mrs. Rudd said she thought that it wasn't a very good idea to have the party right now since Christmas was so near and people do need this time for shopping. Everyone nodded. Mrs. Harold suggested that a Sunday tea might be more convenient, and I thought that might be a good idea. Mrs. Henderson implied that though these people weren't their "type" it might be a good thing for them to come to see the Elite Club and the things the women were doing. Mrs. Fowler suggested a Christmas party on a Sunday close to Christmas. Everyone agreed.

Mrs. Henderson wondered whether the group might not like to see the Flower Show at the Conservatory. She felt that it was very worth while and that we might take our next meeting to visit it, completely ignoring the fact that they planned to use the next meeting to make plans for the party. Mrs. Harold said it was a good idea; when she wrote the letters she would tell all the members that we were going to visit the Show and that would bring them out. In discussing means of getting there, they mentioned the agency's station wagon. The Program Director was brought in, and it was decided that we would all meet at the agency and go to the Conservatory in the station wagon. I was to let them know if we could obtain a driver.

Question

Discuss this record from the point of view of the women's resistance to the party for the Sandy Street residents.

...Record #5. Early in the afternoon the Program Director had informed me that it would be contrary to House policy to allow the group to use the station wagon as planned and that he had been unaware of this when he promised the use of it. After some discussion, it was decided that he would call Mrs. Henderson and tell her of the situation.

Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Rudd were the first to arrive shortly after eight. It was raining and very miserable out of doors. I said it was too bad that we couldn't use the station wagon. Mrs. Henderson said she guessed that rules were rules and that if it weren't possible then we would just have to find another way. Mrs. Fowler came in shortly afterward. The Program Director came in to explain why the group could not use the station wagon. They listened carefully, and then Mrs. Harold said, "This isn't very fair to us, because we never use the station wagon and other clubs do." It was pointed out that this was so with the old one, but there was a new policy which governed the use of the new station wagon. Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Fowler both felt that, even though it was something that the Program Director couldn't help, it was all most unfortunate. For as Mrs. Harold

pointed out, though the park was accessible by street car, there was still a long way to walk in the dark. Since it was a bad night it was even more difficult. I said that they need not feel that they could never use the station wagon, that we would just have to think of a place that was inaccessible by street car. They all laughed.

Mrs. Fowler said, "Well, I don't know about anyone else, but I'm sure not going out tonight in no old street car and walk through that dark old park." Mrs. Harold said she felt that way too; it was an awfully long walk after they got off the car. Mrs. Henderson said she guessed she could cut out her suit. Mrs. Fowler thought that she might as well go home as she had a lot of ironing to do. Mrs. Rudd said that we might all stay and have a social evening. I said that was a very nice idea and wondered if they'd be interested in doing something with some paper doilies I had. They looked up inquiringly and I said I'd be right back. I brought not only the doilies but construction paper, gift suggestions for Christmas, music books, and other materials. I showed them how to color some doilies with crayons and mount them on construction paper and Mrs. Henderson eagerly started to draw and said that this was wonderful since she could use them as doilies. Mrs. Harold liked the idea too, and presently three of them were at work. Mrs. Fowler leaned back on the sofa and said she was tired so she guessed she'd just sit awhile; she didn't feel like doing such close work. The others talked as they worked. They spoke of Mrs. Martin and wondered why she hadn't come. I watched the members as they used the crayons and noticed that Mrs. Rudd's coloring was very light and delicate and showed all the veins of the doilies; Mrs. Henderson's was much more intense and deeply colored; Mrs. Harold used all the colors she could. I worked too, and I asked Mrs. Fowler if she wouldn't like to sing for us as she had the previous week. Mrs. Harold said that Mrs. Fowler would rather sing than do anything else in the world. Mrs. Fowler said that singing was the only thing she could do and she liked it and it was good for her. I said that some of the hymns she had sung last week were very beautiful and I wanted to learn them. Almost immediately she started to sing one of the hymns, and Mrs. Rudd and Mrs. Harold sang along with her. Mrs. Fowler then sang some others, and I suggested some we had done last week and everyone joined in. The women were working as they sang, except for Mrs. Fowler who was just leaning back and singing.

I said that I had had a phone call asking if the Elites were interested in hearing a speaker on rent control. Mrs. Fowler said she was tired of hearing about rent control and OPA and everything else. Mrs. Henderson, however, said that even though the OPA couldn't do very much where she lived, still there were an awful lot of people who needed OPA help. Mrs. Harold nodded her head, and said they surely had to do something because rents were going up terribly; and since food was so high, if they could save a little on the rent then maybe they could help other people. Mrs. Rudd gave an example of the high price of food and soon everybody was quoting prices which seemed

ridiculous. I said I guessed it might be a good idea to have someone who knew about such things talk with us and everyone nodded assent.

I said that a woman who came in to pay her Community Fund contribution had expressed interest in joining a club like the Elites. She lives directly across the street. Mrs. Harold said that if it were her job she would go visit her, but since she was only the secretary, it was Mrs. Henderson who should go and ask her if she would like to come. Mrs. Henderson said it wasn't a matter of being president or secretary; that it was just a matter of a club member being friendly enough to ask someone else to join. However, she said she would ask this lady to come as soon as I got her name.

I said that it might be nice to do something for Christmas since there were so many things we could do. Would they like to make their own Christmas cards? Mrs. Harold said they might make some of them but not all. Mrs. Fowler and Mrs. Harold promised to bring some old toothbrushes and screening, and we decided that the week after the speaker we would make Christmas cards. Mrs. Henderson wondered, since we were talking about things to do, if we couldn't all go to the gym and do some exercises. She also mentioned the discussion the group had had on Russia and wondered if they couldn't have discussions like that again. She felt that one on the "Bill of Rights" or one on prejudice would be good. Mrs. Harold said that prejudice was something people could talk about forever; it was such a large topic no one knew what to make of it. I thought that if we could discuss what we meant by prejudice we could come to a point where we might talk about it. Mrs. Harold wondered whether we couldn't have some kind of story or poetry and went on to tell about a wonderful poem she had read. She said that whenever she reads anything she lives along with the people in the story; she wondered if that was bad. We discussed it and I promised to bring some books of stories and poetry.

Questions

1. How might the station wagon incident have been avoided?
2. Evaluate the handling of the situation by the Program Director; by the social group worker.
3. What does this situation indicate about the importance of program skills to the practice of social group work?
4. How did the worker stimulate the members' active interest in the program on the OPA?
5. Evaluate the worker's role in the discussion of future plans for club activities.
6. Analyze the interaction between Mrs. Harold and Mrs. Henderson over who should invite the woman from across the street to join the club.

...Record #6. Mrs. Adams, the OPA speaker, and I went into the office to confer about the meeting. I suggested that she give Mrs. Henderson the responsibility of getting the petitions distributed and signed. When we went in, I introduced Mrs. Adams to Mrs. Henderson, and after some

polite conversation Mrs. Henderson suggested that we start the meeting in spite of the fact that there were only three women present. She felt that the unusually cold weather had kept the others at home. Mrs. Adams started her speech; the women listened attentively to every word as she described the need for rent control and the great service these women could contribute through having the petitions signed. Mrs. Parker came in in the middle of the speech, and Mrs. Adams went back and reviewed some of the things she had said. Mrs. Harold broke in once or twice to elaborate on a point that Mrs. Adams was making and then apologized a bit for it. There was a discussion at the end which Mrs. Henderson had very well in control. Most of it was centered around the necessity of rent control and the members' stake in getting OPA rent-control petitions under way.

When Mrs. Adams mentioned the Congress of American Women, Mrs. Henderson asked what it was. Mrs. Adams described the beginning of the organization, said that it was interracial and that the members were concerned with things that concern all people. Mrs. Henderson said, "We really would be very interested in an organization like that because we would like to help organizations that are interracial and really want to do things to help other people." Mrs. Harold emphatically nodded her head and said that the Congress sounded like a good organization; she made a motion that the group learn more about it with the intention of joining. Mrs. Adams said she would send them all literature if she had their names, and Mrs. Henderson gave her the names of all who were present. Mrs. Adams then gave instructions on how to proceed with the rent-control petitions, delegated Mrs. Henderson to take care of them, and left after thanking the group.

As the women worked on the folders and petitions that Mrs. Adams had left, Mrs. Harold asked for dues in a tone that implied that they had better pay them. Talk turned to the Christmas Savings Fund. They were quite antagonistic toward Mrs. Martin who is the treasurer and hadn't come to the meeting. They almost implied that there was something rather underhanded about her. Mrs. Harold said that, since the bank account was in both her name and Mrs. Martin's, she could not go alone to the bank and get the money. I suggested that perhaps she and Mrs. Henderson might go to see Mrs. Martin and talk over the situation. Mrs. Rudd came in then, and much concern was expressed over her mother's illness. Mrs. Henderson explained at great length about the speaker and made much of the fact that they had actually had an outside speaker and that they might be interested in an outside group. There was a great deal of pride in her voice as she said that "it was something different" and something that as good citizens and mothers they could do. Mrs. Rudd nodded her head and said it was a good thing. Mrs. Henderson said she was going to call up her pastor and see if he couldn't announce the rent-control petitions from the pulpit on Sunday and have the whole congregation sign on the way out. Mrs. Harold said that was a good idea and she would do the same.

The members began to talk about the amounts they had in their bank

accounts. It was then that Mrs. Martin came, much to the surprise of the group. Mrs. Harold immediately said, "Speak of the devil and here she comes." Mrs. Martin is a rather heavy, light-skinned woman with a perpetual smile. In a rather breathless voice she explained that she had gone to the Conservatory last week but that no one had shown up. She came to the point rather quickly, however, and said she realized that they might want to know about their bank account and that she had brought the book. The rest of the members talked with me about other things while she and Mrs. Harold conversed in low tones. One could hear that Mrs. Harold's tone was not too friendly and that Mrs. Martin's was just as sharp. She left almost immediately saying that she had a bad cold and it would not be wise for her to stay out. I said I really hoped she would come again soon as the club was planning many things and she was needed. She said she would.

Talk turned to the coal strike and John L. Lewis and what it would mean to the miners' families who would have nothing for Christmas. Both Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Harold remarked that their husbands had jobs that would not be affected by the strike, but when I mentioned that eventually many people would be affected they stopped to consider that. (Some of the husbands work in the steel mill.) Later I reminded them that we had planned to make Christmas cards next week and they had promised to bring materials. I wondered what we might do the following week; Mrs. Henderson guessed we had better wait to have our membership drive — but maybe week after next we could have some sort of Christmas party. Immediately the group seemed to go into action. Mrs. Harold thought we could have a large cake with "The Elites" on it in whipped cream. Then we might also have cookies and candy and coffee. Mrs. Henderson said that last year they had games and asked if I would bring a book of games so they could work on them. I promised to do this. They asked for money from the treasury and signed a slip.

Questions

1. Note the preparation given the specialist by the social group worker, and evaluate in the light of the discussion in Chapter 5 (pp. 189-192).
2. Comment on the fact that a party for the club alone is substituted for the recruiting party.

...Record #7 (*Summary*). At this meeting one of the sources of conflict between the members of the club was clearly disclosed — a distrust of and also a fear of the woman who is the elected treasurer of the club. This club has two separate funds: (1) the club treasury banked with the agency and (2) a joint Christmas Savings Fund. Mrs. Martin collects the money for the Fund and deposits it in a bank where the account is jointly held by her and the secretary, Mrs. Harold. The members suspect Mrs. Martin of gambling at cards and playing the numbers. This type of activity is against the social norms of the other members. While they disapprove of her behavior, they

are fascinated by it and unable to attack her openly or reject her from the group.

...Record #8 (*Summary*). This was a Christmas party. . . . Various members told the worker that the Christmas Savings Fund account was short, but there were differences in the statements as to how much. Mrs. Martin was there and her presence created a tension which kept the party from attaining the comfortable atmosphere of some of the previous meetings.

...Record #9. Mrs. Harold was the first to arrive. She had not sent out any cards and was concerned that none of the other women had arrived. She felt that something must be done about notifying the members about the election of officers. I said it would be good when we got the new officers and got moving. Mrs. Harold said the club would get moving when Mrs. Martin left the group; she brought nothing but trouble. We didn't pursue this further as Mrs. Barnes came in then. She was very cheerful as she put some patchwork quilt pieces on the table and settled down to work. Mrs. Henderson came in and there was much talk about the quilt. Mrs. Harold felt that the group should make one and then raffle it off — outside the House, of course. We discussed Mrs. Wallace, and Mrs. Henderson agreed that probably a better club president would never be found. Mrs. Harold felt that she'd never be like her mother, no matter how hard she tried. I pointed out that each person has a separate existence of his own and each has something to give which, while different from that of someone else, may be just as valuable.

I suggested that since the three members present were officers we call this a committee meeting to think about program for this year. Mrs. Harold said that next week was the election and there might be a new set of officers. Mrs. Barnes said they would at least have the benefit of some planning. Mrs. Henderson said in a matter-of-fact voice that probably the very same people would be officers all over again. At any rate, they discussed plans, and Mrs. Harold suggested that the group buy a bolt of material and make aprons and small articles and pay the money back into the treasury again. The quilt was suggested as the second sewing project. Mrs. Harold said that the program they'd enjoyed most last year was the discussion on Russia; she wondered whether that couldn't be repeated. I thought that was a fine idea and wondered what problems were uppermost in the minds of people now. There was some hesitation and silence. I said that one of the things that might be puzzling many people was the situation in Palestine. Mrs. Harold gave a deep sigh and said that was certainly true and the others agreed. Mrs. Henderson thought that subject would bring in a good many issues that might concern them as people. Mrs. Harold thought that the meeting right after the elections should be spent in talking about the new Congress and what it might do to affect them. She was particularly interested in what was going to happen to the common working man and suggested we have

someone from the side of labor come to give his views on what the future held in store in face of the new Congress. I thought that was an excellent suggestion and that we should submit these ideas to the group next week. I asked if they remembered their suggestion to use the auditorium for volley ball or exercises and they still did.

It was when we got around to recruiting that the outburst came, Mrs. Harold being the most violent. In general, they were extremely resentful that there had been general parties and Christmas festivities at the House to which they hadn't been invited. All they wanted, they said, was to be recognized as a group. They felt that nobody knew of their existence, the Executive Director especially. He was hardly ever seen, they said, and never came down to talk with them or see how they were getting along. Time was when they were really a power in the community and the people respected them. (One of the suggestions made by Mrs. Harold was to have the Mayor come to their meeting to tell them about the new Congress and its implications for them.) They felt it was because the Community House was completely run down that members didn't come or staff workers stay. They kept returning to their point, which was that they wanted recognition — they didn't want to feel like a bunch of children that was being kept pacified for a while. Mrs. Harold felt most keenly and kept referring to the days of her mother, and Mrs. Henderson agreed with her. When they seemed a bit calmer, I explained that the Executive Director, who had several centers to worry about, might not have many evenings to come to this one even though it was important that he should. He might also be completely unaware that they felt so rejected by him, and perhaps if the matter were brought to his attention, he might be able to do something about it. Mrs. Henderson insisted that they didn't want him to come to spend an evening, but they just wanted him to poke his head in so they'd feel he knew them from someone else in the street. I pointed out that the Program Director's position in the Center gave him more opportunity to know the people who came and that it might really be serious if they felt that he was unaware of them. Mrs. Harold replied that the House had a new feeling and uplift since he'd come and they really felt very optimistic about his part in things.

Questions

1. Note the role of the worker in helping the members to keep a focus related to the movement of the group throughout the evening. How did she use structure to re-enforce this?
2. Why did the subject of recruitment bring out their feelings of resentment toward the agency? What light does this throw on the question of whether new and strange women should be invited to join the Elites?
3. What can you say for and against the idea that one of the functions of an executive of an agency is to "poke his head in the club meetings now and then"? What other methods may the executive use to help the members feel identified with him and the agency he represents?

...Record #10. Mrs. Henderson came in with a slightly heavy, attractive young woman whom she introduced as Mrs. Granger, a new member. As they seated themselves, she said that Mrs. Martin had called to tell her that she'd get to the meeting about 9:30. Mrs. Henderson said we might as well wait for her and have a "little chat" before the election. She thought, though, that she might as well open the meeting.

The first order of business was installing Mrs. Granger into the group. Leaning across the table, Mrs. Henderson explained, with some additions from Mrs. Harold, what the group stood for and a bit about its history. I then asked for the floor and told the group that some planning had been done the previous week and that we wanted to talk over some of the suggestions. . . . They said that the "professor from the University" sounded as though he'd be a good speaker. Mrs. Fowler thought he'd be a good person to start with in building up to have the Mayor come for a visit. "We have to start with the smaller people and go on up." . . . I told them, too, that we had tickets for another production at the Playhouse, and after exclaiming over the wonderful production they'd already seen, every member but Mrs. Stover said she'd go.

The talk turned to elections. I told Mrs. Henderson that paper and pencils were provided for the balloting and asked how the group planned to go about voting. She suggested that slips be given out and that each officer be voted for singly. I believe it was Mrs. Harold who brought up the discussion of the treasurer's office. She felt it was a very vital office and that reliable people should be chosen for it. She insinuated broadly that Mrs. Martin had not been completely honest; the Christmas Fund was about six dollars short, she said. Mrs. Henderson skillfully asked how that could be, and Mrs. Harold had to back-track and say that though it might not be that large an amount, it was sizable enough. Interest had been lost too, she said, because Mrs. Martin had never deposited the money as soon as she got it. Mrs. Fowler pointed out that it was very important that the treasurer come regularly. It became evident that the entire group had come to a decision to oust Mrs. Martin as treasurer. Even Mrs. Henderson thought a change would be good and said so.

It was 9:35 and Mrs. Martin still had not come. Mrs. Harold suggested that they start the elections and everyone agreed. Mrs. Henderson said she couldn't chair this meeting, with a self-conscious little smile, and Mrs. Barnes took over. Mrs. Martin came in then, and in a very slight attempt to be inconspicuous, slunk across the room. Naturally, the meeting came to a halt while Mrs. Henderson introduced the new member. Mrs. Martin, in a very breathless voice, acknowledged the introduction. She said she'd taken a taxi that cost her seventy-five cents to come to "your meeting." Mrs. Barnes indignantly said that it was "our" meeting and Mrs. Martin smilingly apologized. Mrs. Henderson explained that we were about to vote for new officers. Mrs. Martin straightened up and said she thought that papers weren't necessary because probably they'd want to re-elect most of the

officers of last year. She'd like to re-name Mrs. Henderson, she said quickly. Mrs. Barnes seconded the motion, everyone "ayed," and Mrs. Henderson was in. She seemed very much thrilled. I stepped in and said I thought that for the rest of the offices it might be well to use the secret ballot. When Mrs. Martin asked why, I said that I felt some people might like to vote in private and might feel it was rude to vote against someone in public. Mrs. Martin was sure that nobody felt like that and stood up and nominated Mrs. Barnes. She was in too. Mrs. Harold was nominated — and she was in.

Someone said, "Now the treasurer" . . . and there was a long, pregnant silence. I felt that this was as epochal and significant as any other great moment in history. It was Mrs. Rudd, finally, who stood up and nominated Mrs. Martin. There was another silence before the seconding of the motion, and Mrs. Fowler spoke up in her rather squeaky, determined voice, "The way I look at it, I don't see no reason for anybody to be treasurer unless they come to all the meetings." Mrs. Martin first said that she couldn't come to all the meetings and then said she'd had to go to other organizations. And anyway, "Why should I waste carfare, and come all the way down here and do nothing but sit. I joined the club because I want to learn something new, something I didn't know before I started." Mrs. Harold brought up the fact that money hadn't been deposited on time and interest had been lost for that reason. Mrs. Martin defensively pointed out that the interest was negligible and that she'd deposited the money as soon as she could. They must have talked about the shortage of funds because Mrs. Martin brought it up herself and insisted that it was a smaller amount than Mrs. Harold mentioned. Mrs. Henderson suggested that they check with the bank book and Mrs. Martin discovered she'd left it at home. I thought, and said, that it would be good to clear up financial misunderstandings early in the new year and suggested that Mrs. Martin bring the book the following week and start afresh. At any rate, when Mrs. Martin said she would give up her position as soon as she saw that she couldn't come regularly, she was voted in. I noticed that Mrs. Harold sat with her head bent low during most of this and voted neither yes nor no.

Mrs. Martin thought it would be a good idea if a small group met at somebody's home some Sunday afternoon to make some plans. I said that was a good idea but we'd just had a meeting of that sort last week in which many suggestions had been made. Mrs. Henderson enumerated them, and then since we were wandering again into vague plans, I asked if we couldn't make definite plans for the next two or three weeks at least. Mrs. Henderson took out their little plan of club meetings which they'd made last year and said that the third Monday called for a handcraft meeting. Mrs. Barnes said they might as well start on their quilt. Mrs. Henderson explained that the entire group was to work on the quilt and then it would be raffled off. Mrs. Martin rather facetiously asked if they were going to do that in the House, and Mrs. Henderson made it clear that she knew a raffle couldn't be held here and that it would be held in someone's home. Mrs. Henderson said

she'd pick up some remnants in a department store. Mrs. Martin thought that everyone would have some scraps at home and perhaps we could start there. Mrs. Stover held the stage for a few minutes by saying she could probably get lots of scraps where she worked.

We decided to have the professor from the University on the fourth Monday. Mrs. Henderson said it sounded as though the club would really get going again. Mrs. Harold suggested that they resume their snack every week, and Mrs. Henderson said she'd prepare it the following week. For the meeting when they have the speaker they'd make special preparations. It was past closing time and everyone stood up for the closing. They left in rather high spirits.

Questions

1. Analyze the social process in this meeting from the point of view of the following questions: (a) What subgroupings were evident in this process? (b) In what way did "unauthorized" authority influence the decision? (c) How do you explain the force of the "authority"? (d) Were the results of the election arrived at by subjugation, compromise, or integration? What is the basis for your opinion?
2. What evidence is there of the influence of accepted values developed in the group which affect the attitudes of the members toward each other? Are they in conflict in this situation? Illustrate the situation.

...Contacts Between Meetings. Called Mrs. Harold concerning the theater tickets. After the business had been attended to, she began with "That sure was a bad election, wasn't it?" She felt that the secret ballot should have been used and that the election might have been different if it had. When I asked why she hadn't insisted on it, she said that she didn't want to start trouble; she knew that everyone would say she wanted to be president again and she certainly didn't want a hair-pulling match. I said I was glad and a little surprised that Mrs. Fowler had spoken up as she did. Mrs. Harold laughed and said she sure had spunk. She said she was glad she was not president again, really there was so much to do. She felt the women felt that she might try to boss them too much, even though she really didn't mean to but just wanted to see the club succeed. I said that people probably wanted to do things for themselves, even if it might be a slower way, and probably might resent bossiness no matter how fine the intentions. We discussed what the speaker should talk about at the meeting and she wondered whether he might not speak of the situation in Georgia and how it might affect the rest of the states in the future. I thought that it might be a good idea if we all thought of questions we might want answered next week.

I felt I should call Mrs. Henderson too. We discussed the theater tickets, the speaker, the questions, etc. She seemed hurried and uncommunicative and did not press the election point.

...Record #11. Mrs. Stover and Mrs. Murray were sitting in the room when I came down from the library with two books of poetry and a small book of monologues. Mrs. Stover sat there beaming and I noticed the large box of scraps at her feet. I exclaimed over it and even Mrs. Murray beamed. I went to get needles and thread. When I returned, Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Harold were there. Mrs. Harold got very busy with her accounts and Mrs. Rudd entered just as Mrs. Stover unpacked her box and everyone exclaimed over the scraps. Mrs. Harold said that Mrs. Stover should suggest the quilt pattern, and since I had brought some pictures of quilt designs, I wondered if they would be any help. Mrs. Stover thought that a simple all-over block pattern would be best since a complicated design would mean that only two or three people could work on it. The others agreed. Mrs. Stover thought that she might start to cut out the squares and they could begin while waiting for the other members. At this point Mrs. Martin arrived. She sat on the sofa at my left, next to Mrs. Rudd. When she saw the sewing, she grimaced. I laughed and said maybe she should take a rest before she started. "Maybe while you're resting you might read to the rest of us." I said, holding my breath. Mrs. Harold picked up Langston Hughes' *The Dream Keeper* and looked at it. I explained that some of the women had wanted an evening of poetry. Mrs. Martin asked, "What is she trying to give us — that school stuff?" Mrs. Harold said that Langston Hughes was one of the best Negro poets alive; Mrs. Murray said, "Next thing you know we'll be getting that Dunbar stuff that they hand you at teas and things." I wondered what "that Dunbar stuff" was, and Mrs. Murray laughed and said she guessed nobody could stand too much of that, but Mrs. Martin said in a loud voice, "I like that stuff." Mrs. Harold went on reading Hughes and Mrs. Martin got some patches to sew. Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Granger came in then and the meeting was officially opened.

Mrs. Henderson made many announcements about the new secretarial and treasurer's books and Mrs. Martin proudly displayed hers. Dues were collected, and a birthday card was handed to Mrs. Rudd. Mrs. Henderson asked me to make the announcement about the speaker and the questions we might think about. Since there were no questions coming from the group, I reminded Mrs. Harold of her question about Georgia and she popped up and spoke. Mrs. Henderson wondered how bills curbing the closed shop and collective bargaining for people in public utilities could hurt us. I thought it might be good if we all thought more about it and asked questions that really puzzled us. I emphasized the fact that the speaker was a very plain, comfortable person, with children of his own, who was just as anxious to talk with us as we were to have him talk to us; we needn't go out of our way to try to impress him — he might be uncomfortable if we did.

Mrs. Henderson and I finished the refreshment preparations. I explained to her that the House was going to be remodeled soon, and since it was important that the people who used the Center should have a voice in how it looked, I wondered if the Elites, together with another adult club, might

have a talk with the executive about it. She smiled and thought it a wonderful idea and it was certainly nice that the Elites had been thought of. She thought this would make the club feel important and would give the members little cause for griping. We all had tea and cookies and much laughter and then cleaned up. The Mizpah was said and they left.

Mrs. Martin seems hopeful. I've discovered that she's afraid to be positive; for example, I felt that she wanted the poetry as much as anyone, yet couldn't say so and had to be negative until challenged. It may have been a good thing that she didn't read it aloud, for she might have made fun of it. But I think that the next time it is attempted there will be a different response. I tried to praise and include her at every turn, and this wasn't hard for she had some very good, sensible ideas.

Questions

1. Did the work with individuals during the week between this and the last meeting facilitate the movement of the group? In what way?
2. Note the method the worker is using to enable the group to participate in the meeting with the specialist. How do you think she is working with the specialist?
3. Was Mrs. Martin opposed to poetry as part of the program plan? Note the importance to program planning of the worker's understanding of the feelings of the members when the feeling is clothed in words unrelated to it.
4. Is the worker wise to approach the president confidentially in regard to the club's participation with another adult club on an agency advisory committee?

...Records #12 and 13 (Summary). During the weeks that followed, the members were busy making the quilt. This was truly a joint affair. To each meeting the members brought blocks ready to be sewed into place. While they sewed, they sang, read poetry, discussed the affairs of the day, and planned for their special monthly meeting.

Following the session with the professor from the University, they decided that they wanted to choose a subject and study it and have their own members make the speeches. After much discussion of current problems both domestic and international, they agreed on the subject "The Modern Woman." They then discussed how they would organize their programs; some favored debates and others thought the worker should lead the discussion and each member prepare to talk on a phase of the subject. The worker made the counter proposal that as Mrs. Henderson was president she should lead the discussion. This raised questions about the duties of the discussion leader and the participants, and the worker became the teacher while each learned her role in the program they were planning.

...Record #14. While the women were assembling, Mrs. Seigert asked Mrs. Henderson if she had called the meeting of the executive group to go over the

finances and she rather weakly said she'd had no time and couldn't go out in the awful cold anyway. Mrs. Seigert hastened to assure her there was no hurry, she was just curious....

I had asked Mrs. Barnes to make the announcement about Dr. Gene Weltfish, who was to speak next Sunday. She did this very well, for she is always enthusiastic in her announcements. I had to explain that Dr. Weltfish was one of the authors of *Races of Mankind* which attempts to show that scientifically, we are all alike. Mrs. Barnes said that this lecture would be very vital to them, for people needed to know these facts. She then told of an instance where she had gone with several other women to give blood to the Red Cross and their blood was refused. She said she never offered again. Mrs. Martin spoke up then and asked if it was fair for the Red Cross to do that. She continued and said that no Negroes were allowed to start new business ventures in the city, that things had been better in the past, and that she'd warned her younger brother when he entered the Army that it was going to be very rough and the thing he needed to do was to protect his own skin as no one else was going to care for him. She said that the only people getting the breaks *these* days were the veterans. I said maybe that was true, but weren't the Negro veterans getting a chance too? They thought this was so. Mrs. Barnes said that the Red Cross had not only refused their blood but had taken over the Bath House and refused to admit Negroes to the pool. Mrs. Harold cited an instance where the Boy Scouts were refused the pool because they were a mixed group. They seemed to drop the matter because at that point Mrs. Barnes said it was the duty of the members to attend the meeting. "After all, we are seeking higher education, and we'll certainly learn from this."

Later the talk got back to the Red Cross and the Bath House. As the Program Director came in at that time, I asked him to tell us what he knew about the situation at the Bath House. He confirmed what had been said and added that a specific civic group controlled it. He suggested that we have the agency director come to talk with us as he really knew about the situation. Mrs. Barnes said it was high time someone did something about it. Mrs. Martin, voicing the only dissenting opinion, thought "no one could do anything about it." All the others thought we might as well try to find out about the situation.

...*Contacts Between Meetings.* After calling Mrs. Henderson and telling her that I had some material for our Modern Woman discussion and that I'd like to talk with her about the committee meeting, I asked if I might call to see her the next day since I was going to be in the Housing Project. She cordially invited me to come....

I said that one of the things I'd thought about since the last meeting was how important the committee meeting was going to be. She said it was, since the situation was causing the members so much concern. Once they cleared the thing up, the club could go on. I said that I knew the Christmas

Savings Fund was none of my business but I felt it was beginning to cast its shadow on the club meetings and I was worried about it. She agreed. I asked what she thought might be done, and she hesitated a long time. Finally she said that she hoped the bank book would be found and the accounts verified, and that if Mrs. Martin was wrong she might make up the difference. She thought it would work out. Mrs. Henderson said she didn't want to tell people what to do; that was the reason Mrs. Harold hadn't been elected president last year — she had assumed all the offices and given all the orders and people resented it. I said I could understand how they would; it was our right to carry responsibility, just as it was our right to do something about the people who might represent us in the government. She eagerly agreed, and I went on to say that it was just as bad for a president to be weak and wishy-washy as to be bossy. She thought that was why she was taking a middle course — she wouldn't take sides, nor say things to one that might be injurious to another. I said it was pretty hard, being president, and she heaved a big sigh and said it looked easy and like a great honor, but there was more to it. I wondered what she might do if the executive group failed to come at the specified time to go over the finances. She thought they might start at whatever time they came. I wondered whether the committee might not leave the regular meeting an hour early and retire to the library to work it out. She thought that a fine suggestion....

I told her I'd brought some material on leading discussions which I thought she might look over, and then perhaps on Monday we might discuss any questions that occurred to her. She thought that the group had better arrive at some plan for the form of the discussion. I asked her if she had any ideas. She felt that "Woman and Religion" and "Woman in the Working World" should come in. We added "Woman in the Home," "What Every Woman Wants from Life," and "Woman in the Social World." She felt that this would give everyone a chance to talk about a special interest and would be better than a debate since there wasn't any need to argue. I thought she was right....

I remarked how much there was to cover at this meeting, and we enumerated the committee meeting, the planning of the discussion, the executive's visit, and work on the quilt. I left after saying that she had no idea how much I enjoyed working with the club. She seemed very much pleased and said that they liked me too — they thought I "gave them ideas."

...*Record #15.* After some general talk during which Mrs. Henderson exhibited her sewing, Mrs. Harold and Mrs. Martin came in together. Mrs. Henderson looked at them and said, "7:30, ladies," and they made extensive excuses about the street cars. I suggested we use the kitchen for the meeting and they retired there....

The meeting was opened and the minutes read, but *not* accepted as they were not in clearly written form; this was acceptable to Mrs. Harold. Mrs. Henderson then asked Mrs. Barnes to report on Dr. Weltfish's lecture,

She gave her report very well, and I complimented her on it. There ensued a lively discussion, in which Mrs. Martin took the most active part. We dwelt at length on interracial marriages, a subject which Mrs. Barnes brought up. Mrs. Harold looked squarely at me and asked me whether I agreed whole-heartedly with everything Dr. Weltfish had said. I replied that, in principle, she had been right when she said that marriage was a thing that concerned two people, but in our society, it took two very strong people to combat and live with the general public view of such matters. Mrs. Martin went back again to the old times when things were much better for the Negro, when he had a chance to make a "good" living doing "good" things rather than a living doing "bad" ones. She spoke of her father, and I remembered that she'd done so before and always in an affectionate way. We went into the oppression of the oppressed by the oppressed and they understood some of the reasons for the anti-Semitic feelings among some Negroes.

The Executive Director knocked on the door and the group seemed to sit up straighter. I said that we'd been discussing Sunday's speech. Mrs. Barnes asked if he had been present, and then remembered that he'd been chairman of another meeting at which Mrs. Paul Robson had spoken. Mrs. Henderson announced a little formally that he would tell us about the situation at the Bath House. In the main, the situation was as we had heard, except that the pool was closed now for repairs and the City was going to reconsider whether or not to allot any money to the Civic Club for operation. It seemed likely that the Council of Social Agencies was going to recommend that it not do so. The women discussed the pre-war operation of the Bath House. They felt that if the Community House took over the pool many problems would be eliminated, for the House would carry out the previous interracial policy. I wondered what we could do at this point, and the Executive Director suggested that we write a letter to our Board suggesting that they investigate conditions at the Bath House and recommending that they consider what part the House might play in its operation. (In the middle of this discussion, he brought out the fact that the House was planning to make itself over, and this was news to everyone but Mrs. Henderson.) He also suggested that a member of the Elites attend the Board meeting and tell them more about the situation. The women thanked him, and it was agreed to write the letter tonight since the Board meets Thursday.

Throughout the discussion, Mrs. Martin said not a word. As soon as the Director had gone, however, she suggested that Mrs. Henderson go to the meeting. Mrs. Henderson said she couldn't go, Mrs. Harold was too busy, Mrs. Martin just wouldn't go, Mrs. Barnes expected to be working. Mrs. Martin said it would be easier if two went and Mrs. Harvey promised to go with Mrs. Barnes if she could arrange to go.... With the help of all the members the letter was written. Mrs. Harold promised to get it out early in the morning.

Our time was almost up and we hadn't discussed our Modern Woman. Mrs. Henderson told the group that I'd been to see her and brought out the

five divisions we had discussed. Each woman chose her particular interest and took material to read. As they were leaving I heard Mrs. Harold say, to no one in particular, "Gee, this is the way I like our club."

Questions

1. What has been the worker's role in the program-planning process? Discuss the planning for the program on "The Modern Woman," the participation of the group in investigating the Bath House situation, and their participation in lectures on Race Relations, from the point of view of the help the worker gave the individuals and the group-as-a-whole in developing the program content of the group.
2. Trace the concern of the members over the state of the Christmas Fund through the record: What personal and social factors complicated this issue? Why did Mrs. Henderson have such difficulty calling the meeting of the officers? Explain Mrs. Harold's ambivalent role. How did the feelings toward status in this group affect their ability to handle this specific situation? Describe the role of the worker throughout this part of the record.



THE FRIENDSHIP CLUB

The Aged Find Security Among Their Peers

The Friendship Club was formed in 1939 by the Jewish Social Service Association. Six aged men were selected from their rolls, as an experimental group, in order to determine what methods might best be used to help the members secure added status in their own eyes and gain a feeling of usefulness. A meeting place was provided by the Settlement. The first adviser was a member of the JSSA staff. At the end of the third year this responsibility was assumed by the Settlement. Three of the four workers who have served this group are professional social group workers. In the beginning, parties were planned for the men, they were taken on outings, to shows, concerts, and other places of amusement. But the focus of the work with the club has changed from one of "doing for" the group to one of helping the members to assume a greater share of responsibility in the planning and implementation of their own program. The club now has an enrollment of twenty-seven, with twenty-one active members. (See face sheet, page 516, for information about active members.) It is noteworthy that each of these men is a foreign-born citizen of the United States: two entered the country in the latter years of the nineteenth century, fourteen in the first decade of the twentieth century, and the rest between 1911 and 1920. Few, if any, have had the benefits of formal education in this country; while some had taken advantage of informal educational opportunities, on the

whole these men understand the current scene only as it affects them. While many of them have grown children living in this country, the children have risen in the social ladder, and the cultural gap between them and their fathers makes familial associations uncomfortable and even painful. One member lived for a while with his married son, but soon came back to the lonely room in the neighborhood where he knew "he could talk to his cronies." A few of the men have no relatives in this country, as far as the worker knows. Mr. Kletz, for example, who is in the hospital in the last stages of cancer, has no relatives or friends other than the members of the Friendship Club. It is difficult to learn the facts about the family connections of the aged, for many are unwilling to admit the existence of relatives. Last summer, for example, a member of this club was ill and dying in the hospital. The members of the club visited him regularly and Mr. Bluestone, who is head of a burial society, discussed funeral arrangement with the sick man. When he died, it was discovered that he had a son in a distant city, who came upon notification and not only took complete charge of the funeral arrangements, but also included the members of the club in them and made them feel highly recompensed for the interest they had taken in his father's last days.

The program year of the Friendship Club began on October 12, following the Jewish holidays, with a meeting attended by sixteen men. Mr. Stein, the vice-president, presided in the absence of the president, Mr. Bluestone. The chief discussion centered around whether the club should appoint representatives to a committee to plan a Simchas Torah party in co-operation with the Mothers' Club and the Women's Club.

...Record #1.... Several of the members felt that anything the Settlement planned for the group was good enough for them and that the Settlement was being very benevolent in allowing them to come out of the cold and play checkers and actually have a good time and a second home. Some of the other members, led by Mr. Stein, felt that the group should be more independent and if the Settlement could not afford more than fifteen dollars for a joint party the men would be better off planning their own affair.

The whole question of the group's relationship and the individuals' relationship to the Settlement was involved in the discussion and it was evident that there was a vast difference of opinion. Some feared that the Settlement might discriminate against them if they voted against participating in the party, while others felt that they would like to have much more to say in the matter. It was finally decided that Mr. Postov and Mr. Lieberman would represent the group at the committee meeting on Wednesday evening where there would also be representatives of the two women's groups. It was also decided to have the meeting of the group on Sunday at 1:00 P.M. instead of the usual time, so that those who wanted to go to the party afterwards could do so.

FACE SHEET — THE FRIENDSHIP CLUB

Name	Age	Education	Lives with Whom	Occupation or Source of Income	Country of Origin, Date of Departure
Mr. Berlatsky	72	No schooling	Lives with wife	Old Age Assistance; was peddler Huckster	Russia 1907
Mr. Lieberman	59	Primary grades in Europe	Lives alone		Russia 1910
Mr. Bluestone	71	Primary grades in Europe	Lives with daughter	Supported by children	Lithuania 1905
Mr. Davidson	81	Technical school in Europe	Lives alone	Supported by children	Poland 1887
Mr. Bloom	73	High school in Europe	Lives alone	Supported by children	Russia 1895
Mr. Coffey	63	Technical school in Europe	Lives alone	Plasterer	Hungary 1910
Mr. Gramowitz	53	Primary grades in Europe	Lives alone Bachelor	Mechanic's helper	Russia 1906
Mr. Hermann	64	High school in Europe	Lives alone	Junk dealer	{ Russia 1919 Mexico 1924
Mr. Kletz	80	No schooling	Lives alone	O.A.A., was huckster	Hungary 1905
Mr. Levenson	71	No schooling	Lives with son	Supported by son	Rumania 1903
Mr. Postov	60	No schooling	Lives alone Bachelor	Unemployed	Lithuania 1906
Mr. Goldman	68	Primary grades	Lives alone Bachelor	O.A.A.	Russia 1903
Mr. Katowitz	65	High school in Europe	Lives with wife and daughter	O.A.A.	Russia 1911
Mr. Reisberg	73	No schooling	Lives with wife	O.A.A.	Poland 1906
Mr. Steinberg	66	Trade school in Europe	Lives alone	Small personal income	Poland 1910
Mr. Shapiro	71	No schooling	Lives alone	Huckster	Russia 1900
Mr. Jerefsky	75	High school in Europe	Lives with wife	O.A.A. ,	Russia 1914
Mr. Witsky	68	No schooling	Lives with wife	O.A.A.	Russia 1913
Mr. Supkoff	70	No schooling	Lives alone	O.A.A.	Rumania 1903
Mr. Shiff	67	Primary grades	Lives alone	Tailor	Lithuania 1900
Mr. Stein

During the collection of dues, several names were called of previous members who had died over the summer. Mr. Hermann kept repeating after each one, "They won't be coming to us any more; we'll be coming to them."

The men were still excited about the discussion of the party after the meeting had adjourned and kept coming to the worker to inform him of their personal opinions. *W* kept telling them to bring up their excellent

points at the meeting, but a fear was expressed that those who dominated the meeting would be reluctant to listen to them.

The men were greatly pleased with the announcement that the treasury now stood at \$84.02.

At the first meeting Mr. Stein brought Mr. Kletz and introduced him as a new member. At the second, Mr. Hermann brought Mr. Coffey and introduced him in the same manner. Both men paid dues in advance for six months, Mr. Kletz indicating that he would pay for the rest of the year the next time. He particularly seemed to feel the need to assure himself that he belonged to the group. The second meeting had no discussion and the business consisted of roll-call and dues-paying, after which the worker read the Yiddish paper to those who were interested, while others played cards and dominoes.

...Record #2. . . . Real bitterness was expressed at the apparent unwillingness of the leading countries to take a more positive interest in the plight of the Jews in Palestine and Europe. . . .

[At the party]. . . . Most of the men were seated in their own little groups. *W* noticed Mr. Berlatsky at a table with the women. All the men expressed great satisfaction with the party and were amazed and pleased at the refreshments which had been bought with fifteen dollars . . .

Before leaving Mr. Stein asked *W* to find out about two tickets for the Symphony Concert which he had been promised.

Seventeen men were present at the third meeting. Mr. Stein announced that he was going to Florida for six months and that they would therefore have to choose a new vice-president. The president, Mr. Bluestone, was present for the first time this year.

...Record #3. Mr. Bluestone sat next to *W*, and Mr. Stein sat next to Mr. Bluestone. Throughout the meeting there was an undercurrent of struggle between these two men, in terms of control of the group. On the whole, Mr. Bluestone appears to be more in control; he went so far as to tell *W* that the success of the club depended on the power wielded by the president.

Mr. Bluestone insisted that the group needed a treasurer and attempted to appoint one. Mr. Levenson declined, as did Mr. Steinberg. Finally, since no one would accept the position, Mr. Lieberman agreed. Actually Mr. Lieberman is very unpopular with the men, and strong feeling was expressed later by Mr. Kletz, Mr. Schiff, Mr. Steinberg and several others that the fact of Mr. Lieberman's being treasurer might prevent the club from getting new members. Mr. Lieberman and Mr. Shapiro are considered bad actors in the group, but no action is taken against them, and a great many times it appears that the members give in to the whims of these two in order to get rid of them. Mr. Shapiro insisted that he wanted to go to the old men's home to visit two former members of the club. Although some-

one had very recently made a visit to the home and had made a report, Mr. Bluestone gave Mr. Shapiro seventy-five cents to cover expenses of a visit.

Mr. Katowitz's appointment as vice-president seemed to meet with everyone's approval, with the exception of Mr. Lieberman. Mr. Katowitz appears to be a quiet intellectual who nevertheless is willing to say his piece even though Mr. Lieberman is continually ridiculing him. Mr. Katowitz raised the question of bringing new members into the group. As a possible means of attracting attention to the group, he suggested advertising in the Jewish newspapers and felt that the papers would be willing to take the advertisement free of charge if they were familiar with the cause. Mr. Katowitz wanted the secretary to write the article, but Mr. Bluestone appointed Mr. Katowitz as a committee of one to follow through on his own suggestion.

Mr. Jerefsky brought up the question of sending a club donation to the *Jewish Morning Journal* for the orphan children in Europe. Mr. Hermann felt that the club could not make a donation since the request had come to Mr. Jerefsky as an individual, but that if the paper would send in a request to the club, he felt certain that the group would respond. Mr. Lieberman again objected strenuously to the idea of making constant contributions out of the treasury to all these causes. He felt that the club could not exist without a strong treasury and that it would soon become depleted with all these contributions. He received no backing, since the group expressed feeling that it was a real obligation to give to these causes, and that it made them feel good.

W raised the question of a contribution to the Community Chest. Mr. Hermann thought that five dollars was too small a sum to give. He suggested that each person add his own personal contribution to the five dollars to be taken out of the treasury. Mr. Stein, on the other hand, suggested that each person contribute out of his own pocket what he could afford and that money from the treasury would make up the sum of five dollars which the club would contribute. This was agreed upon, and thus each person contributing felt he had the right to wear a red feather, which the *W* had available.

Mr. Jerefsky raised the question of whether it might be a good idea to raise the dues to ten cents, since there were so many things to which to contribute. Mr. Berlatsky felt that he could not afford ten cents, and Mr. Schiff pointed out that if the club intended having a membership drive, it would be an inappropriate time to raise the dues. The motion was tabled.

After the meeting had been adjourned, Mr. Schiff was interested in telling *W* about his miracle cure for arthritis and asked *W* to find out if the Public Health Office might be interested in using it. Mr. Bluestone had to leave, but Mr. Hermann began to tell *W* his life story and how he had become friendly with Mr. Steinberg. Mr. Hermann came to the city about twenty-five years ago and started out as a Hebrew teacher. Mr. Steinberg was the first person he got to know and they have been close ever since. Mr.

Hermann is in the junk business now and is one of the wealthier members of the club.

Mr. Steinberg reported that at one time the group had been interested in putting out a newspaper and he felt that people like Mr. Jerefsky, Mr. Katowitz, Mr. Hermann, and himself might be able to do something along this line. *W* indicated that he would be very willing to work with them and it might be something to bring up at the next meeting.

W said that he was interested in making a collection of Yiddish folk songs and Yiddish musical comedy songs and that he would sing for the group if they would get him the Yiddish songs they knew. Mr. Steinberg suggested that *W* get in touch with the bookstore down the street as it was sure to have a collection of such songs. Mr. Supkoff came in late, as he had had to go to the cemetery for someone's "Yahrzeit."

Questions

1. Note in the first meeting the evidence of difference in feelings of personal responsibility to the club and the agency. Follow this difference of feeling through the following records as it is expressed in different situations.
2. What evidence do you see in the first three records of the importance of the club's status to the members? How does the factor of group status threaten that of some of the individuals?

...Record #4. The meeting was slow in getting started but before it was over there were nineteen members present.

Mr. Katowitz assumed the chair of the vice-president and throughout the meeting played a much more active role than previously.

Since there is considerable feeling about the lack of money in the treasury, Mr. Granowitz again brought up the question of raising the dues to ten cents. This motion was violently fought by Mr. Steinberg, who can become very enraged when an issue arises which displeases him. Mr. Steinberg is rather uncommunicative and feels that people who ask him questions are prying. Mr. Bluestone pointed out that the reason many people did not join the club was that five cents was a ridiculous sum to collect for weekly dues. Mr. Lieberman and Mr. Granowitz also said that more members would join if the dues were raised to a respectable sum like ten cents. The vote taken indicated that the majority felt that ten cents would be too much. Mr. Hermann then made a speech to the effect that this vote was not the final say on the matter and the group could expect the matter to be brought up at another time. Mr. Bluestone, who had more difficulty controlling the group than usual, asked Mr. Hermann to save his speeches for another time. Mr. Bluestone was quite upset about the vote and for several minutes refused to function as president.

Since there was no other business, *W* asked Mr. Steinberg to bring up the publication of a newspaper by the group. Mr. Katowitz thought it would be too difficult a project since there was no one who could act as

editor. He pointed out that a similar project had been planned in a previous year but it had fallen through. *W* asked if anyone would like to listen to Jewish records. They were very enthusiastic. Mr. Hermann told of the Histadrut meeting being held that evening, but seventy-five cents seemed too high for the members.

After the meeting *W* continued filling out the face sheet and Mr. Hermann disclosed that he did not know his age because when he fled Vilna during the First World War, the Germans destroyed his passport and he has never had any papers since which would indicate his age. However, he believes that he is about sixty-five years old. Mr. Hermann is one of the group's most recent arrivals in the United States.

Mr. Kletz came in after the meeting had ended and insisted on paying his dues for the remainder of the year. Mr. Hermann asked him why he had not been attending the meetings, and Mr. Kletz said that he felt that Mr. Shapiro did not want him in the group. Mr. Shapiro had questioned his coming into the group at the first meeting. Mr. Hermann pointed out the importance of his coming to meetings, and Mr. Reisberg said that several other people did not like Mr. Shapiro and that if he became troublesome, it would be advisable to vote him out of the group.

During the meeting, Mr. Bluestone had asked *W* how many members there were in the group. The report that there were twenty-five elicited the feeling that the number was much too small. Mr. Bluestone thought that fifty or even seventy-five would be a more appropriate number. All feel that added members will increase the prestige of the group.

Questions

1. What evidence do you see of a conflict within some of the members between an urge to move on to something new and a desire to keep in the groove of the old? Trace this conflict through the records.
2. What, in the minds of the members, is the relation between the size of the group and the status of the group?

...Record #5. Mr. Kletz arrived very early and told *W* of his plan whereby the group would institute its own insurance system by contributing twenty-five cents each week per member to a general fund which could then be used to help those members who were ill and could not afford to take care of themselves. Mr. Kletz seemed quite anxious about the success of this venture and made it quite clear that he was personally interested in the scheme. Therefore he suggested that *W* present the idea since the group would be more receptive to *W*. *W* pointed out that Mr. Kletz might better be able to present the value of the plan to the members, since it was his idea. Mr. Kletz agreed to make the presentation.

W played some records which seemed to bring back many nostalgic memories to Mr. Kletz, who at one stage began to cry. Mr. Berlatsky came in and *W* sang a Hebrew melody and danced the Sher for the men. Their enthusiasm was almost childlike and they insisted that *W* do more.

The group gathered slowly and when there were about eight men they broke into two camps, one listening to records and the other grouped around a table playing dominoes. Mr. Kletz, Mr. Steinberg, and Mr. Berlatsky were around the victrola, while Mr. Katowitz and Mr. Lieberman led the others who insisted that they were not interested in listening to music which would make them reminisce and lead them to cry.

At 3:00 P.M. there were still only nine members present and *W* asked if they wanted to have a meeting or continue what they were doing. Mr. Katowitz insisted that the group have a meeting and this was accepted by the group. *W* sat down next to Mr. Katowitz and Mr. Kletz sat next to *W*. Mr. Katowitz presided. He was always in complete control of the meeting and did a magnificent job of keeping the group to the point, summarizing different points of view, keeping the meeting moving and alive and in general making the meeting interesting to the members. He has the ability of limiting members when they are rambling and always keeping the proceedings to the point.

Mr. Kletz brought up his suggestion and was immediately attacked by Mr. Lieberman for bringing up something so radically different. Mr. Kletz was so overwhelmed by Mr. Lieberman's attack that *W* had to step in and give him support in order to enable him to say what he meant. Mr. Kletz seems unaccustomed to such group life and kept directing his remarks to individual members and to *W*. The membership for the most part, led by Mr. Katowitz and Mr. Berlatsky, felt that twenty-five cents per person per week was too steep for the group. Mr. Katowitz again pointed out that the group had voted only the previous week not to have any collections at the meetings. *W* said that this did not seem to be a collection but a form of voluntary insurance. Mr. Postov seemed to feel that the idea was too radical and administered the crushing blow to Mr. Kletz by pointing out that he was a new member and did not understand how the group worked. Mr. Kletz slumped deeper in his seat, and *W* had to point out to Mr. Kletz — and Mr. Katowitz did the same — that what was going on was the process of discussing an individual's motion and that there was nothing personal involved in criticism of the suggestion. Mr. Kletz kept insisting that the group was not permitting him to get his point across. Finally, Mr. Katowitz, quoting from the Torah, pointed out that the majority ruled at the meeting, and although an individual's suggestion might actually be best for the group, if the members did not want it that was all there was to it. . . .

Mr. Shapiro made an impassioned speech about the need of making visits to former members who are now in the Sanitarium. He was very dramatic in pointing out that Mr. Pearlman, a former member, is in need of all the support the members can give him and volunteered to visit him the following Sunday if the group voted their approval. (Mr. Shapiro has taken it upon himself to make visits to the institutions. The group is willing to permit him to go, since he at one time following his bouts with pneumonia, was a member of the Old Age Home.) . . .

There were thirteen members at the meeting when dues were paid, and there was an expectant silence as the money was counted. When it was announced that there was over \$83 in the treasury even with the \$10 that had been deducted for the Community Fund and the orphans, there was a sigh of relief and Mr. Supkoff applauded. Mr. Katowitz summed up the feeling of the group when he said, "Well, that's not so bad."

W was able to inform Mr. Shiff that a Dr. N. would examine his cure for arthritis if he wanted him to do so. Mr. Shiff seemed reluctant to have the remedy analyzed, because then the doctor might use it for his own advantage. He told *W* that the formula had been given to him by a Moscow professor and that he would have to think about turning it over for analysis to this doctor. (Previous records indicate that Mr. Shiff has had several remedies which he believed were cures for specific diseases.)

Mr. Shapiro insisted that Mr. Bloom remain to play a game of dominoes with him. Mr. Shapiro is one of the loneliest men *W* has met in the group. To keep *W*'s interest, Mr. Shapiro is always telling him what a "hell-cat" he was as a youth and how the Lord has punished him for his sins. Mr. Shapiro has taken to prayer as a result and feels that God is punishing him but at the same time forgiving him by permitting him to live to a ripe old age. Mr. Shapiro is moving back to the district so that he will have someone to talk with. He wants to spend his evening hours at the Settlement, because there he can find some of the camaraderie he needs.

Questions

Note the worker's attempt to help Mr. Shapiro. What factors other than Mr. Shapiro's need affect the worker in helping Mr. Shapiro individually and in the group?

...Record #6. As the men gathered for the meeting *W* had individual conversations with several members. Mr. Shiff inquired about the doctor who was to examine his remedy for arthritis. *W* replied that Mr. Shiff had not made a definite decision to have his remedy tested. Mr. Shiff said that he had decided to get the doctor's opinion. Mr. Lieberman complained that the records chosen by *W* were too sad. Many of the others disagreed and expressed satisfaction in hearing the old familiar tunes. Mr. Bluestone arrived in a huff over the change of time. *W* explained that the office had made a mistake in sending out the cards.

The meeting began. *W* read a letter from Mr. Stein who said that Florida was heaven on earth. The response of the members indicated considerable envy. When the minutes were read, *W* explained Mr. Kletz's insurance idea in greater detail because several members, particularly Mr. Hermann, had expressed interest.

W introduced the question of a Chanukah party and pointed out that both the Council of Jewish Women and the agency were interested in having the men work out their own program or at least indicate what type of pro-

gram they would like to have. Mr. Bluestone seemed to be expressing the opinion of the group when he said that every year the council and the agency did the same thing and he saw no reason for changing the pattern. Anything they planned would be all right with the group, and he saw no need to discuss the matter. *W* pointed out that that was just the question: since every year in the past the program had been planned for them, the agency now wanted to give them the chance to decide for themselves what type of program they wanted. Mr. Hermann picked up on this point and reiterated the advantage of being able to make one's own program. The men were willing to recognize the validity of his argument, but their concrete suggestions were for exactly the same plans as had been carried out in the past. They wanted a speaker, a movie on Palestine, and food. *W* asked if the men were interested in singing or dancing, and they agreed that if *W* would lead them in some songs they would sing, but they felt that they were too old to dance. Essentially the idea of planning their own program seemed too much for them, although Mr. Reisberg indicated that if the party were being held for their club alone they might take a more vital interest in the planning. Since the party was a joint one to which many people who were not members of the club would be invited, they felt that it was not within their province to plan or help plan a program for the whole group.

Mr. Hermann was quite vocal as usual and in the midst of one of his speeches, Mr. Steinberg rose quite furiously and shouted that he had spoken enough and he ought to keep quiet. Mr. Reisberg seconded this request. Mr. Hermann quieted down, but Mr. Shapiro said that he for one was interested in what Mr. Hermann had to say and that he certainly wouldn't keep quiet if two people like Mr. Steinberg and Mr. Reisberg had asked him. Mr. Shapiro has always objected strenuously to Mr. Steinberg, since he claims that Mr. Steinberg fomented a story that he was a wife-beater. Mr. Reisberg has not been coming often to meetings, so *W* was not aware how great was the antagonism between these two. Both are in their seventies and consider themselves quite strong physically. They became involved in the most heated argument in the club to date, and before many minutes had passed they were calling each other all the vile names they could think of in English, Yiddish, Polish, and Russian. Mr. Bluestone seemed helpless and just sat in his chair as if he were stunned by the sudden turn of events. Mr. Bloom, who has been rather friendly with Mr. Shapiro, got up and left the room. *W* intercepted him and inquired where he was going. Mr. Bloom indicated that he had to go to another meeting, but *W* feels that the fight between Mr. Shapiro and Mr. Reisberg was too much for him to face.

By this time the entire room was in an uproar with everyone attacking Mr. Shapiro. Mr. Bluestone could not control the group, and Mr. Shapiro began to call everyone who attacked him a drunkard. The meeting had completely disintegrated, when suddenly Mr. Bluestone banged on the table for order and issued a pronouncement that he was resigning as president of the club. There were tears in his eyes as he made the announcement;

it was apparent that he was visibly shaken by the turn of events. *W* asked him to reconsider this move, since it certainly wouldn't help matters if the president, who was the symbol of the club's strength, suddenly gave way in a time of crisis and resigned. Mr. Bluestone's dramatic announcement gave added impetus to the attack on Mr. Shapiro and Mr. Reisberg insisted that if Mr. Shapiro did not leave the club he would leave. This cry was taken up by Mr. Lieberman, who appeared interested in getting on the band-wagon. Mr. Steinberg too, insisted that Mr. Shapiro be kicked out of the group. Mr. Hermann asked the president what he wanted done, and Mr. Bluestone pointed out that never in the history of the club had a member been voted out of the group. He felt, however, that Mr. Shapiro had been a trouble maker for a long time and that if the group wanted him out of the club they should make up their minds and he would be willing to abide by their decision. He asked the *W* to get paper for everyone, and in a closed ballot the members were to indicate what was to be done with Mr. Shapiro. It had now become something much bigger than a personal fight between Mr. Shapiro and Mr. Reisberg. The existence of the group was at stake, and Mr. Bluestone had become the symbol of the club. If he resigned, or if his ultimate authority was severely questioned, the club might not exist. Mr. Levenson and Mr. Witsky rallied strongly behind Mr. Bluestone.

In the argument they had all left their seats, and when the meeting was opened again everyone had changed seats except *W*. Mr. Shapiro sat down next to *W* for support, and Mr. Bluestone looked around for a moment and then sat down on the other side of *W*, also indicating that he wanted *W*'s approval of what he was about to do. The papers were passed out, but before the members could vote, Mr. Bluestone asked Mr. Shapiro to make a public apology to the members and either to agree never to insult a member during a meeting again or to suffer the consequences. Mr. Shapiro refused to do this, on the grounds that he had no reason to apologize, since the men had egged him on and he was not to blame for his temper. Mr. Bluestone waited for the men to indicate whether they did or did not want Mr. Shapiro in the group. The men did not vote. Mr. Bluestone then got up and said he had done all he could and since the members did not want to take the final step he was leaving. Mr. Hermann got up, his face inflamed, and insisted that Mr. Shapiro had to leave the club or the club would break up. Finally he pointed out that everyone was in favor of Mr. Shapiro's leaving the club and he asked everyone to signify by saying "Aye" that he was right. The majority of the members did say "Aye," whereupon Mr. Bluestone told *W* that he was to put the following statement in the minutes: "If Mr. Shapiro does not behave himself at future meetings, or insults a member, he will be removed from the group." The group members all agreed that this was the wisest move and the meeting broke up with everybody but Mr. Goldman, Mr. Steinberg, and Mr. Shapiro going out.

Mr. Shapiro then launched into an extremely vicious attack on Mr.

Steinberg and wished that he would drop dead. He asked Mr. Goldman if he would have voted against him, and receiving no help from that area, turned to *W* and pointed out that *W* was the ultimate boss and that they could not remove him from the club if *W* did not want him to go. Mr. Shapiro said that he felt like crying because the men wanted him to leave, but he would not show them how he felt. *W* pointed out that the decision to keep him in the group rested with the group since it was their club. Mr. Shapiro then produced his membership card from the agency and said that did not mean that they could keep him out of the agency. *W* pointed out that the club only had jurisdiction in the club itself and that their action certainly would not affect his rights as a house member. Mr. Shapiro was quite upset when he left. He told *W* that he was going to the synagogue.

Mr. Goldman had remained behind because he wanted *W* to help him fill out a bill of sale. He pointed out that Mr. Shapiro had a bad reputation in the neighborhood and that it was true that a number of men had left the club or had refused to join because he was a member.

Questions

1. Comment on the balance in this record between the worker's service to individuals and their personal needs and service to the group-as-a-whole.
2. Analyze the conflict situation in this record, paying particular attention to the personal antagonisms and the meaning of the group-as-a-whole to the members.

...Record #7. Only fourteen members were present, but two of the regular members were at the Symphony Concert. Before opening the meeting, Mr. Bluestone pointed out that he had given careful thought to what had happened at the meeting the previous week, and that since the club was called the Friendship Club, he felt the men should live up to that name. If they would indicate that they were willing to behave at future meetings, he would call the meeting to order, otherwise he would not even open the meeting. The men rose in a vote of confidence, and he called the meeting to order.

There was an undercurrent of feeling throughout the meeting, with Mr. Hermann criticizing Mr. Shapiro to anyone who would listen. Mr. Kato-witz, who hadn't been present last time, asked for a report and Mr. Shapiro asked for a chance to present his side. He immediately launched into an attack on Mr. Lieberman as the ringleader of the gang who was trying to kick him out, and then attacked Mr. Hermann and Mr. Reisberg. This was putting him in a bad light with the other members and was playing into the hands of Mr. Hermann. *W* therefore pointed out that Mr. Shapiro should stick to the point and not become involved in personalities. Mr. Steinberg finally rose and said that the club ought to consider Mr. Shapiro's behavior during the past week, when he had come into the lounge each evening just to insult the members. He had controlled himself throughout the week, but felt that he ought to speak out to the members.

Finally Mr. Bluestone turned to *W* and asked him what one does in such a situation. *W* pointed out that the president should take a strong position and limit discussion on the question, since it was turning into personal recriminations. Mr. Bluestone was reluctant to do so. Mr. Katowitz finally made a motion that a special meeting be called next week in order to decide what to do about Mr. Shapiro. This motion seemed to satisfy Mr. Shapiro and cleared the air.

Mr. Bluestone finally called on the *W* for any new business. *W* had been anxious to bring up several questions, since he wanted to direct the men's feelings and thoughts away from personalities and onto possible program suggestions. The first question was how many men wanted to go to the Jewish show on Monday now that tickets were only fifty-five cents. Eleven said they wanted to go and several said they would bring wives or lady friends. Only Mr. Berlatsky and Mr. Reisberg said they could not afford to go and Mr. Bloom does not feel well enough to go. The men were quite excited at seeing a Jewish show and seeing the "women dance." This is the first program that has received such unanimous support. Most of the men will gather in the lounge and go together to the hall.

W then reported on the progress being made with the Chanukah party and asked the members what they thought about helping with arrangements. They thought it would not be amiss for a committee to help out and two of the more active members were chosen.

W then introduced the names of about fifteen prospective members to the club. Mr. Bluestone first asked *W* to read down the list so that the men could point out those they knew and also indicate how they felt about them. *W* got as far as the second name, when Mr. Berlatsky indicated his objection. He was challenged on this, and Mr. Katowitz suggested that the reading of the names be discontinued and that a card be sent to all the people on the list inviting them to a meeting. Mr. Jerefsky pointed out that they should not be invited for next week, the special meeting, he didn't think the group's ugly stories should be discussed in front of new people. Mr. Bluestone told *W* to send out cards for the week after.

Between Meetings. Although it was nasty weather the night of the Yiddish performance, almost the entire group turned out for the show. The men were in good spirits and were dressed up as for a holiday.

Questions

1. What do you think are the reasons for the conflict in the club between those who want open membership to any older person and those who want to vote the new members into the club?
2. How is this conflict related to other areas of disagreement?

...Record #8. This was a special day, a Simcha day, and the men were buzzing with the news that the Jews had at long last received their rightful claim to the homeland. Everything else was secondary.

Mr. Berlatsky asked for the record player and insisted as usual on playing liturgical themes, but most of the others felt that especially on this day any music played should be happy and gay. *W* has noticed that for the most part those men who can get around more easily prefer the livelier tunes, while those who are somewhat incapacitated prefer the liturgical tunes.

Mr. Katowitz drew *W* aside to indicate that he had a plan to vote Mr. Shapiro out of the club, a plan which would not make it necessary for anyone to feel guilty about the manner in which he had voted. He pointed out that actually if the worker approved of the plan the group would not even have to be consulted. *W* pointed out that responsibility for group decisions rested with the group and not with the worker. Mr. Katowitz said it was not that way in other years, but *W* said that now the plan was to help the members assume control of the club. *W* said that if Mr. Katowitz cared to bring his plan before the group and they approved of it then the plan would carry more weight. Mr. Katowitz was very much disappointed in *W* and left feeling that *W* was just a young boy from whom not much could be expected. Actually Mr. Katowitz is very leery of voting openly against Mr. Shapiro. Mr. Reisberg chimed in that the vote should be a secret one. Mr. Hermann came in and made it clear to everyone that they had to vote Mr. Shapiro out of the club if the club were to continue in existence.

The sending of cards and the announcement of a special meeting brought out the largest attendance to date. Originally there was to be only one topic on the agenda, action to be taken in the Shapiro case, but the United Nations decision had lifted the day into one of momentous significance.

No sooner were the minutes read, than Mr. Postov got up and made a stirring speech about the significance of the day and proposed commemorating the occasion by having a club party on the last Sunday of every November. He suggested having a party the following week since it was too late to plan for one today. In addition, because of the fact that the Jews were supposed to celebrate in a grand manner, he felt that all sinners in the club should be pardoned and everyone should start on a new slate. Mr. Jerefsky, who is called "the Rabbi" by Mr. Lieberman, seconded the motion and pointed out that since the matter is not one of murder but one of politics he felt that a general amnesty for political prisoners should be declared and that the whole case should be dropped. Mr. Shapiro had not said a word since the time he came into the room. He had told *W* that he had not received a card, and when *W* pointed out that one had been sent to him, Mr. Shapiro forgave *W* for any wrongdoing and was not jealous of any of the other members who received cards. He was playing the injured martyr.

Mr. Katowitz also backed the suggestion and said that in honor of the day we should begin a new slate, but that did not mean that if such a situation arose again action would not be taken. In fact, Mr. Katowitz added that if he were the culprit, the members should not hesitate to throw him out. He felt that the name "Friendship" should not be taken in vain and that

everyone should act as friends. Mr. Kletz echoed his sentiments, but Mr. Lieberman interrupted Mr. Kletz and he looked to *W* for support. *W* asked that Mr. Kletz be given an opportunity to have his say. Actually Mr. Katowitz is one of the few in the group who are really anxious to have Mr. Shapiro evicted. However, he felt insecure in ridiculing either Mr. Jerefsky or Mr. Katowitz but reserved his criticism for Mr. Kletz and later for Mr. Postov. Mr. Bluestone pointed out that since everyone seemed to feel the same way the motion that all charges against political offenders be dropped was unanimously approved.

Mr. Postov, who was apparently quite pleased with the turn of events, now said that there was another part to his motion, namely the commemoration of the event in proper fashion. The group should have a party every year and one this year at which time they would serve whiskey and in general make merry. Mr. Lieberman felt that the group could not afford to take any money out of the treasury and anyway they were going to have a party soon for Chamisho Osor Bishevat, but Mr. Postov insisted that this festival took precedence over all others and anyway it was too long to wait till February. He certainly wasn't in favor of combining the two. Mr. Hermann got up with what he believed to be a compromise solution. It was important to commemorate the day but too difficult to plan now for a big affair, so he felt the Chamisho Osor Bishevat¹ party could also be designated as a party for the establishment of the National Jewish Homeland; for this day he just happened to have two bottles with him and he was willing to donate them to the group so that they could have their celebration. This pleased everyone and Mr. Bluestone asked *W* to collect dues since he had to leave by four o'clock. As soon as the dues were collected everyone crowded around Mr. Hermann.

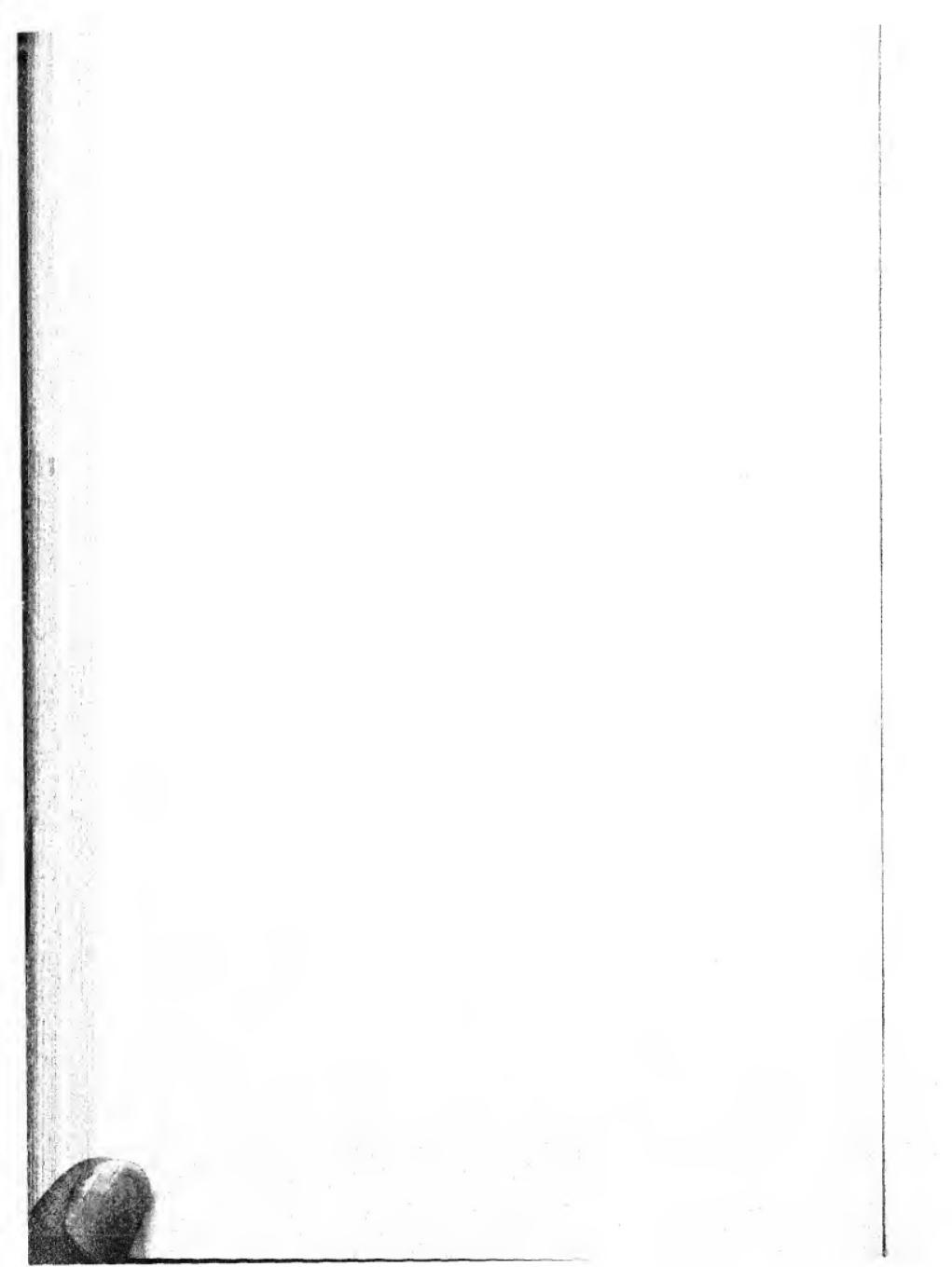
After most of the men left, *W* sat down to talk with Mr. Shapiro, who had refused to drink with Mr. Hermann; since Mr. Hermann had told him to keep quiet like a peasant's dog he would never forgive him and he certainly would not drink with him. His pride was hurt, and he pointed out that Mr. Hermann with all his money was in reality worth nothing if he possessed none of the finer qualities of man. He repeated his stories of Mr. Hermann and then told some of Mr. Bluestone. He was very bitter and was using *W* to get back at the men. He is extremely lonely and recognizes that few of the men will have anything to do with him. Actually Mr. Shapiro is responsible for bringing at least five men to the club, and several of the members told the *W* that it would have been very difficult to vote against him for that reason.

Questions

- i. Note the personal meaning of a world-wide event to these men. Was the granting of amnesty to Mr. Shapiro on this occasion helpful to him? In what kind of position did this place Mr. Shapiro in relation to the group-as-a-whole? Of what value was this gesture to the members of the group?

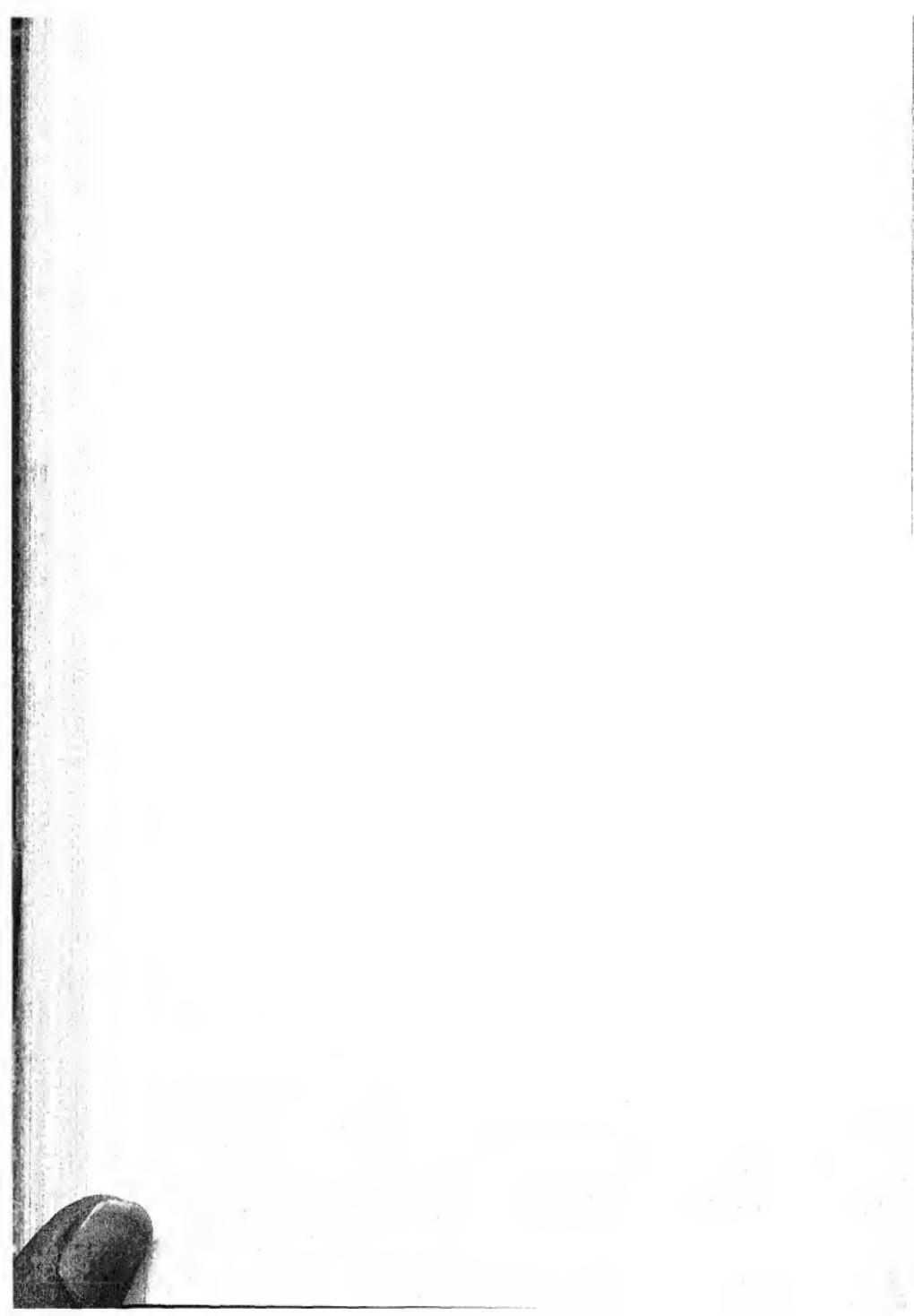
Based on these eight records:

2. Designate the members who have the greatest acceptance in the group and those having the least. What factors in the personality of the individuals have contributed to position in the group? in the group situation itself?
3. What subgroups exist in the group? Describe the relationship between the subgroups and their relation to the group-as-a-whole. What type of control do the officers exercise over the program of the group? How is this affected by the participation within the group meetings?
4. Does the group control its members outside the club? If so, how? How has the *esprit de corps* fluctuated during this period? What has produced this fluctuation?
5. What evidence is there of commonly accepted values developed within the group which affect the members' behavior? In what ways are these values alike or unlike the values upon which the mores of the neighborhood are based?
6. How do the accepted norms of the group affect individual behavior? Are they enforced by the group? How?
7. In what way is the agency affecting the norms of the group? Give specific examples and analyze the role of the worker in the process.
8. Are the objectives of the agency in working with the aged different from those with other age-groups? If you see differences, how do you see them changing the role of the worker in the group? For example, if instead of being 71, Mr. Shapiro had been 31, 21, or 11 years of age; what differences would you expect to find in the role of the worker in helping him?



PART FOUR

*Supervisory
and
Administrative
Processes*



15

The Supervisory Process

THE ELEMENTS of the helping process in social work are the same in every function. In giving direct service the worker helps the members to grow and develop. In the supervisory function he uses the helping process to enable workers to increase their competence as staff members. To this responsibility the supervisor brings knowledge, understanding, and experience. How he is able to share his knowledge and experience with other workers is determined by his understanding and acceptance of himself in the role of the supervisor. Moving from the role of worker to that of supervisor involves a re-examination of self in relation to the new function.

INSIGHTS ESSENTIAL TO THE SUPERVISORY RELATIONSHIP

Attitudes and Feelings

Certain attitudes and feelings get in the way of the supervisor's ability to function at his maximum efficiency. It is essential that the supervisor recognize that these feelings are common to all persons in supervisory positions. The important thing for the beginning supervisor to understand is that it is natural for him to experience these feelings and that he can handle them only by recognizing them as natural and then behaving in the light of their meaning. Let us examine some of the attitudes and feelings which may block the full development of a helpful supervisory relationship.

Some supervisors may have very definite ideas of how to do the work, and it may be difficult for them to recognize that the same principle of work may be carried out in many different ways. It may be even more difficult for them to accept the fact that the workers whom they are supervising may have some methods of procedure which are superior to their own. The supervisor has the responsibility of teaching the basic principles of social group work, but the worker has the right and the responsibility to develop his own way of applying these principles.

The supervisor may find it difficult to assume the role of being the "always responsible" member of the staff. This price is one which some people are unable to pay for positions of leadership. At no time is the supervisor able to permit someone else to meet *his* responsibilities. This is the meaning of ultimate responsibility.

The supervisor may find it difficult to be continuously in a position where all members of the unit staff are dependent upon him for help. As far as his relationship with the unit staff is concerned the supervisor is always "giving." Such a relationship entails a constant drain on the powers and energy of the supervisor, who must be re-enforced through support from the executive of the agency and refreshed through leaves of absence for attendance at institutes and other sources of professional stimulus.

The supervisor may fear that he is not capable of the task of supervision. While he may realize, intellectually, that he is not supposed to know everything, he may find it difficult in a concrete instance to say that he does not know the answer to a question or problem and to refer the worker to someone who can give him the help or information he needs. Concerned over his ability to feel *with* the worker, he may fear that he is identifying with those whom he is supervising and in this process feeling *like* them. He may be concerned over his personal "likes" and "dislikes" and fear that he is unable to meet all the staff on a basis of giving each the help he needs. His reaction to weaknesses in the workers may be to recognize them as his own, and because they are his as well as theirs he may either condone them or be overly critical of them. He may find it difficult to determine whether he is over-helping, under-helping, or giving adequate help to the workers whom he is supervising.

At the same time that the supervisor is beset by these doubts and fears, he recognizes that he feels satisfaction in helping others to do a better piece of work. He is pleased to have the opportunity to teach other people the things which he has struggled to learn. He feels creative and useful. Teaching others increases his competence and skill not only as a supervisor but also as a practitioner. He gets great satisfaction from watching other workers grow and develop professionally. He has achieved professional competence himself when he is able to recognize and rejoice in the fact that a worker has developed some skill which surpasses his own.

The nature of the structure in which supervision is carried on creates certain difficulties of which the supervisor must be aware and which he must be capable of handling. He is responsible for the unit of work or a portion thereof. The assignment which the staff workers whom he is supervising have been given is also his. If it is well done, it reflects credit on the unit and on the supervisor as a professional worker. If it is poorly done,

the unit and its supervision are criticized. The professional worker who undertakes the responsibility of being the supervisor must be sufficiently mature to share praise and blame impersonally.

Every supervisor has some negative and some positive feelings about his position and responsibilities. As we have indicated, he must recognize and accept these feelings as natural ones which are common to all supervisors. He must understand that they are not to be handled by denial. If he attempts to deny them he will be inconsistent in his use of the supervisory relationship — sometimes indulgent and praising when there is no occasion for praise, and at other times critical and blaming without cause. The most important thing to remember about this attitude in supervision is that when the supervisor behaves in this way he is unconscious of his inconsistency and of the reasons why he reacts as he does. Only through having insight based on the understanding of self can the supervisor use himself effectively in helping other workers to develop the skills of social group work. All people cannot learn to be supervisors, and if the supervisory responsibility makes a worker consistently unhappy, angry, or irritated, he should realize that he lacks the necessary emotional adjustment to take on the role of teaching — of having others dependent upon him — and seek other types of responsibility.

Supervisor and Worker

Supervision is a relationship between a supervisor and workers, in which the supervisor, because of his knowledge and understanding of himself, of other human beings, of the social situation, and of the function of the agency, helps the workers to perform their functions and to co-operate in the accomplishment of the purposes for which the agency is organized. This is a professional relationship which is established by the authority of the agency and accepted by both the supervisor and the workers. The supervisor helps the workers to make conscious use of themselves in helping members in face-to-face relationships and in groups. This involves helping workers to understand themselves and to change those attitudes and patterns of behavior which they recognize as blocking them in their relationships with individuals and groups.

The supervisor focuses on the learning needs and goals of the worker¹ and helps him to achieve those within his grasp. This involves helping him free his will to function. For some people this process might be described as helping something frozen to melt. The development of the skill of the

¹ Workers who are supervised in recreational and informal educational agencies may include: volunteers; untrained full-time employed workers; students from a school of social work, who are gaining field experience; and recent graduates from a school of social

professional use of self is at one and the same time a process of "melting" and of exercising control. That is, the professional worker must become free to give of himself, yet he must learn to give in relation to the needs of those whom he seeks to help. Let us illustrate this dual process by citing the use of self which the social group worker must develop to carry out the principle that, while he accepts each individual in a group as a person to be respected and loved, he does not approve of the individual's behavior when it is not socially acceptable. The worker's acceptance of the misbehaving individual must be real, deeply real, if the individual actually feels accepted *at the same time* that the worker is disapproving of his behavior. The worker who only theoretically accepts this principle of work with others finds that the disapproved behavior so affects him that something seems to freeze within him and, in spite of his will to act otherwise, his disapproval spreads from the behavior to the person. The supervisor who is helping the worker to develop skill in the use of self must be able to recognize some of the reasons why this particular worker finds himself being angry with the members of the group because of their behavior. The supervisor recognizes the anger as an indication that the worker is feeling *like* the members rather than *with* them and that until the worker is able to make this distinction in his feelings he will be unable to help the members with their problems.

Hopefully, adults generally have controls within themselves, though not always. An individual may have been unable to develop controls, either because his parents exercised none over him when he was a child, or because they failed to give him sufficient love while they were exercising controls over him, and subsequent experiences may not have overcome this early lack of educative controls. If the worker needs help in this area, the supervisor may function in such a way that he enables the worker to strengthen his ego, or he may help him to ease the severity of an overdeveloped superego. In some cases, the supervisor may have to represent the worker's superego until the worker can develop sufficiently to carry his own share of responsibility.

The supervisor gives the worker the opportunity for expressing and rechanneling his positive and negative feelings toward his work. This in-

work, who are professionally educated but have had little if any experience on a full-time basis. The basic principles of the use of the supervisory relationship apply to all classifications of workers, but the references to helping the workers become professional apply only to those who are professionally educated — the students and graduates of schools of social work. The focus of supervision of volunteers and untrained workers is exclusively upon the performance of the duties assigned them in the light of their ability to carry them out. The focus of the supervision of the professional workers is the same *plus* the development and deepening of professional competency.

volves more than providing an outlet for the worker's expression of feelings; it includes analysis and search for the meaning of the feelings, and an evaluation by the worker of his own work. If the worker merely talks out his feelings about his experience, he may feel better, but he will, by so doing, have given *his* responsibility to the supervisor. The supervisor must in turn direct the conference in such a way that the worker has seen his experience in the light of his own needs and those of the individuals and groups being served. This type of discussion is possible only when the supervisory relationship is acceptive enough so that the worker knows that it is natural and inevitable to make mistakes.

The Worker Viewed as Learner ✓

The supervisor must understand the worker as a learner and be able to recognize in him the psychological reactions characteristic of learners. The learning process is a zigzag of forward and backward movement. It is a dynamic process in which there is considerable struggle; hence when the forward movement becomes painful the individual starts to regress to a more comfortable state of knowledge and experience. The learner is helped by having the new learnings broken up into portions related to his capacity to accept new knowledge or skill. The learner both wants and fears change. In the process of acquiring the professional skill of the social group worker, most individuals face the necessity of making certain fundamental changes in attitudes, values, and norms. These changes the learner resists; he is fearful of what he may become. Moreover, he is in the process of developing the capacity to use insight. To have achieved insight, yet be unable to use it, is a very painful situation, and therefore the learner must have time to let the insight, like yeast, work within him. This time may seem like a plateau, since he shows little forward movement: he may even be unable to accept help from the supervisor and may need to struggle alone. Some of the symptoms of learning at this stage are fighting new ideas; resisting the suggestions of the supervisor or fellow workers; arguing while giving lip service to the principles he is fighting; engaging in voluble discussions in supervisory conferences and with fellow staff members; repeating his own ideas and those of others, particularly those of his supervisor; testing out the new ideas while still doubting, and being utterly amazed when they turn out satisfactorily. This latter reaction is usually the beginning of the end of this period of resistance to learning, and at this point the worker will take a spurt in applying the theories he formerly fought.

There are blocks to learning which are occasioned by the particular combination of supervisor and worker. The worker may be projecting upon the supervisor his feelings related to other supervisors or other persons in

positions of authority. The supervisor may be projecting upon the worker feelings which he has had about other workers, or he may find it difficult to accept him in a dependency relationship. Both worker and supervisor need to explore their feelings toward one another in such circumstances and remove their blocking effects through analysis of their meaning. The learning worker may have difficulty because of gaps in knowledge and experience required for the performance of the work and the understanding of the new content being taught by the supervisor. The material which the supervisor is teaching may not be sufficiently germane to the work for which the worker is responsible and therefore it has less meaning than it would if his work assignment were different. The road to becoming a professional worker is a hard one and there are inevitable blocks along the pathway. The supervisor is not surprised to meet them and recognizes that he must understand them in terms of each individual's life experience. Just as in learning how to work with a group there are no rules or techniques which match given situations, so in supervision the learning problems of each individual must be studied and understood before the supervisor is able to help. There are blocks to learning, however, which are not related merely to the human being's natural resistance to change. These may be in the personal life of the individual worker and if too serious they will make it impossible for the worker to continue in the profession of social work unless he is able to receive therapeutic help outside of the agency situation.

Every new idea or experience which an individual incorporates necessitates some readjustment of old ideas and tested experiences. The learner's response to this process is directly related to the total physical, emotional, and intellectual development which he has achieved *at this time*. Because of the zigzag movement of the learning process, he may react to some ideas or experiences at the infantile level¹ and to others at the adult level. Understanding the learner involves understanding where he is in the life cycle in *different* situations.

In the learning situation the learner identifies the teacher with the parent or with a "parent-person"—someone who has formerly stood in a tutorial relation to him. This is a psychological projection and one which the teacher—in this case the supervisor—must understand. The supervisor is not the parent nor is he functioning as one; however, he is the object of the reactions which the worker brings from all his life's experiences, including those of childhood. It is therefore necessary to examine the learning process

¹ One highly intellectual worker found himself totally at a loss when his group of school-age boys played games. He knew no games and could not learn them from the group. In the training course, however, he entered into the games and played them with the zest and enthusiasm of a school-age child. It was necessary for him to fill this gap emotionally before he could learn to play with groups as an adult adviser.

which takes place between the parent and the child and later between parent-persons and learners in the stages of growth and development throughout life.

Every new learning necessitates, as we have said, giving up something old for new satisfactions. An individual is able to accept change when he is secure enough to dare to accept the new, thus giving up the comfortable old in favor of the uncomfortable new. In infancy, the child who learns to walk gives up being carried; when he learns to feed himself, he gives up being fed. During this process he expresses anger and frustration, and if he is not sure of his mother's love he expresses fear. The child may postpone these steps of growth under unfavorable relationships with parent-persons. If taking on new experiences brings new deprivations, learning will be difficult even if intellectual capacity indicates average or above-average ability. The good mother utilizes what is in the child that wants to learn; she loves him in such a way that she enables him to achieve new goals. She also sets limits which restrict the area of responsibility of the child in proportion to his capacity *at that time*, but she enlarges his scope as his abilities increase. This gives him satisfactions appropriate to his age and abilities. The good mother avoids sudden change. She recognizes that the processes of change are always gradual and that permitting a partial acceptance of the new and a partial retention of the old will eventually result in more complete acceptance of the new than will pushing or forcing change. Forced growth may result in a more tenacious clinging, on the part of the learner, to the old ideas or patterns of behavior. Likewise, the beginning student does not become suddenly a professional social worker, but must learn the conscious use of self through a step-by-step process. The supervisor loves and limits the workers whom he is supervising and helps them to achieve.

During the school-age period the individual is a participating member of groups. Sharing is a great problem at this time. Hitherto the child has thought of himself as the first and only, and now there are others whose needs and rights conflict with his. There are physically mature people who still want to be the first and only. Workers may be on an infantile level in this area and be unable to share the supervisor with other workers. They may express their anger at the supervisor directly or indirectly through projecting their feelings on the other workers or through employing various other mechanisms of defense. They will not be able to learn until they tackle their fundamental problems. It is necessary for the supervisor to be aware of the processes at work in the various persons whom he is supervising. Some may be solving the problem of sharing through substitution — that is, the fear of loss of supervisor is substituted for their more real fear of loss of job, status, or whatever the supervisor symbolizes for them. Their fear

may be so great that they cannot express their anger at the supervisor or even acknowledge it to themselves. They then express their feelings against a fellow worker or against the agency itself. Since no one ever completely solves the problem of sharing, every individual expresses his feelings through some direct expression of rivalry or competition and practices some repression. The persons, however, who have not faced this problem reasonably well may literally be "sitting on the lid." Development of the enabling skill of the social group worker is at least temporarily blocked for these people because the energy needed to keep the lid on is so great that there is little energy left to help other people.

Some individuals are not able to develop the enabling skill of social group work because they gave up trying to learn to share while still in childhood. These individuals have eased their feelings by identification with the parent of the same sex but have not worked through their feelings about the opposite sex. This type of solution creates many problems for the learner. Though now an adult in years, but failing to achieve adult independence, he is still devoting his energy to being like the parent of the same sex and trying to please and appease the parent of the opposite sex. Supervisors may recall situations of workers who weigh all new ideas against "what father thinks." One worker, during her first semester at school and agency, made a practice of reviewing with her father the problems of individuals and groups with whom she was working. Her father's analysis of the members' needs and how to meet them was of greater importance to her than the new knowledge she was receiving at the agency and in school. Her progress at the end of the first semester was so slow that she was asked to withdraw from the school and the agency. Another student found that her father was very much interested in her work and enjoyed discussing the problems the daughter was facing in her field work. This student felt that while her father's ideas were interesting they should in no way be a directive to her activity, and she was sufficiently mature so that she was able to listen to her father's analysis without regarding it as the solution. The worker who has not made a satisfactory heterosexual adjustment cannot be expected to enter successfully into the manifold problems of intersex relationships. Since he has not worked out his own basic problems, he is not in a position to help others. He may seek to dominate other people's lives. He may be so passive that he is unable really to understand the individuals with whom he is working. He may be impatient with or blind to the problems of boy-girl relations which are so important in work with adolescents and young adults. He will be helpless in working with the pre-marriage and post-marriage problems which are so important in work with adults. The individual whose identification with the parent of the same sex is on an infantile level may substitute a cause

for the parent of the opposite sex whom he is seeking to please and pacify. The emotional content of his drive for the "cause," whatever it may be, will be so great that his efforts become more destructive than helpful. The worker who has not made a satisfactory adjustment to the problem of sharing must be helped to accept the fact that until he receives help with his personal problems he can neither embark on professional education nor undertake the responsibilities involved in being an untrained worker.

The individual who finds in achievement his primary solution to the problem of sharing has found the solution which is socially most useful and the one in which there is the greatest degree of comfort. Note that in this solution the problem is still present, but the satisfaction of doing something, or "giving" of the self, is greater than that of "keeping"; hence the problem seems to be reduced to a minimum. Individuals who make this solution are the ones who have had sufficient love, with all its attendant attributes, and they are therefore able to give without fear of devastation. They are sufficiently secure in the old to dare to explore the new.

Some persons have found sharing so difficult that they are reluctant to think of themselves in any way except in the light of a perfectionist concept which they have made for themselves. All that is uncomfortable is "bad" and outside of them, and all that is comfortable is "good" and inside of them. These individuals have been unable to apply the concept of ambivalence in regard both to themselves and to others. They look at the world — at other human beings — through dark glasses. They find it difficult to accept criticism, and hence are unable to have an objective picture of themselves. They have little insight into their own behavior and are judgmental of others. When an individual has made this type of adjustment of his problem of sharing, he projects upon others the difficulties that lie within himself: "They made me do this"; "It was my supervisor's fault"; "She failed to understand me"; "It was not taught well"; "The policies of the agency are at fault." These and other statements are indicative of individuals who, lacking insight, are unable to carry their share of the responsibilities.

Individuals who are unable to give of themselves may try to compensate by giving of their time. They may work long hours, punishing themselves and turning their feelings in on themselves. They are attempting to meet their problems by being "very good." They become overmeticulous in their work. They find it difficult to take vacations; unfortunately, sometimes they expect their pattern of "all work and no play" to be accepted by others. For these persons the major satisfactions come from overwork and denial of self, and only secondary satisfactions are received from external awards.

Still other people may be able to relieve their feelings in failure. Their accumulated guilt becomes so great that they are unable to accept success, and their unconscious drives become so strong as to cause failure in a crucial situation where less compelling drives might have meant a successful outcome. Depressions, excessive fatigue, and functional illnesses provide channels through which feelings turned toward the self are drained off, and make it possible for such persons to function even if on a neurotic level. It has been said that the individual's possible responses to a traumatic situation are the four F's: he faints, feigns, flees, or fights. Of these, his best chance for successful achievement is the last. One must always remember that the person who is doing any of these things *has to do them* for the moment, and that he cannot cease to do them until he has developed new ways of handling his feelings.

// It is important to point out that the emotional strain of developing the professional use of self is very great. The student or the worker is placed in a position which rouses feelings of resistance when he is faced with the necessity of changing concepts and modes of behavior. Supervisors should expect a certain amount of regression to infantile behavior. This is not necessarily an indication that the worker is unable to learn the enabling skill of social group work. It must be remembered that every human being uses all of these mechanisms some of the time in meeting life's situations. We are concerned only about the degree to which a worker is using any one of them. We know that only those individuals who are reasonably mature are capable of developing the skill of social work, and it is one of the functions of the supervisor to help workers understand their limitations as well as their abilities. The supervisor helps those who can accept and use supervision to learn and develop their skills. He likewise helps those who cannot do so to recognize their ineptitude for the work and to leave the field.

Conflict over the acceptance of the discipline and responsibilities entailed in becoming a "helper" is a natural reaction, and its symptoms are evidence of the growth of the professional worker. The supervisor is often more concerned about the workers whose course of learning and "doing" seems to run smoothly than about the ones who are having difficulties and show signs of some resistance. As we have indicated, learning is a struggle and all people resist it; the supervisor must be aware of the symptoms of resistance and be prepared to help workers face the meaning of their behavior as a part of the process of learning. The supervisor is made aware of the resistance of the worker more through the language of his behavior than through his words. Records may be late or remain unwritten. The worker may make repeated requests for a change of time for the supervisory conference; what he is really saying is that no time is suitable. He may be

consistently late for conferences. When in conference he may attempt to divert the discussion to theoretical material in order to avoid analysis of his own work. He may become argumentative and try to keep the conference on the level of knowledge rather than of understanding. He may become hypercritical of the former worker, of his colleagues, his supervisor, or the agency. He may fail to keep obligations. This kind of behavior may well be accompanied by a verbalized enthusiasm about the field and his desire to become a competent worker in it. These and other reactions are symptomatic of difficulties in learning to become an enabling person on whom others can depend. The profession of social work demands more than ordinary sharing, and the worker must be helped to understand the meaning of his behavior and likewise to have full awareness of the demands of the profession. This facing of the meaning of concrete situations is the most important single process in the gradual development of understanding and of the conscious use of the self which a social worker must acquire.

Practice in social group work under supervision is a systematic series of experiences which progressively increase the worker's ability to make conscious use of himself in work with groups and individuals. While the worker participates in the formulation of his work load, the supervisor helps him to understand his readiness to undertake new experiences in light of his present abilities and limitations. It is the supervisor's job to organize the work of the unit in relation to the abilities of the staff, and as much as possible to delegate responsibilities which provide opportunities for the worker to use his increasing skills. In this way, the supervisor breaks up the demands for skill into hurdles which the worker is able to take. Learning comes when a worker is able to accept the fact that he must learn *from where he is*,¹ that the agency expects him to progress from that point, and is not measuring him against a standard set by someone else. This type of evaluation makes it possible for the supervisor to help the worker to change from "competition" to "contribution."

The supervisor helps the worker to assume professional responsibility through the use of time. The supervisor himself must have developed the ability to use time responsibly. He expects promptness at conferences, staff meetings, group meetings, and in all other obligations such as records and reports. He helps the workers to understand the psychological implications of "reasons" for failing to meet time as well as other limitations, and thus helps the worker to understand his own mechanisms of defense expressed in his behavior on the job.

¹ The agency has the responsibility of not employing anyone whose performance is evaluated as lower than its standard for beginning workers. Students in field work should also be screened against a minimum performance standard.

The supervisor respects the contribution of the workers. He is never judgmental of their inadequacies. He praises when the work warrants praise. He never flatters. He helps the workers to face failures frankly and honestly. He helps the workers to recognize that it is natural to make mistakes and that a mistake is not indicative of total failure. He helps them to appreciate the measure of their own stature, to enjoy their successes, and to handle their failures. The supervisor helps the worker to have feelings of confidence based on the *reality* of his adequacy.

Implicit in the help which the supervisor gives workers in understanding themselves is his function of imparting knowledge, not only of the dynamics of human behavior, but of the agency, the community, and all the other areas that impinge on the practice of social group work. The supervisor draws teaching content from many areas of knowledge which it is evident that the particular workers need at the particular time in order to serve their groups effectively. He makes appropriate reading assignments; he makes program materials available; and he provides the resources from which the workers find their own answers.

The supervision of students who are learning to become professional social group workers is an added responsibility; the supervisor not only teaches the student the methods of working with groups but also helps him to develop a professional self incorporating the wisdom, discretion, and responsibility required by the profession. The development of skill in student supervision is part of more advanced work than is provided in the regular two-year professional education for social group workers.

SUPERVISORY CONFERENCES

Supervision, like any other function, has a structure through which the supervised workers are helped to use the *how* of social group work.¹ The first step is to clarify the purpose of the supervisory conference. This is stated in the initial recruiting interview, and its meaning becomes clearer as the supervisory process develops. The worker must understand that, while he brings to his position in the agency certain knowledge and skills, the agency expects him to increase his knowledge, improve old skills, and develop new ones, and that it provides supervision to help him accomplish this end. The worker must understand that conferences are held regularly and that both worker and supervisor have the responsibility of preparing for these educational events. In order to help the worker use his conference

¹ Dorothea Spellmann, "Improving the Quality of Social Group Work Practice Through Individual Supervisory Conferences," *Toward Professional Standards* (American Association of Group Workers; New York: Association Press, 1947), pp. 122-131.

time effectively, the supervisor periodically examines the content of the supervisory conferences in the light of how these have helped the worker to carry out his responsibilities more effectively. For the worker with professional education, more effective functioning means not only the recognition of strengths and weaknesses and the learning from "hindsight," but also the deepening and broadening of professional skill and social philosophy. For the student, it means the development of the conscious use of self in professional responsibilities. For the volunteers and the untrained employed workers, it means continuous improvement in the skill with which they perform their specific assignments.

The Individual Supervisory Conference

Both worker and supervisor must prepare for the supervisory conference. From the process record written by the worker, the points to be discussed in the supervisory conference are chosen by both participants. The content of the conference should be focused on how the worker behaved in the situations recorded, whether in organized groups, clubs, classes, activities, committee meetings, or interviews with individuals who are members of the groups or related to the program. It is frequently necessary to discuss the meaning of the behavior of certain group members, the social situation in the group, and the factors of difference which affect the group and the social scene in which it is living. It should be kept in mind that these areas are discussed when information and understanding about them are necessary to the worker in order to help him understand *his role* in serving the individuals and groups. The supervisor must take the responsibility of keeping the content of the supervisory conference focused upon the role of the worker and not permit it to be dissipated into areas of general professional interests, no matter how vital these interests may appear to be. It must be kept in mind that, while the supervisory relationship is a mutual one, it is not the mutuality of equals *in this situation*. The supervisor is the teacher, and the worker who is being supervised is the learner. It is therefore imperative that the supervisor take the responsibility for determining the content of the supervisory conference, in terms of his evaluation of the worker's needs at this time. The supervisor does not introduce or emphasize areas for discussion that are related to his own interests and needs. Whatever learning (and there is considerable) inheres for the supervisor in the supervisory relationship is a concomitant to the learning of the worker for whom the supervisory conference exists.

The core of the supervisory process is the individual conference.¹ Here

¹ Margaret Williamson, "Supervision of Group Leaders, Outlines for Study and Practice" (New York: Woman's Press, 1942).

Saul Farber, "Leadership Training Through Supervision," *The Jewish Center Worker*, vol. 8, no. 12 (May, 1947), pp. 14-21.

worker and supervisor sit down together and concentrate on the groups which the worker is serving. The supervisor helps the worker to understand the individuals who are members of the groups, the groups-as-wholes and their needs, the program content of the groups and other content in which they might be interested, the problems of the community as reflected in the groups, tensions in groups and tensions within individuals; and most important of all, he helps the worker to understand how he *is* helping the members to meet these problems, how he can be more effective in helping, and what reasons underlie his apparent failure in helping. "Hindsight" frequently seems to be more productive of thought than foresight, and the supervisor helps the worker to develop foresight through careful analysis of each group meeting, personal interview, home visit, and casual contact with members and their families — gleaning out of past experiences learnings to use in future ones. The focus of the conference is upon the worker's role in all these situations. What did he do? How did he do it? Why did he do it? What is the worker's evaluation of what and how he did it, in light of what he knows about the situation itself, the dynamics of group interaction, and his understanding of human behavior? The supervisor helps the worker to keep this focus; he helps the worker to see all the factors; he supplements the knowledge of the worker when needed; he stimulates him to think through situations which the worker has failed to notice; but *it is the worker who does the evaluation*, guided by the supervisor. In the supervisory conference the worker formulates *his* plan and when he leaves he takes with him the responsibility for executing it. The supervisor has helped him, but has done neither the analyzing nor the planning for him. This analyzing and planning brings the worker face to face with himself. He has occasion to be satisfied or dissatisfied with what he himself has found as he has looked at his own work through the analytical process with the supervisor. As he tries to find why he succeeded or failed, he faces the necessity of having a deeper understanding of himself and his own motivations. The basis of the conference is the process record of the group meeting; in this he has described the interacting process of the group, including his own part in the activity. He is amazed that he could record events and reactions of which he was a part and have so little real awareness of their meaning until he came to analyze them with his supervisor. He now recognizes cues which he missed; he is now able to see how, if he had been more active at one point in the meeting, he could have influenced the group process in such a way that an unfortunate fight between two of the members might not have occurred; he suddenly realizes that it was his own interest which made the members decide on certain program content. The record may not be an accurate description of what happened in the group,

but it is a *real* description of what he saw, heard, and thought in the group situation. This is the reality with which the supervisor must deal. It is a fairly simple task to teach a worker *what* to do in advising a group. The difficult part of the supervisory process is to help a worker learn *when* to do *what*, and *how* to do it. The worker acts in response to his analysis of the situation at the time it occurs in the group's meeting. He records the situation and his response to it. The skill of the social group worker must become automatic; it must be part of his very nature and being. He must become so understanding that he reacts quickly to each situation in such a way that the members are helped and the group-as-a-whole achieves its objectives.

Record writing makes it unnecessary for the supervisor to observe the worker with the group. Observation by the supervisor is a poor substitute for record writing by the worker, and there is considerable question as to its value under any circumstances. The group relationship is a delicate one. No new member enters a group without affecting the group itself. It is therefore impossible for anyone outside the group to observe the role of the worker and the relationships between the members in the group, for the very presence of a visitor affects the interaction of the group and makes the relationships and hence the role of the worker different from what they would be if the visitor were not present. The supervisor can get a general impression of the group by observing, but this he already has through his other relationships with the group in the agency. If the supervisor uses observation as a tool, he is thereby taking some of the responsibility for the group from the worker who, by virtue of the supervisor's participation to this extent, has less ultimate responsibility to the group than he has when he knows that whatever happens in the group is his responsibility and his alone. When the worker knows that the record is the only channel through which the supervisor learns what is happening within the group, he feels a greater responsibility for recording all significant events of the group meeting. He also feels that the supervisor has confidence in his ability to handle the situation by himself and will under no circumstances interfere with his methods of work as he is carrying them out. The worker knows that he may make mistakes and that his supervisor will help him to rectify them later, but that at the time of the group meeting he must meet the situations and handle them as adequately as he can. The supervisor who feels that it is necessary to supplement the record with observational visits to the clubs is indicating that he is unable to relinquish the necessary authority which accompanies the delegation of responsibility. This element entering into the supervisory relationship tends to relegate the worker to the infantile level and impede his progress. The worker needs to understand that the

responsibility for working with groups has been delegated to him and that the supervisor is not available for help within the group itself. Frequently the members of a group will invite other staff members to be guests at a party or a special event. When the supervisor is thus invited he attends as a staff member and not in the role of supervisor. It is not necessary for the supervisor to know personally all the individuals whom he is helping the worker to understand. The supervisor's responsibility is to help the worker use his own knowledge of the members and to develop understanding on the basis of that knowledge.

The following excerpt from a supervisory record illustrates how a supervisor can help a worker use her knowledge about an individual to develop understanding both of the member and of herself.

...*Record.* Miss W. said she'd like to have some help in understanding Sylvia Miller, a child who seems to elude her completely. She can't separate her from Louise with whom she forms a pair. I suggested that she begin by telling me what she already knows about Sylvia. Miss W. said, "That's just it — I don't really know anything." I said, "Well, suppose you begin by trying to describe her. What does she look like?" "She's so homely, so homely that she fascinates me," she replied. I inquired, "What about her makes you think she's homely?" There was a "She just is"; and then, after a pause, a description of Sylvia as being very black (the darkest skinned girl in the group) and a statement that Miss W. had read material about the importance of skin coloring as a status factor in Negro groups but that she hasn't been aware of this factor in the club. She further described Sylvia as a girl who is just beginning to develop secondary sex characteristics, who has wide protruding lips, pigtails that stick straight out, and who dresses fairly neatly according to the group's standards but not according to Miss W.'s standards. I asked a series of other questions about age, height, weight, grade, the answers to which indicated that Sylvia was average in relation to the rest of the group. I commented, "You do know what she looks like. What else do you know about her?" "What are her relationships with the other members?" Miss W. generalized, "The kids seem to like her." I asked how this was shown. She said there were a number of evidences, such as, "The kids don't hit her as they do certain other members ... She's one of the first girls with whom the others share food or supplies ... She's suggested for committees ... She's chosen early for team games." I asked about Sylvia's relationship with Miss W. Miss W. said, "That's part of the trouble — she eludes me — she never speaks directly to me except to say, 'No, miss,' or 'Yes, miss,' to my direct questions." When I asked if she had any explanation for this lack of relationship, she thought it would be natural for Sylvia to connect her with schoolteachers, parents, or other symbols of authority.... Miss W. said that this described Sylvia but that she still did not feel she knew enough about her.

I asked how Sylvia behaved in meetings. She said, "She just roams around." I asked if she could be more specific. She said that Sylvia follows Louise around, that the two are always together. When I asked about the basis of this friendship, Miss W. said the two girls live next door to each other and are on the same social level. I asked Miss W. to tell me more about Sylvia's relationship with Louise. She said that it was usually friendly but that sometimes Louise slapped Sylvia down. I asked how Sylvia reacted to this. She said that while Sylvia doesn't return the slaps, she holds her own. . . . I asked how else Sylvia behaves in meetings. Miss W. said that she looks out of the window a good bit during business meetings and doesn't participate in discussions. She talks only to Louise. I asked if the other members talk to her and she said that they do. I asked how Sylvia gets along in activities, such as games. Miss W. said that she participates well and has skill that is at least average for the group, she is co-operative, fits in well, doesn't get into fights or arguments, and is not shy or backward at all. I asked what mannerisms or habits Sylvia had that were noticeable. Miss W. couldn't think of any. I asked a series of questions such as, "What does she do with her hands? Does she chew gum? How does she use her facial muscles? What about her co-ordination? . . ." Miss W. said she had not noticed anything particular about any of these reactions and that Sylvia was graceful and had good co-ordination as indicated by her skill in games. . . . I said that Miss W. was beginning to assemble considerable information about Sylvia. She commented that it was interesting to see how all these details began to add up. I asked what they were adding up to, and Miss W. said that Sylvia seemed to be a pretty well adjusted girl. I agreed with her and asked what, then, was her concern about her. Miss W. said she guessed she was concerned because Sylvia gave no evidence of accepting her as the group adviser.

In this record we see how the supervisor led the worker to analyze a situation very thoroughly and thereby discover for herself the source of her difficulty — which in this case lay not in the member but in the feelings of the worker who craved acceptance from the member and was baffled at not receiving it.

Learning the skill of the social group worker is a long, slow process, and the experience of actual practice under the supervision of one who has acquired this skill is essential to every worker who would himself possess it. The process is slow because it is a skill which can be acquired only in action, through the application of knowledge and understanding. It is through practice that the worker makes his knowledge a tool and translates his understanding into the conscious use of self. It is possible for a person to have a great deal of knowledge and to possess real understanding of the motivation of the behavior of those with whom he is working, and still not be able to use himself in such a way that he is helpful to individuals and

groups. When a worker has knowledge and understanding "in his muscles," he is then able to fulfill the role of the social group worker. This state of being he achieves through the weekly conferences with his supervisor, under whose guidance he incorporates within himself the attendant learnings of his failures and successes.

The supervisor, then, stimulates the worker to evaluate his role as the adviser of groups through analysis of the group situations with which he is dealing and of the meaning of the behavior of those with whom he is working. The supervisor helps the worker to relate what he already knows to given situations and people. He makes additional information available when it is needed. He helps the worker to work out his own answers to his own problems of advising groups. The supervisor is not responsible for telling the worker what to do. He is responsible for helping the worker to discover for himself what to do and how to do it.

The supervisor, as the link between the worker and the program resources of the agency, informs him about the agency's procedures for the use of expendable supplies and permanent equipment. If the groups are interested in program content with which the worker is not familiar, the supervisor may teach him the elementary principles of the area of content. He makes materials and other resources available to the worker who is preparing to use media with which he is not familiar. He encourages the worker to join a training course in this area of program content, if such a course is available. And he helps the worker to use community resources through the channels established by the agency.

Supervisory conferences are held regularly. They are part of the routine of agency practice and they should not be left to occasional scheduling. Nor should supervisory conferences be connected with emergencies or "situations." The supervisor who leaves the conference time to the request of the worker is failing to use supervision as an integral part of the service of the agency to the community. The supervisory conference is not something extra which the agency is providing for the workers; it is as important a part of the worker's schedule as the meeting time of the groups he is serving, and should be scheduled in similar fashion. This is as important with volunteers and part-time workers as with full-time staff workers and students. The volunteer must understand from the beginning that his service to the agency involves the time in the group meeting, the time in the supervisory conference, and time for preparing the program and for record writing. In the case of the paid part-time worker, each of these duties should be scheduled within the hours for which he is paid. If the worker is a full-time employee, his job assignment should be made on the basis of the time involved, including supervisory conferences, record writing, reading, and other preparation.

The supervisor keeps process records of supervisory conferences. He is dependent upon these records for help in evaluating the supervisory process. Through careful recording of his conferences he is able to supervise himself, so to speak. The self-analysis which occurs in writing records and reliving the experience of the conference reveals to the supervisor his own strengths and weaknesses. Thus process recording of supervisory conferences gives the supervisor the benefit of "hindsight" and helps him plan for the conferences to follow. Few supervisors have consultants to whom they can turn for support and advice. Most supervisors must be professionally secure enough to carry ultimate responsibility, to evaluate their own work, and to develop their own methods of professional growth and development.

The Group Supervisory Conference ✓

The supervisor of social group workers is an expert in helping individuals within the group setting. He therefore has a skill which is very valuable in the supervisory process; namely, the use of the group conference as supplementary to the individual conference. This is valuable not only as a time-saver but — even more important — because there is much content which is taught more effectively and learned more easily in a group made up of five to ten individuals than in a conference of two. The group conference should be called at the discretion of the supervisor rather than regularly scheduled. The conferences are not too helpful for beginners. The early stages of any relationship are characterized by a testing-out period; at this time there is little to be gained by bringing together the workers whom a supervisor is helping. They are not ready for co-operative endeavor; each is primarily concerned about establishing a relationship with the supervisor, and should not be put in positions of having to share before he has had a chance to feel professionally related to the supervisor on an individual basis. The supervisor calls the conference when, in his judgment, the workers are ready to benefit from such an experience. The supervisor may recognize that the workers need the support of a group; he may feel that the workers need to be placed in an actual situation where sharing the supervisor is necessary; he may wish to help them meet a common need for knowledge; he may feel that a discussion of the skill required to meet some situations typical of all groups will be more beneficial than individual discussions; he may feel that he needs to have the opportunity of observing the workers in a group situation in order better to understand them.

For whatever reason the supervisor uses the group conference, he uses it purposefully; it is not an occasion for "telling how I did it" or for sharing troubles. The conference must have structure and movement toward a known purpose, and the supervisor gives it these aspects through use of the

discussion method. In the beginning, the subject for discussion and the material used in preparation will be determined by the supervisor. Later on, as the workers become accustomed to the method, they will make suggestions, and considerably later they may take over the leadership role in the discussion. Supervisors need to be aware of certain uses which people make of groups. It is always well to remember that groups offer excellent avenues of escape from anything which may be impinging upon the personal self. Since workers developing skill in the use of themselves may find it very painful to face some of the things revealed in the intimacy of the individual interview with the supervisor, they may seek to avoid this pain through requests for frequent group conferences. The supervisor must also remember that he is not using the conferences to teach the workers how to lead a discussion. That need should be met elsewhere in their agency assignments. The group conference is used because it is a good vehicle for teaching content which these workers need *as members of the group*. One of the temptations in this process is to try to do everything at once. That is the most trenchant criticism which can be made of the project method of teaching, but it is not necessarily valid if the supervisor has the professional discipline and sense of direction to limit the purposes for which the project is used. The group conference is valuable because it gives workers the opportunity to grapple together with *some* of their common problems. In this process the leadership role should be in the hands of the supervisor, and it is not undemocratic to keep it there.

In the conference the supervisor presents the subject for discussion as concisely and clearly as possible. He then asks a provocative question which serves as a point of departure for group participation. As the discussion proceeds, the supervisor adds information when it is apparent that no member of the group is able to do so, clears up misconceptions, and inserts questions when further stimulation seems necessary. He notices who contributes to the discussion, and he enters in occasionally for the purpose of encouraging a worker who seems to find it difficult to make his contribution and again to discourage an overly aggressive participant. If the conference lasts for an hour and a half or two hours, the supervisor makes summaries at various points in order to clarify what has been said and indicate the direction in which the discussion is going. At the end of the period, the supervisor summarizes the whole discussion, adds any pertinent material which he thinks necessary, and points up areas for further study and discussion.

Whether the discussion is about new learning or the development of skill in working with groups, the workers are made aware of each other's problems and get a new perspective on their own. It is said that "misery loves

company," but the group conference must provide more help than the bare feeling that one is not alone with one's difficulties. The supervisor must help the group to develop methods of attack on their problems and make sure that the workers leave the group with some tangible leads as to the next steps. Unless this happens, the experience can become a process through which each person's difficulties are multiplied by the problems of all the other members of the group. Some workers feel greatly supported by the group situations, and hence find it possible in the group to express hostility or points of disagreement which they have not been able to bring out in the individual conference. The supervisor must be aware of such workers, encourage them to express themselves in the group setting if that seems to be beneficial to the group, and also help these workers to express themselves more fully in the individual supervisory conference. Some workers, on the contrary, find it very difficult to express their real feelings in group situations and will participate only through listening and minimal remarks, and the supervisor must follow up by encouraging these workers to express themselves in the individual conferences. The supervisor is aware of each worker in the group as an individual as well as of the group-as-a-whole. He works with the individuals and the group in this situation in exactly the same way as he works with any group. Because he understands how to handle individual relationships within the group setting, he can work in a group setting with all the workers whom he is supervising individually—and can do this without endangering his relationships with anyone of them. By the way in which he handles the group-as-a-whole, he helps (within the group situation) those who find it difficult to share him. He individualizes *at the same time* that he has his first attention upon the movement of the group-as-a-whole. This experience, coupled with the individual supervisory conference, is one of the most helpful ones a worker has, as he struggles with his problem of sharing. The security and satisfactions derived from creative group experiences offer him acceptable substitutes for the former ways in which he handled his feelings, and the supervisor helps him to use the group experience as an active support in his personal-professional growth and development.

DIFFERENTIAL USE OF SUPERVISION

Every worker who serves an agency has a right to expect helpful administrative supervision and as much educative supervision as he is capable of taking. Acceptance of administrative supervision is a minimum requirement of everyone who accepts responsibility in any enterprise involving co-operative endeavor; acceptance of educative supervision, however,

depends on the worker's desire to learn new and better methods of performing his duties. There is an old saying which has a great deal of meaning in this connection, namely, "You can lead a horse to water but you cannot make him drink." Schedules for supervisory work can be carefully made, adequate files for records purchased and installed, stenographic service provided, and a competent social group worker employed as supervisor, but if the personnel have other reasons for being with the agency than the desire to help individuals and groups to achieve socially desirable goals, their desire to increase their skill in so doing will be minimal, and hence educative supervision cannot take place.

Fortunately there are a great many people who are interested in sharing themselves with other people, and they make valuable contributions to the agencies they serve. They soon recognize that helping other people involves more than skill in games, sports, arts and crafts, or any of the other areas of program content, and they are eager for help in learning how to use their skills in program content in ways that will enable the members to function more adequately in the groups which they are advising. *It is very much more important to distinguish between the types of supervision on the basis of the motivation of the worker than on the mere fact of whether he is paid or not.* A volunteer with adequate educational background and the motivation to use social group work methods with a group can be helped to do an effective piece of work. An employed worker whose main objective is to earn money for some other purpose cannot be helped to function adequately. Volunteers and paid workers who do not have professional education must depend largely upon the supervisor to interpret the meaning of the behavior of members of groups. They lack that professional use of self which is part of the equipment of the professional worker, and hence the supervisor must supplement the work of untrained persons in ways that are not necessary with the professionally educated ones; nevertheless, the untrained workers, volunteer and paid, can do very effective, if limited, work under the direction of a well-qualified social group work supervisor.

There is a difference in emphasis in supervising the untrained workers: the supervisor is *not* helping them to become professional workers; he is helping them to advise their groups as effectively as possible. Two vastly different supervisory aims are expressed in these two statements, and it is necessary for the supervisor to keep the difference constantly in mind. To clarify this point and to demonstrate the use of the principles of supervision discussed in this charter, we present two supervisory records. The first record is that of a supervisor who is a field instructor in a school of social work. Here we see the supervisor teaching the student how to work with a group and helping her to become a professional worker. Throughout we

note an increasing depth to the discussion, as the student increases her knowledge through the classes and reading in which she is engaged concurrently with her field work. Note how much actual teaching of content is revealed in these records. This instruction was possible because the supervisor did not have to teach *all* the content — only that part which was particularly pertinent to the situation at hand.

In contrast to this supervisory experience we present also a record of conferences with an untrained worker whose only source of information and help was the supervisor and the incidental in-service training of agency staff meetings and occasional institutes. Such workers have much to learn, and in this case the supervisor is faced with the problem of developing teaching content that is related to the job to be done and is at the worker's level.

RECORDS OF SUPERVISORY CONFERENCES WITH A FIRST-SEMESTER STUDENT IN A SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Esther Swartz, a first-year student in a School of Social Work, came directly from college to the school at the age of twenty-one. During college she had had some experience as a volunteer club leader and as a camp counselor. Her field instruction assignment in the agency was:

1. *Midget Groups* (ages 7-10). The student worked with two different groups of this age, both of which were disbanded for reasons not closely related to the student.
2. *Game Room* — one period a week. This assignment was begun subsequent to the records given below; hence no reference to this responsibility appears in these records. The assignment provided the student with the opportunity to work with a wide variety of people in a setting different from the organized group.
3. *Phi Alpha Lambda (PAL)* — a natural group of Jewish girls between the ages of 14 and 16. The members now live in various sections of the city, but once they were a neighborhood group in a compact section served by a Settlement in whose groups they were active. The Settlement staff had recognized their need for identification with the Jewish community and had helped the members to go to the Y for their club meetings. The bond of the group is strong; but the interest span is short, and the many personal conflicts in the group make decision-making difficult. There are two members in the group whom the agency is endeavoring to help seek the service of a case work agency.
4. *The Seniors* — a natural group of Jewish girls, 16-18 years of age, all out of school and working. They have lived in the same neighborhood for years. Their club has moved through many changes in structure

and names, and was transferred to the Y because the members became dissatisfied with the interracial policy of the agency with which they had formerly been affiliated. The indigenous leader is somewhat dominant, and the members tend to rely upon her to make important decisions.

During the first week the student participated in the orientation program of the agency. This began with an informal tea where the executive of the agency, the program director, the field instructors, and the students had an opportunity to get acquainted with each other. Afterwards the executive took the students on a tour of a large, well-equipped community center. At this time the students made appointments for conferences during the week with field instructors, were given schedules of events of the week to which they were invited, and were told about the weekly staff meetings in which they would be active participants. Agency registration took place during the second week, and the students helped in a variety of ways, some of them meeting groups which were ready to begin the program year at this time.

Conferences between the student and her field instructor¹ were held weekly. The second conference revealed that during the registration process the student had met the members of one of the groups she was to advise, but that she had not met any group "in session." The content of this conference was focused upon the student's past experience with groups. She said that she had had no supervision and that this experience was a new one for her.

...Record. I asked her if she had ever felt she needed supervision in her work with clubs. She hesitated, then said there were times when she felt she wanted to talk over the club with someone. I asked if she could recall in what areas she felt she needed help. Student again thought for a few seconds and then said that a typical example was when "my girls started discussing their parents."

The supervisor helped the student to clarify her feelings about the situation she was describing. When he asked her how she thought such situations should be handled, she threw up her hands and said she didn't know. The supervisor led her into a consideration of parent-child relationships, particularly focusing on adolescents, and then together they discussed the club which she was to meet the next night and in which there were many indications of parent-child conflicts. At the end of the record of this conference the supervisor comments:

. . . there may be some feeling about her own relationship with her parents which came out in the discussions about her former group.

¹ The function of the field instructor is that of the supervisor. The term as used here indicates his official relationship with a School of Social Work as well as with the agency.

...Record #3. I asked the student how everything was going, and she smiled and said that things were moving along quite smoothly. I said I was happy to hear that and thought we could now try to make it even smoother by working out her agency schedule. She remarked that she thought it would be a big help in planning her weekly time budget. We then worked out a schedule for her. I again explained how the 21 hours were divided, and she understood. In setting up her record-writing time I asked her how long it had taken to write her first records. She figured it took $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours. I said that this was a long time but thought that as she got more experience in record writing it should take her about an hour per record. The student hoped that this would be true. She also asked about her third group. I explained that the junior groups were slow coming in and that she would be assigned her third group as soon as possible. I also thought that the time she would put in on a third group might now be spent in record writing and preparation which was taking her longer than it would as she became more experienced.

I then said that I wanted to go over her records at this conference but wondered if she had anything she wanted to discuss first. The student looked worried at this point, and I asked if she was wondering if she would have to rewrite her records. She said she was worried, and I said that her records did not have to be rewritten but that we would have to go over them quite carefully. She heaved a sigh of relief and immediately took out her notes. As she did so she said there were a couple of things she wanted to discuss first about her group. She needed some information on agency policy where it concerned her group's Halloween party. We discussed the method of getting a party room and also the refreshment policy. I explained why and how the policy on refreshments was set. The policy is that no food can be brought into the agency by a group but must be purchased and served by the restaurant in the agency. We discussed what the clubs lost in planning for program in this area with this policy. I agreed with her that it was a poor policy. She asked if anything had been done about it and I told her of our attempt last year to have it changed by opening discussion with the Board committee. I also explained that the Intermediate and Senior Councils had tried but with no success. The student felt that we might try again this year and I agreed. I asked what she thought she might do. She didn't know and I suggested that she might raise the question in staff meeting and also that if her group had any feelings about the policy they might take it up in the Intermediate Council. She felt pleased that such channels were available and thought it was a democratic structure.

The student then glanced through her notes and asked about the Y policy on raffles. I turned to her group record and showed her that in the recording she had not indicated who brought up the subject, what the reaction of the group was when a fellow member explained the Y policy, or her own feeling about the policy. I added that I suspected she had some

question about it, but pointed out how such material was necessary in the record to help me, and also herself, see the problems she was faced with and the problems the group was faced with. She accepted this and saw the need for such recording. I asked if she had read the material on record writing supplied by the school. She had read it, and I suggested that she now re-read it since it would be more meaningful.

We then went back to the Y policy on raffles. The student thought that this was a valid policy and agreed with its necessity. She wondered, though, how groups in the agency could make any money. I asked her if the girls had made any suggestions. She said that they had not but that she wanted to be prepared for such an eventuality. I told her of the new policy whereby the clubs active in the Council were able to share in the Council dance profits. She asked if there were other methods within the agency and was advised there were not. I asked if she thought this was unfair. She did, and I then told her of plans we had for forming a study committee from the staff and possibly from the councils to work on this problem. I asked if she would be interested in this committee and she replied that she certainly would. I added that this matter would be taken up in a staff meeting in the near future.

I then asked if she had any other points to bring up. She didn't, and suggested we go to the record. I asked her what she thought was involved in her being asked to vote in the group election when a tie resulted in the first balloting. She repeated what she had included in the record: that "it was their group and they should vote for their own members." I asked her what her voting might mean to the group. She felt that maybe it would make the girls feel closer to her. I thought this was true and wondered how "close" a worker gets to the group. She replied that she had never thought about it but could see some negative aspects. I asked what these were. She replied that the girls might consider her as one of them, and I added, "A member?" The student didn't reply but seemed to be thinking hard about this. I then asked what she saw as her role as a worker in a group. She replied that she "could help the girls in their planning." This, I thought, might be the function of a volunteer but more was involved with a group worker in a group. I then discussed the two foci in group work: (1) adjustmental relations between individuals and (2) social goals. I pointed out how the group worker, through the conscious use of self and the understanding of individuals, could affect interpersonal relations and help the group achieve its goals. At this point in the conference I used material from the student's record to make it more meaningful.

I then asked if, in the light of her role as a group worker, she could see what might have happened if she had voted. She replied that she probably would not be able to function in those areas if she were considered a member, rather than a worker, by the group. She added that she had not thought of those things when she refused to vote nor had she thought about interpreting her role to them. I thought this was quite normal at this stage

of her professional growth and assured her that her skills would develop as she went along.

Questions and Comments

1. What learning did the student begin through the discussion of the refreshment policy of the agency? the raffle policy? Discuss the conflict between personal and professional behavior which situations of this nature present to the learner.
2. Do you think the student's notes are an indication of her attitude toward being supervised? Why?
3. Note how the supervisor teaches record writing at the "point of need."

...Record #4. When the student sat down I asked her how the PALS were. She thought they were coming along but added that she did want to discuss a particular problem. She produced some notes she had prepared and consulted them. She then described how the evening before, at the membership dance, Phyllis, the president, had come up to her and asked her if she was bringing a date to the club Halloween party. The student told Phyllis she wasn't sure, and Phyllis remarked that she wasn't going to get a date and wanted to be with the worker. I asked the student what she felt was the problem in this situation. She replied that she could not understand Phyllis's reaction in view of the fact that all the other girls were getting dates, and she herself did not know whether to "bring a date" now or not. She added that she had the date with a student and he would understand if she changed her mind in view of this situation. I asked the student what she knew about Phyllis. Her first reaction was that "I know very little since I am a new worker with the group and the group is new and no records are available." I then turned to her record and read a number of passages that described Phyllis. I suggested from this that we jot down what she knows about Phyllis. We developed a picture of an attractive sixteen-year-old girl with fair status in the group but not one of the leaders. Through the relationship between the two subgroups Phyllis was elected president but was not ready to assume such leadership. The indigenous leader had accepted and adjusted to this fact. I pointed out that we must look at Phyllis as an adolescent with all the behavior characterizing this age-period. I asked the student what she knew about adolescent problems and she reminded me that her readings had not gone that far. I then explained dependence-independence and adjustment in heterosexual relations. When we had drawn up this picture of Phyllis, I asked if now she felt she knew a little more about her. The student leaned back and laughed, remarking, "I didn't realize I had so much in the record about her." I thought this normal and assured her she would develop her ability to partialize information from both records and her own understanding of individuals and thus be able to see each member more clearly. The student said she hoped so.

I suggested that we now go back to the original problem of Phyllis which involved two things: (1) a date for Phyllis, (2) Phyllis's inability to assume the role of president in the group. The student remarked that the whole picture was now more concrete. I suggested we hit number one problem first, and asked the student how she saw it. She thought for a moment and then suggested that Phyllis might be leaning on her for support. I asked if this support was for getting a date or not getting a date. She did not know. I reminded her that there was some ambivalence involved in establishing heterosexual relationships — wanting to be with boys, yet fearing it and not wanting to be with them. She accepted this and said she could remember having such feelings herself. I then asked what the effect would be, assuming that Phyllis was regressing in attempting to identify with a dateless worker, if the worker supported her in the regression. The student said that such support certainly would not help her at this point, but by talking it through with Phyllis she could help her make the move to get a date. I agreed with her, and her smile seemed to indicate that she felt she had worked a problem through.

The student suddenly asked, "But how do I work with her in the area of her being the president?" She added that by working with Phyllis she "would be unable to work with the group." I asked just what she meant. She replied that it would not be helping the group if she worked with an individual. At this point I thought we might chart the group on paper so that we could see just what was involved in her feeling about not helping the group. With her suggestions, we charted the group, placing the worker in the chart also. I asked her what was happening to the group in achieving its goals if one individual was retarding the group. The student looked at the chart and then agreed that it would block the group. I then asked what she might do to help this member assume the role of president in view of the indigenous leader's acceptance of Phyllis as president and of the total group's decision to make her president. She thought she might work with the member in helping her prepare the agenda, appoint committees, and handle the club meeting. I thought that was true and explained that in doing these things she was giving the member support but would have to be sensitive enough to know when to withdraw and when to step in. I spoke of "conscious use of self." She agreed. I asked if this could be done outside of club meeting also. She didn't know, but thought there might be nothing wrong with asking Phyllis to come up about half an hour before the club meeting and going over the meeting plans with her. She said that she could certainly do this if the member wanted to. I asked if she would be helping the group by helping an individual in this situation. She could now see that she would be doing so. To conclude this part of the conference I suggested that she be careful not to forget that there were other individuals making up the group and that concentrating all effort on one individual might have a bad effect on the group. The student said she could see this because of the lines of relationship on the chart.

I asked if there were anything else about this group she wanted to discuss. She didn't have anything else and I brought up the problem of the food policy. She said, "Oh, yes, I had forgotten about that." I told her how the members had stormed into the Y restaurant and antagonized the owner, and wondered about the interpretation she had given the group. She said she didn't think she had done a good job of interpretation and may have identified with the members too much. I thought this might be true and wondered why she had not included more discussion of the incident in the record. She didn't know. I wondered what she might do about it now. She said she had not gone down with the members to discuss the problem with Mr. W. and thought she might go down alone to see him and get the story. I agreed and wondered what she was going to do about the group. She said she could interpret again to them by explaining the channels for working out the problem and pointing out that antagonizing Mr. W. would not help the situation. I thought this a good plan and explained that children needed help in such areas and expected it. She accepted this and said she would work on it.

Questions and Comments

1. Note in the discussion of Phyllis's problem that the student reminds the supervisor that "her readings have not gone that far." Do you think the student really knew as little about adolescents' problems as this response indicates? In what other way could the supervisor have handled this point?
2. Trace the steps in this record by which the supervisor helped the student to answer her own question about Phyllis and the dance.
3. Discuss the problem of working with individuals and the group-as-a-whole which the student faces in this group.
4. What evidence do you see in this record of the student's intellectual acceptance of agency policy but of her failure to accept it emotionally?

...Record #5. The student opened her notebook in which she had a few things listed. I asked her how her schedule was working out and she seemed to think it was going to be all right. She felt that she was not putting enough time on her club preparation and I asked her why. She said that up to this time she did not know how to prepare. I asked her if she felt now that she knew how. She nodded and said that a lot of the material we took up in the conference gave her leads on what to prepare and she had been doing more now than when she first started. She added that she found the preparation very useful, even though the group might want to discuss or work on other things. I told her that this often happened but she had to expect that in working with groups.

I then asked her what she felt was bothering her about the group of older girls. She said she had a vague feeling of not being able to work with them but was unable to pin it down to anything specific. I asked if she had ever led a senior group and she said that she hadn't. I then asked if she felt

more insecure with a senior group because the members were closer to her age than the intermediates or juniors. She didn't think this was the trouble. I then suggested that we turn to her last record of this group to get a general picture of what had happened. I leafed through the record and pointed out certain areas which I had felt were causing her some difficulty. It seemed that in all these areas she had mentioned Rose, who was the indigenous leader. The student looked surprised and said that she hadn't realized that. I wondered whether she was having some difficulty in working with Rose. She thought this was true and suggested that perhaps the reason she hadn't been able to work with this group was because of her inability to work with the indigenous leader.

I then suggested that we write down everything that she knew about Rose. She felt she knew very little, but by questioning her I was able to get her to see more about Rose, and we finished with a list of fourteen different things which she knew about this member. From this picture it was very evident that Rose was using the group for her personal need and that this need to dominate was not allowing the total group to participate in all the activities. I asked the student if she really liked Rose and she replied that she thought she liked Rose, but she didn't particularly like people who tried to dominate. I then questioned just how much she really liked Rose if Rose was a dominating individual. The student felt this might have some effect on her work with Rose but she wasn't quite sure. I told her that it was normal to dislike and to like, but that as a professional worker she had to look at the total individual instead of making one area of the individual's personality give us the total picture. I then asked about Rose's other personal traits, such as her ability to relate to boys, her ability to relate to other people in general, the warmth and loyalty of her relations with her fellow members. The student said that she realized that Rose wasn't a totally inadequate person, but that her domination in one area seemed to be causing some difficulty in the group. I then asked whether the student felt, in view of this difficulty, that the individual should be rejected totally. She thought about this very carefully and said she hadn't thought about partializing an individual's difficulty, but she could see that Rose was a "pretty nice girl" in other areas. I thought this was certainly true and that as a worker she had to see and understand this in individuals; since we now could see Rose as a total individual having difficulty in one particular area, did it not change the student's picture of her somewhat? She felt that it did, and I asked her in what way. She replied that she thought she could accept Rose as a total individual, but would still have difficulty in accepting the one behavior pattern — namely, domination. I suggested that this was also probably true of Rose's girl friends in the group, who really liked her and were quite loyal to her but who occasionally revolted against her dominance. The student thought this was probably quite true; in fact, she had observed this behavior in the group — and she related an incident wherein another member had suddenly lashed out at Rose.

I asked if she had thought of ways of working with Rose, and she replied that she hadn't because she had not recognized that Rose was the cause of her difficulty in working with the group. I then asked how she was planning to work with her. She said that she had a good relationship with Rose and that she could perhaps help Rose see that she didn't need to dominate the group in order to get them to like her. I asked how she was going to do this. She thought carefully and then said that she could help the other members express themselves in the group and also give Rose support whenever possible by pointing out that the girls were not rejecting her but that they also needed to plan and take responsibility. The student then related how she might have had opportunities to do this during the last few meetings because of certain situations that had arisen, but she felt now that she would be able to see the situation more clearly and would try to work out any further plans after observing the group in the light of this new information. I said that we would discuss Rose again at future conferences so that the student would be able to work out her plans.

At this point the student remarked that she wondered if this situation had anything to do with the failure of some of the programs in the group. She said that the group felt they hadn't accomplished much and had complained at the last meeting that people did not want to take responsibility. I then asked if she thought this might result from the failure of the group to participate in the original planning and in the decision-making. Nodding her head very thoughtfully, she said this could certainly be true, that she could see that the rest of the group needed to be involved in the decision-making process.

I then asked her how she helped the group plan program, and further clarified this question by asking how a worker can discover what the group is interested in. She thought probably by the way things are said and by what is said. I asked if she knew of any other means and she didn't. I pointed out that we could judge the interests of a group in three ways: (1) by what the group said, as she had indicated; (2) by use of assumed interests for the particular age-period and type of group; and (3) by observation of the group's behavior. I explained each of these three points. Then I turned to her record and reread certain parts where she had missed picking up on program. She remarked that one of her weaknesses had always been in the program area. I asked what she meant and she said that she had been unable to pick out or observe what the group's interests and needs were and was glad that I had been able to see in her record where she had missed out. She added that this would help her in sharpening her ability to see the needs of the group and to pick up on interest. I then asked how she thought her group might be stimulated once something of interest was introduced. She said by getting them into a discussion of the interest, and I asked how the worker really gets them to discuss. She didn't know. I suggested that by merely asking very pointed questions, and sometimes even making a statement that would create a lot of discussion, she could stimulate the group. I

said that these were very necessary tools that group workers should have and use with their groups. We then went to her record and discovered areas in which a discussion had started, but wherein she had not been able to stimulate the group to follow through and develop their interest. She agreed and said that she was certainly aware of her inability to do this. Again, I told her that skill would come as her experience increased, and I suggested some reading material on the discussion method. I then asked if there was anything else and she said that we had covered all the things that she had planned on bringing up and suggested that next week we discuss her junior group.

...*Supervisor's Evaluation of Conference.* The student came prepared for the conference and seems to be using the period to the best advantage. As I review the earlier part of the conference, it seems to me that I should have covered more of the "how" of preparing for a club meeting. She may have gone away with a vague understanding rather than concrete material. ... All through her records I have noticed that she has not been able to pick up on program interests and will need help in this area. A start was made in today's conference, but will have to be followed through by use of her record material in helping her to develop this skill.

...*Record #6.* ... The student stated that she had another problem she would like to discuss. She explained that in one of her groups there was a member who was having financial difficulty in getting her Y membership card. She wanted to know what the policy in the agency was in such cases. I told her that the Y did have scholarships for individuals who needed them for membership cards and that Mr. K. took care of such matters. She seemed quite pleased that there was such a policy, but added that there was some dissension in the group because of the cost of membership cards. I then asked her if she understood how the maintenance and operation of this agency was carried on. She said that she had a vague idea and we discussed the fact that this was a membership agency, what that involved, and the responsibility of the Jewish community. We discussed this very thoroughly so that the student would have a good background.

I then asked her how she was going to use this information in handling the problem of the individual who might be having difficulty in paying for her membership card. She hesitated and it seemed to me that she hadn't thought about this at all. I asked if she didn't think this might be a touchy subject to discuss with an individual and that some preparation should be done. She quickly agreed, but added that she hadn't thought specifically yet about attacking the problem of working with this individual. I asked if she wanted to discuss it now or wait and do it at a future conference. She thought it best to do it now since the agency was in the process of checking on club membership rosters and would be contacting each of the leaders about those members who were not paid up or did not have membership

cards. I thought this was a good idea and then asked again what she might do with this individual. The student thought that she first should be sure that the girl in question could not afford to pay for a card. I asked her how she could do this. She said that one way would be to re-examine her records in order to discover who this individual really was. She added that she remembered occasions when the girl had asked to borrow clothing from other members of the club, when they were going to some affair. She went on to say that she can feel free to talk with the member, since the latter had mentioned in the group her inability to pay. I asked her if she knew that we had membership files and that we had been gathering information about some individuals for the past few years. She said that she had been told about this during the orientation period but had forgotten. She asked where these files were located, and I explained how she could get material from them.

I asked the student what might enter into the discussion of the problem with the individual. She replied that she could find out whether the member really was in financial difficulty or whether she was just lax about paying such fees. I thought this was true but wondered whose responsibility it was to make the decisions on how the card could be paid. She felt that it was the individual's, and I quickly said, "But how do we help the individual to see this?" She thought, first, by exploring areas in which the member might save up money to make the down payment, and then, if that proved impossible, by helping her seek a scholarship without too much feeling about it. I asked why she thought it was best to work out the first plan if possible. She said that if the person actually had to pay for her card, by taking the responsibility for saving her money, it would mean more to her, not only in this situation but in others. I quickly agreed and said I thought that these things would enter into her interview. The student said that she was glad we had discussed this matter because she hadn't realized how unprepared she was to handle such an interview.

...Record #7. A few days before conference time, I mentioned to the student that, since only two members had been coming to her junior group, we would probably have to arrange for her to take a new junior group and move these two members into a group that they were already coming to on Friday. I suggested that we discuss it further at our conference.

When the student came in, I opened the conference by suggesting we talk about the problem of the two members who had been coming to her junior group. She immediately said that she felt they shouldn't be moved and that the group could be built up. I pointed out the necessity of making this change, since we had waited for over four weeks now, and the only two members who had been coming were also members of the Friday afternoon group which was being handled by another student. I asked her if she didn't see the need for us to service a larger group at this time since the two members would be serviced in the other group. She just nodded her head and

did not answer. I tried to point out that the worker in the other group was a student and would be able to work with these two individuals that she seemed to feel needed extra attention. She again shook her head and then weakly said that "these two girls have established a relationship with me and need me." I started to ask her what she saw as her function in working with these two girls and moving them into the new group, since they "needed her." At this point, the student pulled a handkerchief from her pocket, said "Excuse me," and ran from the office.

For a moment I was stunned at this reaction. I decided to wait in the office so that if she wanted to continue the conference she could find me available. While she was out, I reread her record on the two members whom we had been discussing and saw a number of things which pointed to a very great identification with these members. They were both from a very low economic group, both had a very low status around the agency, were very poorly dressed and could be considered amongst a low financial group who are members of the agency. In about twenty minutes the student returned to the office, her eyes red and swollen. As she came in she apologized for "blowing up." I told her that it was perfectly all right, that some of us do have stronger feelings about some situations, and that I felt it was better to get them off our chests than to let them pile up. I asked her if she wanted to continue the conference or call it off until next week since she seemed to be so upset. She thought about it for a moment and then said she would rather continue now. I said that it was entirely up to her, that if she wished, we could continue now.

I then asked her what in this particular situation seemed to be giving her difficulty. She shrugged her shoulders and said, "If it's got to be, it's got to be." I wondered if there wasn't more involved, and suggested that since she wanted to go on with the conference, and it was her choice, we should face some of the issues. She replied that she wasn't quite sure what the issues were but that something in this total situation was bothering her. She then added with a lot of hostility in her voice and mannerisms, "All I ever hear is agency, agency, agency, but are we servicing the agency or servicing individuals?" I asked her whom she thought we were servicing, and she said bitterly, "I'm not quite sure because we talk about function and about moving individuals into groups and we forget the individuals." I asked her if she was referring specifically to the two members we had been discussing, and again with great hostility, she replied, "That's why, these two kids need an awful lot of help and here you are moving them from me." I wondered whether she wasn't looking at this from a personal point of view in working out what she should do with the two individuals. At this point she started to cry again and said, "But they are awfully poor kids and there are so many rich kids around here that don't need the service we give." I agreed with her that these were poor kids and that we were servicing middle-class and upper-middle-class members and wondered whether these people also didn't have needs that ought to be met and

whether we as social workers should not try to program to meet these needs. She said that she thought this was true but she just couldn't get herself to feel that she could service "what you call middle-and upper-middle class." I asked her why she felt she couldn't work with the middle-class membership and she said, "I have a tremendous amount of feeling about people who have everything they need in the way of money, clothes, and so on." I asked her why she felt this way. She said with tears in her eyes, that she had lived in a very poor neighborhood all her life and had seen a tremendous amount of suffering; that she herself came from a very poor family that had always had to struggle for what it wanted; that she herself felt very badly that she could not dress as the members in the agency dressed. She elaborated further her feelings about not being able to have clothes like the members did and felt that this was blocking her ability to work with the middle-class membership since they might have feelings about her not dressing as well as they do. As she was talking now, she seemed to be getting better control of herself and I let her talk bringing out more information about her own neighborhood, her own childhood and her feelings toward the membership. At one point she mentioned that she found it difficult even to converse with people who were in the middle and upper economic strata.

By this time we were starting to run over our conference time. The student seemed to be feeling much better and I wondered if we might not continue this discussion at the next conference and hold off changing the group until we discussed the matter further next week. I asked her what she thought was involved in this total situation as far as she herself was concerned. She said she had recognized that within the past year "this thing" had been bothering her and that it had become intensified since she had come to this agency, I asked her what she meant by "this thing." She said her own feelings about class system and her ability to work with other people who were not in the same class as she. I thought this was true and that we were getting at the basis of her difficulty and hoped that we could work this through. At this point, she said that she hoped so also, that she recognized that it was interfering with her ability to become a professional group worker.

...Supervisor's Evaluation of the Conference. This experience was something totally new to me and caught me completely unawares. I had made no preparation for such an eventuality and had to feel my way along very carefully. I think we really got to the root of the student's difficulty, as I mentioned to her very clearly so that she would know what was to be handled in her next conference. The basic difficulty is her own feeling of class, interfering with her ability to work with all people. I think that she herself has some idea that this would interfere with her performance as a social worker and is now ready to face the problem with me. One of the things that needs to be worked through with her is an understanding of

what is involved in our class system in America. I did mention, at one point toward the end of the conference, the availability of material on this in Warner and Lunt. She also has to see what the reality of the situation is in her acceptance of others. She must be helped to see that all individuals, regardless of class, have needs, and that we work with all people to help them meet these needs. Also, in the more specific situation, she has to be aware of the fact that she herself would be unable at this point to work with the two individuals mentioned earlier in the record because of her identification with them on a personal rather than a professional level; further, that these individuals would in any case receive the help they need since they are already members of another group led by another student. She could thus do a referral within the agency and prepare the other worker to see what is involved in working with these two members.

Viewing the total conference, I feel that it was therapeutic for the student to release her very deep feelings of hostility toward agency and supervisor. I believe that, from this point, we can start building a better understanding of what is involved in one's own feelings after a critical analysis of their validity. I think that the student will be able to move forward in working with people when she sees all the things that are involved and will probably feel much freer in her ability as a group worker and as a social worker.

...Record #8. I asked the student if she would like to go back to the discussion we had last week. She said that she had thought about the problem all week and was quite sure that she saw her own feelings blocking her. I then asked how they were blocking her with the two individuals involved. She said she could see that she was not helping the two individuals by servicing them alone without a group. I asked why this was so, and she said that the girls needed to learn to be with other children and that she was not offering that service by keeping them together and lessening their opportunity to go into another group. I agreed that this was very true and told her I was very glad that she had been able to see this. She smiled and repeated that she had done an awful lot of thinking all week.

At this point, Mr. K., the Program Director, came in to discuss the problem of a dance which one of the student's groups was holding in another agency. We had discussed this during the week with Mr. K. The PAL's had rented a room at the Settlement for a dance; they were not willing to hold a joint dance in our agency because of our policy on fund-raising affairs for younger groups. The student had been unable to limit by helping them see that it was going to cost them more money and they would make less profit. The group, however, had made the decision, and the three of us worked out a plan for the student to give them service at this function. We discussed our relationship with the Settlement and the need for the Settlement to understand that our agency had no financial responsibility even though we were offering staff service. The student felt that this would be a good policy, for by this means she could at least work along with the

girls. This took up most of the conference, and we did not have time to go back to the discussion of the student's problem.

...Record #9. I asked the student for the latest information on the PAL's. She said that everything was coming along all right except that they had started the booster before she was aware of it. She said that she would have to limit this group at the next meeting, since our policy does not permit raffles or boosters. I asked her if she was going to have any difficulty in making this limitation even if it meant that the group could not meet in the building. At this point she leaned back, smiled, and said that for the first time she felt quite confident and able to limit the group, since we had met them halfway. She felt that the group should also take responsibility, and if they were not willing to do so, she would feel very free in discussing their not meeting in the building. I said I was pleased that she saw the situation in this light and felt able to take action, especially since she was having difficulty in limiting individuals.

The student then said that one of the things that was bothering her was her ability to do case work with this group, since so many of the members were coming to her with various problems. I asked if she was really doing case work, and she replied that she was at least seeing them individually. I asked her if she were a case worker. She said, "No." I then asked if this agency was set up to do case work service. Again she saw that it wasn't. Next I asked what she thought she was doing when members came to her individually. She said that it probably wasn't case work, but individual help in a group work setting. I asked her what she saw as the difference between this and case work. She thought for a moment and then said that she wasn't quite sure but that her relationship was a little different than a case worker's and also the length of time of the contact might be different. I then asked what she saw as her function in these individualized conferences. She finally said that the most she could do was to let the members express their difficulties. I asked if it wasn't possible for her to do a little more. She didn't know what more she could do. I added that, as her skill increased, she might be able to help the individual discover what the problem was and then assist him in getting further help with any problem which might be outside the function of our agency. We discussed this, and she said she felt a little easier in knowing her function in this area.

We then went back to her intermediate group record and discussed what was involved in the members' giving wrong ages. I said that I was a little confused about this group as there seemed to be a lot of individuals moving about with very little group feeling. She said she was equally confused and wasn't sure just what was going on in the group. I wondered what she might do to bring the structure of this group to a sharper focus. She said that it might help to know more about the individuals. I thought this was true but asked if it wouldn't be more helpful now to know what the relationships were between the individuals, since we already had individual in-

formation. The student looked a little surprised and said that she hadn't thought about this. I suggested that for her next conference she prepare some material on the subgroupings and also try to discover what the bond may be in the group. We discussed "subgroupings" and "bond" for a short while to make sure she understood. She said again that this lead would be very helpful in working with this group.

...Record #10. I asked the student if there was anything in particular she would like to discuss. She wanted to talk about the older group of girls first; she was wondering about their acceptance of her. I said that I was interested in this point, since I had noticed in reviewing her records that she had not been invited out by the group to their parties, bowling games, or evening snacks after meetings. I asked her what she thought this might mean. She hesitated and then said that she just felt that they didn't accept her. I asked her why, and again she hesitated, finally saying that she didn't know. I then asked her what would be involved in a group's non-acceptance of a leader. She said that maybe the group didn't want a worker, didn't accept adults, or maybe the worker didn't know how to handle the group. I thought these things were all true, but wondered about the worker's feelings about the group. The student sat up in her chair and looked rather amazed. I then said frankly that I wondered just how much she accepted this group. I asked her to compare her acceptance of her three groups and decide which she accepted. She said that she felt she accepted all the groups, but that she didn't accept this older group as much. She quickly added, "I think I like them." I said that there was something she ought to look into a little deeper, since I had the feeling from her records that the difficulty was her feeling toward the group. She leaned back in her chair, looked very thoughtful, and didn't say anything. I gave her a chance to mobilize her thoughts, as I had hit her very squarely with an idea. She then slowly said that I might be right, now that she thought about it. She felt that she was not as warm and close to these girls as she was to the members in her other groups. She pointed out how her relationship with this senior group was not so close as with her other groups. When she finished, I asked what effect this might have on the group. She said that if she didn't accept these girls, they would certainly not accept her because they could feel her non-acceptance. She said also that it would block her ability to help the group to plan program. I agreed and said that this was probably what was happening.

I asked the student why she might not accept the group. She said maybe it was because she was rather close to them in age and had the same interests, such as boys and social affairs. And sometimes she felt that the girls only used the group as a stop-gap on Sunday nights to fill in time and didn't have the wider interests that she had. I asked if there were any other reasons why she might not like the group. When she said that she couldn't think of any, I asked what she thought of their sophistication and the

manner in which they dress. She smiled and said she didn't feel that these factors interfered with this group, and reminded me that she had talked about this a few weeks ago when she had her crying spell. I said that I remembered and had brought it up again to make sure that she explored all areas of her difficulty. She said she felt quite sure this wasn't the difficulty with this particular group. I dropped the point and went back to the age factor. I asked if she could work with a mothers' group or a young adult group. She thought that when she completed her training she would be able to do so. I asked if she would be able to do a job with groups her own age. She said that she probably would. I then asked what would distinguish the worker from the group in such a situation. The student didn't know, and I asked her if her behavior would. She said that it would distinguish her as a worker and added that her interpretation to the group would also help. I agreed with her, and then asked why she felt her age might be one of the factors in this particular case. She said it probably wouldn't; then concluded slowly and thoughtfully that her age differential wasn't a valid reason.

I then asked about the group's lack of the "wider horizons" she had mentioned. She felt that the group at this age should certainly be interested in many things outside of themselves. I asked her what she thought they were interested in at this moment, and she said she wasn't sure, but that it was probably parties, dances, and boys. I asked if this wasn't natural, and she replied that it probably was. I then asked her what she thought was her responsibility in working with the group. She answered that it would be to develop wider interests, and I added "by always remembering the level they are on." She nodded her head in agreement. I asked if she could think of any other reasons why she didn't accept the girls, and she said she couldn't. She then discussed further how this was blocking her from working with the group. I suggested that she think further about this in hope that she can find the area in which she is blocked. She thought this would be helpful but seemed quite downcast. When I asked her why, she said she felt this was rather a serious problem. I thought that it might not be as serious as she thought at this time, since she was able to recognize that she didn't accept the girls, and was willing to work on this particular problem. I also pointed out that she was able to accept her other girls, so the difficulty was not a total one. I suggested that we work together to find the difficulty.

...*Supervisor's Evaluation of the Conference.* It was interesting that the student recognized that she was having difficulty with the senior group, for this was one of the things that I wanted to discuss with her at our conference. At first she was unable to see that their failure to accept her was due to her failure to accept them. However, when she was faced squarely with the problem, she was able to see that it did exist and was willing to face it. I tried to help her focus on the difficulty, although I don't feel that we have

gotten to the point where her blocking exists. This will have to be carried over into future conferences. At the very end of the conference I tried to build up her ego, since she was rather startled and amazed at the material she was faced with in the conference. I think she showed a great deal of strength in being able to face this problem and want to do something about it.

...Record #11. To open the conference, I asked the student about her new Sunday group. She said that only two children had come the first Sunday and so far she felt it was not a group. I asked what her plans were, and she felt that maybe some telephone calls to the parents would help. I agreed and asked her on what basis she would make these calls. She said that it would be as a follow-up to the postcard announcements. I asked what material she might get from these phone calls. She said she didn't understand what she could get, and I asked if she might not find out something from talking with the parents. She said she could probably get some program ideas and I asked if there wasn't something else. She said she didn't know what else there could be. I asked her if she could not receive some indication from the parents of their attitude toward the children and toward such a project as she was going to handle. She leaned back and smiled and said that was probably so. I asked whether it was just probably so or whether we should make a conscious effort to get a feeling tone out of conversations. She said yes, we should, but felt she wasn't skilled enough. I then pointed out in her record on the group a number of places where she had taken feeling tones from the members, and asked why she felt she couldn't take them from adults. She looked surprised and said she hadn't thought about that nor realized she had been doing it with the members. She then said she probably could get feeling tones from adults if she consciously tried. I agreed with her.

She was concerned with a problem in her midget group—the area of limitations. I asked her what in particular concerned her, and she replied that she was not sure just how much we limited. I asked how much she thought she should limit at this point, and she said that the children needed to be limited "when they are going to hurt themselves or each other." I agreed, but then asked, "Suppose the child were to start beating you on the arm? Do we let the child continue that behavior or do we limit him?" She said that if it didn't hurt, we might let the child continue striking the worker. I asked if this kind of situation was "real" for the child. She had to think about this and then said that it probably wasn't, that children didn't go around striking adults. I then asked how she would handle this, and she said by helping children face real situations and not giving them false impressions. I thought this was true.

I then said that we had been discussing behavior which seemed quite aggressive and had she thought about programming. She said she was prepared with very active games, both team and individual, as means to

help the children work out their aggression. I asked her about play acting. She said this was a possibility, and she had thought about it. We discussed program for this group for a little longer.

The student then remarked that in speaking with one of the parents she found a wide difference in the behavior pattern as understood by the parent and by herself. She explained that the parent thought her child was much too quiet and needed to be in a group where she could express herself. The student, however, said that in the group the child was very aggressive and hostile and showed no patterns of withdrawal. We discussed this behavior and finally the student was able to draw three conclusions: (1) that the child may be acting differently in different situations, (2) that the child's behavior may be a projection of the parent's behavior toward the child, (3) that the parent actually may not understand her child. We discussed these possibilities and I think the student was able to see some of the implications of child-parent relations.

We then discussed the PAL's, and I asked if she had prepared the material on the bond of this group and on the individuals. She said that she had and had thereby gained a great deal of information about the group. The points which we were able to work out from her information were: (1) that the members were originally a neighborhood group and had now moved to various parts of the city but still came together; (2) the member with the most severe problem was never a member of the original neighborhood group, (3) the reasons they come to the Y are (a) they are all new at the agency and find more security coming as a group, (b) being a Y member carries a certain amount of status in the Jewish community, (c) there is a need to be identified with a Jewish group. After discussing these points, we were able to see areas of conflict which the student had not seen before. In placing the individual members in their proper context we could see that they would have tremendous difficulty in handling the conflict situations and that the group disorganization was a result of this. This was the first time that either of us had had a clear picture of this group.

...Supervisor's Evaluation of the Conference. The most important part of this conference was in the area of working through and understanding the group which has been causing so much difficulty and which is in a state of disorganization. I believe that both the student and myself have a better understanding of this group and think that she will be able to work much better with them. Also the discussion of the midget group was helpful in that the student was able to see what is involved in limitations. This group is showing a normal amount of hostility and aggression for that age-period and the student had some difficulty in accepting it. The group comes from an upper-middle-class neighborhood and the student will have to be worked with closely so that she will be able to handle her feelings, if they should arise, concerning people from a higher economic class.

...Record #12. I asked the student for the latest news of her intermediate group. This group has been causing the student much difficulty, since there are a number of disturbed members. We have been getting clearings from the Social Service Exchange on the group, and find a number of them and their families known to case work agencies in the county. She said that she had talked with Miss Caplan of the Settlement staff who had promised to send a summary about two girls who were part of a group at the Settlement. She said that the main point that Miss Caplan had brought out was that the girls were unable to adjust to individuals or groups at the Settlement, and it had been suggested that these girls come to the Y since it was a Jewish agency, in hopes that it would mean one less conflict for them in making a group adjustment. The student seemed to feel that all this new information gave her a new slant on the group. I asked in what way, and she said that she now saw the members on a much lower level of organization than she had, and could see how difficult it might be for them to continue together. I thought this was true, and that maybe we had to think in terms of a program level that these girls could meet. She then said that a number of the girls had belonged to "many, many groups both at the Settlement and in their neighborhoods." I asked what she thought this meant, and she said it was probably a pattern of poor adjustment for the girls. I then asked why some people joined many groups. She believed that in many cases they were seeking acceptance, but never felt they were getting the acceptance they needed, and "if it was severe enough" it might be a neurotic pattern. I agreed, and said that she should always work at the deeper meaning of behavior in order to understand the situation better. I asked what her plans were for the PAL's. She said she really didn't know, but felt that perhaps we should keep them together for a while so that we could work with them on this new level. I thought this might be a good idea, and suggested that we continue trying to effect a referral for one of the members who was showing very severe behavior symptoms.

...Record #13. I asked the student if there were any things she wanted to discuss about her groups. She said that she was concerned with one of the members of her midget group, Ruth. She described the behavior of this individual, pointing out such symptoms as extreme egocentricity, inability to share, tendency to display her genitals, constant referral to toilet habits, etc. She finished by saying that even though the child shows all these behavior symptoms, she is "so cute." I then asked what she knew about the child. She was able to point out that the parents are quite old, even though the child is only seven; that the only sister is married; and that the child has no playmates. I asked if she saw any connection between Ruth's behavior and the few facts we had about the family. The student remarked that the child certainly did not have anyone near her own age in the family, and therefore would have difficulty in sharing. I asked if the facts that she showed her genitals, wanted to be the leader in everything, and when

dressing to go home would ask the worker to button her clothes were not also important. She thought a moment, and then said that the child certainly would be able to button her coat at her age but seemed to be asking for the attention of the worker. I agreed, and asked what else the child might be asking for. She said that the child might be looking for acceptance. I agreed, and said that I also thought that the child was looking for the love and acceptance which she might not be getting at home. I then got the student to try to compare the home environment with the group environment to make this more clear for her.

I asked the student if she thought Ruth's play acting was significant because of the type of stories that she wanted to act. She said that it probably was, although she couldn't relate it at the moment. It seemed that Ruth's play acting revolved around being the bad child and wanting to be a male; usually another character in the story would be an unwanted child and the parent in the play acting would be a very hostile and disagreeable person. Since I could not get the student to see the exact relationship, I pointed out that it was possible that from this play acting we were seeing the situation as Ruth saw it and that the parent might be her own mother who was much older than she was and therefore did not have much patience with her; that the bad child was herself, and that the unwanted child in the play might be a projection of her own feelings. The student sat wide-eyed, and I asked her what she thought about it. She said she had realized the play acting was significant but she had not been able to put everything together; now she saw the total picture of Ruth much better.

I asked her what she saw as the needs of this child. She replied that she saw a need for love and acceptance as far as the group worker was concerned and also a need for experiences in sharing. I wondered if she had any ideas of how to work with this. She said that, in view of what we had gone over, she could see that maybe helping the child with her clothes for the time being, to allow her to get the feeling of love and acceptance, might help Ruth to move on to doing these things for herself. We discussed this and the student was able to see what was involved in working with Ruth and also what she could do as the group worker.

...Record #14. Since we had planned to discuss the evaluation for the following week, I suggested that if the student had any important points to bring up she might do it first so that we might devote the rest of the conference to the evaluation form. At her request, we discussed her Sunday afternoon group for a few minutes and then went to the evaluation.

I asked if she had thought on what points she might want to center the summary evaluation conference for the semester. She said that she had done some thinking about this. The first thing she mentioned was "acceptance of group members as individuals." I asked what was involved in acceptance of individuals, and she immediately said that she thought it was the understanding of individuals. I thought this was so and asked what the other points were. She then listed the following:

1. Growth as a professional person
 - (a) Working through one's own feelings
2. Understanding the group work process (at this point she said she certainly had to unlearn a lot of lay attitudes)
3. Program skills
4. Relating school material to her field work
5. Record writing and use of supervision
6. Working in the agency
 - (a) Staff relationships
 - (b) Understanding and accepting the philosophy of the agency

When she had finished this list, I said that I thought that it was a good one and that it seemed to cover things pretty completely. I then wondered if she was interested in knowing the kind of form we used and she said she was. We went over the form so that she would be familiar with it. She took some notes and I said that the form would be on my desk if she wanted to look at it during the week in preparation for the conference. After we discussed some of the points on the form, I asked her if there were any questions about the evaluation. She said there were none, and pointed out that "You certainly have shared the information with me." I asked why she felt this, and she said that she had not realized that the evaluation was something to be shared as I had indicated it to be. I was glad that she recognized this.

...*Supervisor's Evaluation of the Conference.* The important factor that came out in this conference was the feeling the student got concerning evaluations. I believe that she is relaxed and not worried and will thus be able to evaluate herself much better. It is interesting to note that the first two points which she felt should be evaluated are those in which she has had some difficulty. I believe she will be able to do a good job of self-evaluation so that we can better help her in future conferences.

...*Record #15.* I asked the student if she had had time to prepare for the evaluation and she said that she had and pulled out a notebook in which she had a lot of material written. I asked if there was anything special about her groups that she wanted to hit quickly so that we could go right to the evaluation. She said that everything at the moment seemed all right, and whatever she had could wait until next week. I wondered where we ought to start and suggested using the outline I had shown her last week. This seemed satisfactory, so we went into the various points in the outline. I wondered what she thought about understanding the individual and whether she had moved or not moved in that area. She glanced at her notes and then said that she had really been getting a good understanding of individuals and especially of herself but that she had been slow in using the understanding. She then expanded the point by examples where she could have used herself and the understanding in her groups. I thought

that her analysis of this section was good but wondered about her understanding and asked her to elaborate a little more. She remarked that when she came she had a number of blocks in accepting the agency and the clientele and certain individuals in her groups. She felt that we had worked some of these through, especially in the area of serving the middle-class clientele and the acceptance of a Jewish agency. She said that these blocks, up to the time we had discussed them in conference, had been very serious, but she felt now that she was able to be a little more effective even though she was still in the process of looking at her attitudes.

I asked what she thought was involved in her failure to use herself effectively in her groups. She said that the difficulty seemed to be in her inability to use the knowledge of behavior patterns and understand the individuals she was working with. I asked about her inability to partialize behavior, and she immediately said that was what she was referring to. She added that she had a tendency to reject the total person instead of trying to partialize the difficulty. I asked her if she felt this was one of the areas that we might work on next semester. She said that it definitely was, that she was consciously going to try to overcome this difficulty. Another area in which she felt weak was in conflict situations, she said. She expanded this, and I thought that we might also watch that area in the records and help her in it.

We then considered the understanding of the group work process. She immediately checked her notes and said that here again she was getting classroom understanding but was just beginning to see the decision-making process at work, and the subgroupings and their effect on the total group. I asked her to compare her understanding in September with the understanding that she has now. She felt that she had moved, but again not enough to use herself consciously in the groups.

I asked what she thought about her movement in planning program. She wasn't sure how she had done in this area. I felt that her program skills had increased since September but that she needed help in discovering interests of her group members. I felt that this was one of her weak points in leadership, but that she had tried to develop the interests she had discovered and that her skills were good. She then went back to her difficulty in introducing program to the groups and picking up program interests. We talked about this, and she was able to see that she was having real difficulty, especially with the PAL's. I agreed that this was a very bad area, since the PAL's had been in to see me about it, and I suggested that we set aside our next conference to talk about it. I wondered what she felt would be the general evaluation in this area. She thought that she was not too adequate in picking up interests and introducing activities with her older groups, but that she did a little better with her younger groups. She felt that this was tied up with her own feelings of inadequacy and recommended that we explore this difficulty next semester.

We went on to her use of field instruction. She again checked her notes

and started evaluating herself. She felt that her ability to talk about her problems and her feelings had been invaluable. She had had quite a little anxiety about field instructors when she first came, but thought that I had done a good job in making her feel secure enough so that she could get help in the conferences. I felt that she had been able to share the conferences and had moved a great deal in her use of the field instruction; I told her that I didn't feel at all concerned about her in this area. I wondered, however, about her ability to take negatives as well as positives. She laughed and said that she had also wondered about this as she thought through the conferences this year. She felt that sometimes I supported her too much, and she believed she could take more negatives which she knew appeared in her work. I thought that this may have been true, since she needed much support earlier in the semester, but agreed that we could really dig down this next semester and look at her total work so that she could move professionally.

I asked about her record writing and she again checked her notes. She said that she had learned to limit her time and fit into the time schedule. She said that there was a little hostility when we had set up the time schedules for the students, but she felt they had been valuable in helping her see where she could make the best use of her time. I felt that I need have no concern about her in this area.

We then discussed her function as an agency representative. I wondered how she was feeling about her identification with the agency. She laughed and said, "You are probably referring to my earlier difficulty." I said that was what was going through my mind. She felt that she had moved more in this area than in any other. I asked her why, and she stated that ever since our discussion about middle-class clientele and "Jewish" agencies she felt much more relaxed and was now really able to see the needs that were being met by the agency. She discussed how her attitude of resistance had now changed to one of impartial examination of what the agency was doing. Here again I agreed with her that she had moved, but added that we wanted to help her to move even further so that she could finally work out a philosophy for herself.

Next we discussed her relationship with other members of the staff and her ability to fit into office and agency routines. Between us, we concluded that there was no particular problem here.

I wondered now how she felt about her total professional growth since September. I suggested that we picture her as she was when she came to the school, so that we could get a better perspective of her total professional growth. She discussed some of the lay attitudes and concepts she had had of group work. She then said that "the value of group work goes back to my own needs and I have been able also to recognize the limitations of group work itself." I asked what she meant by this, and she said that she had come into group work to satisfy a lot of personal needs; now, however, she was beginning to see that she needed a firmer basis if she was to do a

good job; that if she was just satisfying her own needs she would not be able to go on. She was also able to see that group work couldn't solve all the problems in the world, and was beginning to see how she could best use it to serve others.

Finally we went back over our notes in order to review the conference and get an idea of where she stood and what help she needed next semester.

...*Supervisor's Evaluation of the Conference.* The most surprising thing about this conference was the fact that the student felt completely at ease and shared more than at any other conference up to this time. She had prepared well and had done a very fine job of self-evaluation, which I don't think she could have done three or four months ago. Her ability to see negatives in herself, as well as positives, is a real growth. I think that next semester I will be able to discuss more negatives with her so that she can move right ahead and overcome many of her difficulties.

RECORDS OF SUPERVISORY CONFERENCES WITH A WORKER JUST OUT OF COLLEGE ON HER FIRST JOB

Beatrice Gilford, a college graduate with a major in sociology and a minor in psychology, came directly from college to the agency (a Settlement) at the age of twenty-one. During college she had had experience in summer camps as a sports counselor for three seasons. She was a full-time employee of the agency. While her schedule included a variety of responsibilities, we shall present only those parts of the supervisory conferences which deal with her work with the Tiny Tots (aged four to six, meeting four afternoons a week) and the play periods in the gymnasium (one group of girls eight to twelve, and another from thirteen up).

...*Record #1.* When the supervisor arrived, Miss Gilford was reading the record which the previous worker had written of the Tiny Tots. She said she was trying to get ideas of what to do with children this age and that she had visited a kindergarten that morning but she could not use what she saw because the Settlement had so little equipment. The supervisor asked her if she felt that she had gotten any value out of her visit. The worker replied that she thought the way they handled the children was helpful, getting them into a circle for explanations and story telling. She added that she knew so little about activities for children this age that it would take her a long time to prepare for each meeting. She then held up the records she had been reading and asked if she too was supposed to write all about what the children did. *S* asked if she thought writing a record like that would help her in working with the Tiny Tots. *W* said she wouldn't know what to write. *S* asked if she thought that trying to write such records and discussing them in conference would help her. After more discussion of what the content of the

record should be, *S* took this opportunity to review with *W* what was expected of her in relation to the groups to which she had been assigned: (1) meeting with group, (2) program preparation, (3) record writing, and (4) supervisory conference. In the light of these responsibilities, *S* helped her make out a schedule for use of her time.

S commented that *W* would meet with the gym groups tonight and wondered what plans she had made. *W* said that she had planned some games and thought she would ask them what they wanted to do and play the games they suggested. She felt she knew more games for the older group and asked *S* for suggestions for the younger one. She had gotten a book on tumbling stunts which she thought they might like to try. *S* asked her how she planned to start. She thought somersaults would be a good beginning. Then she would have them sit down and talk over what they wanted to do. *S* commented that it was important to allow them a part in the planning but that while they were playing *W* should be well in control of the situation. . . .

Questions

1. What strengths do you see in the new worker?
2. How could *S* have helped *W* to explore further the meaning of supervision?

...Record #2. . . . *W* asked *S* what she thought of the record she had written. *S* said she thought the program sounded interesting, but that there was little about the children. *W* wondered if she should have written a summary about each child. *S* said that wasn't necessary unless there was something important about each child to write. To bring out her point, *S* asked what about Henry when he spilled the paint. *W* then described the incident and wondered if she had done the right thing. *S* asked if *W* thought she had helped Henry, and *W* said she didn't know. *S* asked if she were angry when Henry spilled the paint. *W* didn't answer this, but said that he started to cry and it made her feel as if she had to do something right away. *S* asked if she thought that Henry felt that she didn't like him when she took him out of the room to play by himself, and *W* said he soon returned and kept himself busy bringing the blocks one by one back into the room with the other children. *S* asked what she did, and *W* said she invited him to return to the table with the other children. When asked if she thought this helped Henry, *W* said that she hadn't thought about it before but she supposed that he felt that she liked him.

S asked if she had written records about the gym groups. She said she had made a few notes but didn't know how to write them up — she couldn't remember the names of the girls, and anyway they didn't want to do anything. The older girls were terrible, she continued; they were rough and didn't want to do anything but play football. *S* asked just what did happen. Then followed a vivid description of a chaotic session that had left *W* feeling utterly discouraged with the older group. *S* wondered if *W* had any idea why these girls acted as they did. *W* said they were "bullies," that's what they were.

S asked her to describe such behavior, and *W* told how two of them would get the ball and keep it from the others, playing so roughly that it was really dangerous. She had never gone in for sissy games herself, but she had never seen anyone play so rough. *S* wondered if their way of playing was really physically dangerous or whether it just seemed so to her because it was different from the way she would play. *W* said her experience had been in school and in her own play, and it was difficult for her to grasp this new situation which wasn't school, although the girls looked on her as a teacher. She said she supposed it bothered her not to have them do what she had planned because she felt she was expected to make out a program and follow it. *S* said that it was often necessary to do something different from what had been planned; that was part of social group work. *W* said because this group was called "gym" she had thought she was supposed to have a more definite program than with her club groups. *S* suggested that she might like to talk further about this in order to see how she could help these girls. She responded that she had hesitated about taking the job because she knew she was not a specialist, but she had been told that the same standards would not be applied to her as to a professional worker. But now that she was working side by side with professional workers she felt she should be able to do something that would "show." *S* assured her that her work would not be evaluated against the standards of a professional worker; that the agency's expectation of her was that she would do the best she could with the knowledge and background she had and the help she could get from supervisory conferences. *S* suggested that she think about some objectives in working with this group of girls and they discuss at a later conference how she might achieve them....

Questions

1. What problem does *S* face in choice of teaching content in this conference?
2. What former attitudes of *W* does this new experience challenge?

...Record #3. . . . *W* brought up the question of records, saying that she heard other staff members talk about putting things about individual children into records, but when she came to writing them she couldn't find anything important to put in. *S* mentioned one spot in the record where she had said, "It was suggested we play ball." *S* said she wondered who made the suggestion. *W* said she had, to which *S* responded that that was important to put down, for it showed that the group was ready to accept a suggestion from *W* and use it. *S* continued, "Don't be afraid to put yourself into the record. You are in the group, and what you do influences the group." *W* said sometimes she thought of things like that, but hesitated to put them down for it seemed "funny" to fill a record with "I's." *S* suggested that she might prefer to use the impersonal "W," saying that many workers preferred this. *W* seemed to like this suggestion. *S* said that it might help her if she endeavored to write something about every member in the group and when she

finished writing her record to check to see whom she had omitted and to think of some of the reasons for such omissions. *S* also mentioned that it was important to include things which puzzled her, perhaps giving examples of behavior she didn't understand. *W* asked if records were important so that supervisors could know what workers were doing. *S* asked if writing records had helped her in any way. She replied that she hadn't written any that were good enough. *S* then pointed out some of the things *S* had gotten from the records which had made it possible for her to come to conferences prepared to help the worker and that records were written to help both supervisor and worker to give better service to the members of groups. . . .

S said that she had gotten the impression from the record that things had gone better in the gym this week. *W* smiled and said that they had. . . . She told about the argument in the older group over a "dirty" note Helen had written to the others; they had answered with another "with only hell and damn in it" and Helen had shown it to their teacher. *W* had helped the girls to let Helen come in and play and got them started on a new game into which all finally entered. She felt that the argument wasn't too serious, for they seemed able to laugh at themselves even when they were arguing. *S* mentioned that Helen was known to have difficulty fitting into groups and that *W* might want to observe and help her as much as she could. *S* added that this didn't always mean sticking up for her, for this might do as much harm as good; when such arguments occurred *W* should, as she had done this time, use her best judgment as to how much to enter into them, but it was always helpful to remember that there was always a reason for the girls to act in this way, whether it was immediately apparent or not. . . .

W got out the face sheets for the groups which were complete except for two girls in the gym group who weren't registered. *S* told her that it was necessary for them to register and suggested that if they came early, as they did last week, she send them to register while the younger girls were in the gym. If she were unable to see them early, it would probably be best to let them attend that evening, explaining that they would have to register before they came again.

...Record #4. . . . *W* felt that the preschool children were retarded because they "only scribbled, and the things they made did not look like anything." She compared them with the children in the kindergarten who made things that looked like the patterns given them. *S* asked *W* what the scribbles seem to mean to the children. She had no idea. *S* discussed children's drawings, helping *W* see that this activity was important for its meaning to the children rather than to adults.

S asked about Judy, who had been mentioned as being unable to do things, and wondered if *W* thought it was because she is young, or slow, or what. *W* said she thought Judy was dull, for although she is five, she seems much less able than most of the others. She made a face as she described Judy, saying she was messy and not attractive. She added, "But you can't feel

that way about it." *S* said, "But you can and you do," adding that it was natural not to like all the members, and that these feelings could be handled if they were recognized. *W* said that at the beginning of the week she could be patient with Judy, but it was harder to be so by the end of the week. *S* indicated that there are other reasons besides dullness that make a child unable to perform well, and perhaps *W* needed to observe Judy more closely....

W described two new members of the group as "spoiled brats," always wanting to be "It" and have their own way. *S* tried to get at what *W* meant by "spoiled," and *W* said they were always demanding attention, even when they didn't need it. They are better dressed than the others and talk about all the toys they have at home. *S* asked if this meant that they did not need the love of *W*. The *W* said she didn't think they needed her; they just always have their own way and they expect it wherever they go. *S* said that some children are given things without the necessary love; other children may be given fewer material things but are given love and necessary limitations and are therefore less in need of the love of the worker than others who seem to have more. This was a new idea for *W*, but she seemed to grasp it sufficiently to begin to think about the two new girls in a different light....

W was troubled about two girls in the older gym group. They had said they were members, but when she checked with the office she discovered that they had not registered. *S* asked if *W* feared they would be angry with her if she insisted that they have membership cards before they came to gym. *W* felt this to be so. *S* asked if in the long run she wouldn't help them more if she stuck by the rules, which they know exist, than if she let them continue to get by. *W* knew this was true, but she still couldn't see how she could refuse them entrance.

Questions

1. What situations have faced the worker which necessitated the examination of her own attitudes? Has the supervisor helped the worker in this process? How?
2. How has the supervisor helped the worker to partialize the problems she faces?

...Records #5, 6, 7 (Summary). In each of these conferences *W* struggled with the problem presented by the two girls who refused to pay their registration fee. *S* helped *W* to see the issues in the situation; *W* recognized that she was fearful lest they would be "mad at her" and that she needed them for the games in the gym. At the seventh meeting *W* was able to tell the girls that they could not play without membership cards. Hazel asked for one more chance but *W* said that when she paid her fee she could come to the gym.

...Record #8. *S* wondered how Helen was getting along in the group. *W*'s expression made *S* ask if she were bothered by Helen. She replied that she

can hardly stand her. In the first place, she smells, and she is very dirty and untidy so that any physical contact is repulsive. *S* asked how *W* handled it, and she said she would move away when Helen hit her or put her arms around her. *S* said that Helen is known to have "crushes" on workers so that this behavior is not new. She continued that she knew such a relationship could be very trying, and she wondered if *W* wanted to tell Helen she didn't like to have her put her arms around her. *W* was fearful lest she antagonize her, saying she didn't want to "make an enemy of her." *S* pointed out that the only danger of such a reaction lay in *W*'s feeling about Helen; that it would be helpful to her to remember that having "crushes" is normal behavior for girls of this age, and that it was nothing to be anxious about. *W* asked how she could handle Helen, and *S* replied that she would help Helen more by being able to talk with her about her behavior than if she just acted out her feelings. *W* said that this is hard to do since she dislikes Helen so much. *S* asked if she disliked Helen or her behavior, and *W* replied that it was difficult for her to think of Helen except with dislike. *S* asked how that made her feel, to which she replied that she *had* to be nice of her. *S* pointed out that one of the responsibilities which a worker has in handling a "crush relationship" is to maintain a consistent, positive relationship and that this is achieved through being able to limit as well as love. *S* didn't feel that *W* accepted the idea, but she may think about it. Her concern lest she make Helen "mad at" her is very great.

...Record #9. . . . *S* asked about Judy's progress in the Tiny Tots, saying she had noticed in the record that *W* kept her from disrupting the play of the other children. *W* said that she had not put in the record something that happened later. "Soon after I stopped Judy from running through the circle, she came and asked me for some colored paper to take home. I don't know quite why I did it but I gave her some and she smiled at me." *S* asked *W* what she thought Judy was really asking. *W* was silent for a while and then said that she wondered if Judy was asking if *W* still liked her and would give her something, even though she had scolded her. *S* commented that *W* was seeing a lot more since she knew the members better and knew what to look for. *W* said, "Yes, I used to think program was the most important thing." To her it was merely a statement of fact, but to *S* it indicated real progress in her thinking.

Space prohibits inclusion of excerpts from the rest of the record which shows how the supervisor helped this beginning worker to acquire some of the attitudes and knowledge necessary to meet the responsibilities assigned to her. When it became evident that Helen's need was greater than the worker could meet, the supervisor assumed responsibility for working with Helen's family toward referral for psychiatric service.

The following evaluation written by the supervisor indicates her summary of her work with Miss Gilford.

...*Supervisor's Evaluation of Conferences.* Miss Gilford began her work with the agency with enthusiasm, willingness, and a desire to learn. She accepted supervision eagerly, and made good use of it. She learned the general routines of the job quickly and had little difficulty in carrying them out; got her records done on time; prepared for meetings; and met appointments punctually. She took responsibility well, and if she said she would do something, it was done.

At the beginning of her work, she tended toward a rather rigid idea of program, considering herself somewhat as a teacher. It was not long before she got away from this, however, and became more flexible in her use of activities. Indeed, she had a tendency to swing to the opposite extreme of underestimating the amount of planning which could be beneficially done. She was imaginative and creative to a considerable degree, and used suggestions for program rather well. She has a wide range of interests and skills and a willingness to try out new things which are valuable in work with groups.

The worker gained a great deal in her understanding and acceptance of individual behavior throughout the year. She came to see individual differences and to some extent recognize that there were reasons behind them. Her original shock at the behavior of the older girls in the gym group gave way to a large degree of acceptance of them and willingness to proceed according to their interests and needs. She was apparently well liked by all the members of her groups, and observation indicated that she had a real interest in each one and patience and kindness in dealing with them. She had a rare ability to enjoy working with them without becoming personally involved with them. She had the experience of having in her groups two individuals who were very disturbed children, almost entirely lacking in readiness for group experience. She was unable to accept either of these two because of the difficulty they caused her. She was undisturbed by the more normal deviations, however, and was able to provide a happy and growing experience for many of the children in her groups.

One of the worker's chief areas of difficulty related to the use of authority. She was frequently in conflict as to how much and what kind of authority she should exert with the group members. This caused difficulty, particularly with the intermediate group. This was primarily related to her own immaturity and the closeness of her own adolescent struggle against authority, and probably could not have been avoided in so young a worker. She made some progress in her use of authority, and her own frankness and ability to talk things through in conference was a real help in this as well as in other things.

The worker's ability to use the group processes for the benefit of the group increased considerably during the year, especially toward the end when she was able to allow the members a large part in the determination of their own program. This was not so conscious as her increasing knowledge of the individuals in her groups, however.

The worker had considerable difficulty in writing records, first because she didn't like to write them and didn't feel sure of herself in writing, and second, because she had difficulty in knowing what to include. The work she has done on individual summaries to close the year indicates progress in this area.

One of the worker's greatest assets is her own good adjustment and her ability to relate to people. She was very free to express herself regarding her successes and difficulties in her work and to accept or reject suggestions made to her. She did an exceptionally good piece of work for a person of her age and experience.

16

Administrative Processes

WHILE WORK with primary groups is the core of this specialization in social work, comparatively few social group workers are engaged in direct service to groups. Rather, the majority administer units of work¹ and supervise volunteers and staff workers in *their* work with groups. It is therefore exceedingly important for the student of social group work to know about administrative and supervisory processes and to develop skill in them. He must understand not only how to use the social processes effectively within his unit of work but also how to function within the agency-as-a-whole. In this chapter we shall consider some aspects of administration, first of the agency-as-a-whole,² and then of the units for which social group workers are responsible.

The social climate of sponsored groups is largely determined by the administrative structure of the agency. It is the agency that sets the objective conditions under which groups operate; and the agency, as well as the members, brings pre-existing values and norms to the social situation within each group.³ If the interaction within agency-sponsored groups is to meet the criteria of social group work practice, the agency-as-a-whole must also meet these standards.

In the case of agencies which measure up to these criteria, administration is a function shared by each member of the staff in co-operation with the membership. The membership functions through identification with organized groups which are classified as self-governing groups, co-ordinating

¹ We have used the term *unit of work* because it seems, less than other terms, to be associated with any one organization. We ask the student to substitute department, branch, district, or any other term which has meaning to him when thinking of organizational structure.

² For full discussion of the problems of administration, the student is referred to references in the bibliography, pp. 670-675. The present discussion is limited to those aspects related to program-building and policy-making in which the executive of a unit is most involved.

³ See Chapter 2, pp. 37-42.

councils, advisory and administrative committees, and the group of ultimate control — the board. Each group, concurrently, is receiving and giving service derived from the common acceptance of the philosophy and purposes of the agency. Qualitative practice of social group work is possible only in those agencies where administrative relationships are conceived in a spirit of democracy and developed through clear and concise definitions of the responsibilities and functions in the roles of the board, committees, staff, and membership in carrying out the purposes of the agency. We shall describe such administration as *Circular*,¹ in contrast to the better-known type of administration known as *linear*.

The administrative officers of an agency include the president of the board, chairmen and members of committees, staff members, and the officers of the organized groups within the membership. "It is the primary function of administration to provide leadership of a continuously helpful kind so that all persons engaged in the manifold workings of the agency may advance the agency to ever more significant service and accomplishment."² The responsibility of planning, co-ordinating, channeling, and executing administrative functions, so widely shared, is either delegated to the staff or shared with them by the board of directors of the agency.

The content of administration has been described³ as consisting in the answers to the following questions: Who? What? Why? Where? By Whom? Wherewithal? The WHO is the membership; the WHAT is the program; the WHY is related to the community as a whole and hence involves publicity and interpretation; the WHERE covers the operation of buildings and facilities; the BY WHOM, the personnel, both volunteer and employed; and the WHEREWITHAL, the securing of financial support for the agency's program. Every member is included in the WHO and therefore shares in the administrative responsibilities involved in the answers to all the other questions. The structure of the agency provides the channels through which the members meet their responsibilities. In this way administration becomes a process of working *with* the members and not *for* them. Thus the structure of the agency provides the framework for representative government.

Agencies offering social group work service have a variety of structural forms, some consistent with their proclaimed purposes and some contrary to them. Social work organization is in a transitional stage from that developed under the old philosophy of the "care of the weak by the strong"

¹ See below, pp. 589 ff.

² Harleigh B. Trecker, *Group Process in Administration* (New York: Woman's Press, 1946), p. 25.

³ By Olive Van Horn and Lois Diehl, in *The Future of Administration* (St. Louis: privately published).

to the newer forms consistent with the democratic concept.¹ Structural forms providing systems of representative government are imperative to an agency with "Education for Democracy" as its purpose, not only because of the importance of philosophical consistency, but also because the structure itself provides the best tool for teaching "by doing." A cultural lag is evident in many agencies; that is, the structure conforms to the old philosophy while the purposes and objectives are in tune with the new. Such a situation frequently means indefiniteness of purpose and confusion as to the methods by which the agency proposes to serve its members.² Agencies offering social group work service can be divided into (1) electoral organizations and (2) constituency organizations. Electoral organizations are agencies in which the members of the board are chosen by the membership and are responsible to it. Constituency organizations are those in which the members of the board are selected by the sponsoring group in the community or nation. The electoral organizations are based on the theory that a group of people come together to administer the provision of services for themselves. The constituency organizations are based on the assumption that needed services should be provided by one group of people for another (usually less privileged or younger) group. Theoretically, the services and program are determined by the membership in the former classification and by the sponsoring group in the latter. Actually, some agencies organized on the basis of election provide little opportunity for the functioning of representative government; and on the other hand, some agencies with the constituency organization provide a great many such opportunities in spite of their structure.

CIRCULAR ADMINISTRATION

One of the central problems of circular administration is the development of the will to be democratic on the part of the majority concerned. Most people crave the benefits of democracy, but few are willing to accept the responsibilities entailed. The creative functioning of administration is dependent upon the willingness and the ability of the participating membership to enter into the "give and take" relationship involved in planning and carrying out the program of the agency. This relationship assumes that the participants have attained a reasonable degree of maturity. Some agencies, however, serve clientele who are not ready to share the responsibil-

¹ See Chapter I, pp. 16-20.

² See section on "Casual Group Work Organization" in W. L. Kindelsperger, "Improving the Quality of Social Group Work Practice through Narrative and Statistical Recording," *Toward Professional Standards* (American Association of Group Workers; Association Press, 1947), pp. 112-113.

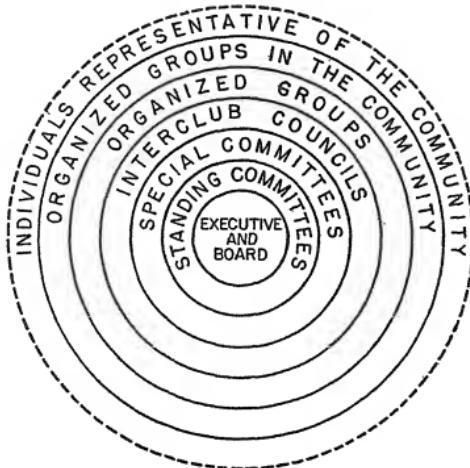
ties of administration. In such cases, the agency begins by limiting the scope of the members' administrative responsibilities to the primary group, then gradually engages them in the responsibilities of interclub councils and agency-wide committees as they develop the ability and the interest to function on these levels. Some persons who have had little previous social experience and are retarded in social adjustment find it impossible to carry much responsibility, even within the primary groups, unless they have considerable help. Hospitals, clinics, and many other institutions which offer social group work service for handicapped or ill persons are further illustrative of settings wherein the agency must assume a major role in program planning. In these situations, the value for the group lies in the opportunity for personal growth or rehabilitation. When the members are able to undertake the complexities of the intergroup situation, they are ready to graduate into community groups.

The structure of an agency is a reflection of its will to be democratic. Structure is not a fixed condition but a process constantly changing in accordance with the will of those who are directing the process.

We thus see administration as a creative process of thinking, planning and action inextricably bound up with the whole agency. We see it as a process of working with people to set goals, to build organizational relationships, to distribute responsibility, to conduct programs, and to evaluate accomplishments. *The real focus of administration is relationships with and between people.* The process creates and recreates designs which make the most of the collective judgments of the community, the persons participating in the membership or program, the board and the staff. The continuous mobilization of positive elements which come out of the interaction of all persons concerned with the total agency gives administration its dynamic force and power. This requires leadership with unusual insight into behavior plus skill in helping people relate to one another so that a unity of purpose and effort is created.¹

The plan of organization of an agency operating on the basis of democratic administration might be described as a series of concentric circles, with the executive and the board in the innermost circle, the units of work with the staff and committee serving them in the next circle and the membership at large in the outer circle. Administration then can be described as a flow back and forth between these circles: some suggestions about policies, procedures, and program plans may start in the outer circle and flow in toward the center; others may start in the center and spread outwards; and still others may start in between and flow both ways. It is

¹ Trecker, *op. cit.*, p. 14.



CIRCULAR ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Volunteer Personnel: President of the board and members of the board; representatives of membership groups and committees; representatives of membership groups by units; officers of membership groups; delegated representatives of community groups; individuals recruited as representatives of the community at large.

Staff Personnel: Executive director and members of the staff; staff assigned to standing and special committees; subexecutives of units; group advisers, both volunteer and employed.

in this sense that we shall use the term *circular* in discussing administrative structure.

The success of any plan is dependent upon "the degree to which initiative is exercised and organized."¹ This achievement involves administrative skill on the part of all in an agency — the president of the school-age "Happy-Go-Lucky" club, the social group worker or volunteer who serves it, the chairmen of committees, the departmental subexecutive, the members of the board, the executive director, and the president of the board. Democratic administration is circular, not linear. Its dynamics are both centrifugal and centripetal, with program plans and policies proceeding outward from the center, and modifications and new ideas coming in from the members to the center — the board. The purpose of the agency — and its consequent program — is the core from which is derived the dynamic power

¹ Thomas North Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), p. 238.

which gives the participating personnel its conviction and will to achieve success in the co-operative enterprise. Administration involves planning, and control in carrying out the plans; successful plans and controls are dependent upon the degree to which they are co-operatively determined and executed. Controls evolve from situations which are constantly changing and are the results of the interacting processes among all the people involved in the manifold workings of the agency.

All the officers of the agency are involved in the exercise of controls. It is the role of the staff to help the members find their controls in the group situation rather than through the personal control of one person over another. This is as true in helping the presidents of the Camp Fire group and the Y-teens and the settlement club as in helping the chairmen of committees and members of the board of the sponsoring agency. It is equally true in the staff relationships of the employed officers or workers, who must also exercise and accept the controls inherent in the situation.

Co-operative planning is a process in which ideas are pooled, examined, and accepted or rejected in the program that is formulated. When the program is made, the responsibility for carrying it out is delegated to staff, committees, and membership. With delegation, there must be authority for implementation and accountability to the administrative officers of the agency for its accomplishment. In the last analysis, the president of the board is responsible and, acting for him, the executive director of the agency. Every administrator, whether he be an adolescent club president or the director of the agency, participates in the planning- and policy-making functions of the agency, delegates responsibilities for parts of the program, reports on progress, budgets the cost, obtains the necessary resources and personnel, and relates the program to the larger whole, which may be the agency or the community.

These channels for circular administration are used if the social situation provides for the necessary objective conditions, namely, (1) the right of the members to vote and hold office and (2) the autonomy of groups. While every member in the agency should have the right to participate in program-planning and policy-making, members in childhood are not intellectually or emotionally ready to understand the complexity of the agency and hence are not prepared to exercise their right to vote and hold office except in their primary groups. They do, however, voice their opinions and influence policies.

The Mad Caps (age-range 11 to 16 years) were angry because of the agency's policy prohibiting the purchase of food for parties and special events from any source other than the restaurant which had a concession within the building. The members planned to bring food surreptitiously to

their next party. The worker helped them to face the meaning of their behavior and at the same time suggested that they take their grievance to the Intermediate Council. This they did. The council appointed a committee to take the matter to the board. The board appointed a special committee to investigate, and invited the Intermediate Council to send representatives to meet with this committee; as a result of their meetings it was recommended that the board negotiate a new contract with the concessioner.

Many agencies have adopted the national political pattern of twenty-one years as the voting age. In so doing they would seem to be accepting a social norm rather than exercising considered judgment, for this age requirement means that official decisions are made by people considerably older than the "youth" whom many agencies are serving. Agencies with this policy lose not only the creative thinking of youth but also an opportunity to bridge the present-day gap between youth and adults. The inclusion of younger members in committee structure provides experiences in which young people and adults and agency alike gain a great deal. Committee membership without the right to vote and hold office is a hollow privilege which demands less from the participants than does full citizenship.

Every group should have that degree of autonomy which the members are capable of handling.¹ If the group is too limited in its rights and privileges, the group experiences will be crippling and the members will lose interest and fail to become a functioning part of the agency. If the group is given more responsibility than the members are prepared to assume, it will not function creatively and the result will be disastrous to all concerned. One young group which was given responsibilities for which it was unready reacted by destroying the property and by taking all the rights and privileges of the agency without exercising their duties and responsibilities. It became a "one-sided democracy." In thus punishing the staff, the children were in part rejecting parental authority. The staff had not used sufficient authority, had not been good parents, and had reacted like rejecting parents who overindulge their children in order to cover their guilt at rejecting them.² We have discussed the values of decision-making in previous chapters. This process has value to the extent of the reality of the right of the groups to make those decisions which are of importance to them. If the agency is one in which the policies are determined through a system of representative government running throughout the entire agency, then the

¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 66-68, and Chapter 4, especially pp. 143-145. Note also that the policy of the agency limited the area in which the Sub-Debs could make decisions about the structure of their club (Chapter 12).

² Rudolph Wittenburg, "Psychiatric Concepts in Group Work, Applied through the Media of Drama and Music," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 76-83 (January, 1944).

groups through their representatives are acquainted with the limitations imposed by the agency and they accept them or set about changing them. In this kind of situation the agency is not something outside of the group, to be fought or opposed, but rather something of which the group is a part and which it can help to change to meet differing interests and needs.

Channels for Participation in Administration

Primary Groups. The core of the patterns for participation in agency administration is the primary group. The officers of organized groups, with the help of the group adviser, carry administrative responsibilities — many times quite independently. Their contribution to the administration of an agency is often overlooked because the focus of the observer is upon the service of the agency to the group and not upon the equally important factor of the group's service to the agency.¹ While members of primary groups are usually absorbed in planning and carrying out their own programs, they are part of the "give and take" of the agency-as-a-whole. The first step in this process is often that of participation with another club in a joint project.² When the bond of a primary group is strong and the members have developed a sense of belonging to the group-as-a-whole, the group is ready to participate in intergroup activities.

Interclub Councils. The interclub council is a structure through which a unit of the agency is governed on a representative basis.³ To this council, clubs and groups in the department or unit send representatives to plan and carry out joint enterprises and make rules and regulations which will facilitate the program of each of the constituent groups. It is important that the autonomy, or the area of authority, of the interclub council be just as clearly defined as that of the primary group. The interclub council must respect the rights and privileges both of the primary groups in its membership and of the agency committees and board to which it has a responsibility. In some agencies the interclub council elects a member who is then appointed by the president as an ex-officio member of the board. But whether the position of the interclub council is thus recognized in the structure of the agency or not, the council is in a middle position in the system of representative government in the agency. Through the council the members of groups are helped to become a part of the agency-as-a-whole.

¹ The successes and failures of club officers are successes and failures in agency administration. From the records in Chapters 11-14, evaluate the contribution in this area of Nick (Chuck's Boys), Karen (Sub-Debs), Natalie (Can Do Club), Catherine (Heights Recreation Club), Mrs. Henderson (Elite Women's Club), and Mr. Bluestone (Friendship Club).

² See Glamour Girls (Chapter 12).

³ See Suhfw Club (Chapter 13). Note the importance, to the young women of the club, of belonging to the Women's Interclub Council.

Membership on this council should be held by those who have had considerable experience as club members and who are well initiated into the intricacies of organizational procedures. They must be able to keep their identity with the group which they represent and at the same time identify with the *representative function* of the interclub council. This is a position very difficult to maintain and one which the members cannot achieve unless they have the help of the worker who *himself* clearly understands the difference between a *council* and a *group*. The council exists to serve the clubs which compose it and the agency of which it is an administrative unit.¹ It has no program of its own. Even the all-departmental or branch or agency events which it may sponsor are sponsored *with* the constituent groups. The council should never become more important to the members than their own groups. A council-sponsored program which is dependent upon the members of the council *alone* for its execution should be regarded as a serious symptom that the council is ceasing to be a council and is becoming just another club. When this happens, it is at the expense of the clubs represented, for the council ceases to be an instrument for representative government within the agency.

When the Intermediate Council of a department composed of adolescent boys and girls was organized, the executive of the department discussed the function of such a council with each club. That he did this well is shown in the discussion held at the initial meeting. The delegate-members kept referring to the fact that "the reason we are meeting is to find out what each club wants to do." The worker suggested that they wait until all the clubs had sent representatives before they elected officers and then called for a volunteer to be "chairman for tonight." In this way the worker kept the idea of the representative character of the council before the group and yet helped them to accomplish something at their first meeting. When the members present began to suggest things which all the clubs might enjoy doing together, one of them objected to the voting system and said that it was not fair for the clubs to have more than one vote apiece. The worker commented that this question seemed to indicate the need for a constitution which would define how the council could best carry on its business and represent the interest of each of the clubs. After a few meetings of the council, the members reported that the majority of the clubs they represented wanted to have a departmental dance. There was much enthusiasm, and committees were appointed to carry out such an activity. In the midst of this planning, the worker asked if these committees were going to do all the work. This question stimulated a discussion of what the jobs of the committees were; the actual responsibilities were finally located in the vari-

¹ Jack Gottheil, "How Clubs Work Together," *Jewish Center Program Aids*, vol. 8, no. 2 (November, 1947).

ous clubs, with the council committee co-ordinating the work of the club groups. In this way the social group worker was able to keep the activity an intergroup affair with the fun of "doing" shared by all the constituent groups and not monopolized by the council, who might then have put on the dance *for* the groups instead of *with* them.

The social group worker helps an interclub council to function as a channel of communication between groups wherever possible. This happens when the council is *really* a part of the administrative structure of the unit of work, and it necessitates careful planning on the part of the worker and the delegation of responsibility to the council whenever appropriate. Through the record of a club in an agency in which there is an active interclub council, we learned of a situation caused by the worker's failure to use the channel of the interclub council. For the all-agency Christmas celebration, each of the clubs was to choose two representatives to serve as pages. The worker asked one of the members of one of the clubs to be a page and to choose another member of her club as the other page. Now the girl chosen was not the president of her group nor was she its representative on the interclub council. As it happened, this group was not very closely identified with the agency, and the adviser had been using every possible avenue to increase its sense of belonging to the agency. Here was an opportunity for the club-as-a-whole to feel that it had a part in the all-agency affair through choosing representatives to function for it at the celebration. And the failure of the worker to use the proper channels not only cut the club off from an intergroup experience but created tense interpersonal relations within the club, for the girl whom the worker had chosen interpreted her choice as a personal favor and she in turn chose the best friend of another girl in the club.

Unless the representative nature of interclub councils is thoroughly understood, and that understanding translated into the treatment of the council not as a primary group but rather as an intergroup, the council will be unable to make the contribution which it is capable of making to the work of the unit. The worker uses his knowledge and understanding of the members who compose the intergroup and of the social process which he affects; but in the intergroup situation, he uses this knowledge and understanding in light of the structure and function of all the groups represented in the council. The unit of service in the intergroup situation is each of the constituent groups, not the individuals who are members of the representative group. W. I. Newstetter describes as follows the difference in focus between social group work and social intergroup work:

The first focus in the social intergroup work process deals with the adjustmental relations between groups and not the personal needs of the

members of the intergroup who are primarily representatives of some group or groups. The need, therefore, is not primarily that of particular individuals for adjusting themselves to other individuals; it is the need of groups in a given community to maintain mutually satisfying relations with other groups. In the social group work process one main focus is in terms of the interpersonal relations of group members. Here, this is important only as a means to an end, the end being the relations between the groups.¹

Membership on Committees to Plan Special Events. Special events committees provide excellent transitional experiences for members moving from the responsibilities of the interclub council to those of the standing committees within the agency. Most agencies have a special events calendar which calls for a certain number of all-agency activities during the course of the year. It is a wise policy to have a different committee for each occasion and thus spread the opportunity for this kind of service among as many members as possible. These special events provide opportunities for the membership to develop pride in and respect for the local or national organization of which they are a part. The value of any group experience is closely related to the prestige which the groups and the sponsoring agency have in the mind of the individual. We have repeatedly mentioned the support and strength which an individual receives from group membership; part of that sense of support comes from the feeling the members have about the strength of the agency.² Thus, participation in the plans for an event of significance to the agency is an important part of every member's experience in the agency. The same holds true of the celebration of holidays which have significance to the local community, the nation, or the cultural group.

In terms of learning the processes of representative government, the value of membership on such committees lies in the sharing process through which plans are made and carried out.³ Here members of different ages, interests, backgrounds, and needs meet together to plan the celebration of an event important to all of them. The things which they have in common come to the surface, and under skillful guidance, differences are respected and valued. Through its representatives who serve on special events committees, each group in the agency is helped to relate to others. Here again the workers guiding the process have a dual "enabling" function—that of helping the committee members who are to represent their groups

¹ W. I. Newstetter, "The Social Intergroup Process," *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings*, 1947, pp. 208-209.

² See Elite Women's Club, pp. 493 ff. Note the need the women had for participation in the agency and the satisfaction they got from committee membership on a committee of the board.

³ See Chapter 8, pp. 261-263.

and of engaging all the members of the constituent groups in the activity. Recognition for achievements related to special events should go to groups and not to individuals.

Membership on Standing and Special Committees. Standing committees cover such responsibilities as personnel, finance, building management, program planning, and budgeting. Some charts of organization call for advisory or administrative committees for each unit of work. The special committees are often assigned to study areas of special interest, problems which need investigation, and other matters which can be handled in a limited length of time. Such committees may be subcommittees of standing committees, or they may be appointed directly by the board, interclub council, or primary group. It is essential that members of these committees be thoroughly familiar with agency and community. Specialists in the content of the committee assignment should also be included. Members of boards and committees drawn from agency membership should have had the experience of primary groups with defined autonomy, as well as of interclub councils and special committees. Members representing various groups in the community bring to the agency the experiences of these other types of groups and knowledge of some of the special problems of the community. Individuals representative of the community at large bring special points of view which help to make the board and committees of an agency more truly representative of the community which it serves. Thus administration flows through the board and committee structure of an agency, drawing in its current the contributions of all individuals in the community, and particularly in the membership, who wish to participate through acceptance of responsibilities in groups.

Membership in Groups for Social Action. An agency has the responsibility of helping its members to function in the wider community as well as in its own administrative structure. This responsibility cannot be left to chance; there must be structure and encouragement if members are to move out into wider fields of endeavor. Young and older members alike are perplexed by the problems of the day. Some react by lapsing into indifference or becoming absorbed in current trifles. Others grope toward some positive action on social problems. Agencies, through their skilled workers, can make a real contribution to the community by helping people to recognize that they can participate in finding solutions to some of these problems. Social awareness without outlets for action is frustrating and harmful. The agency, therefore, must not only stimulate interest but provide avenues through which members may join and function in community groups which are concerned with public affairs — or help to organize new groups in the community if a need is indicated. Agencies which help both young and

old to participate in community programs of social action are not only helping the individuals but also affecting creatively the social processes of society itself.¹

CIRCULAR ADMINISTRATION AND THE PROGRAM-PLANNING PROCESS

The most important function of the various channels of participation in an agency is the formulation of plans, policies, and program for the agency. Program planning is both specific and general. The specific plans are those made by members of primary groups to be carried out within their own units of organization. The general plans are those related to the objectives of the agency, and they indicate the program emphases of the agency-as-a-whole. Circular administration insures a close relationship between specific and general program plans and at the same time safeguards the right of autonomous clubs to plan and carry out their own programs. The agency-wide program committee should be composed of representatives of (1) participants in the program — primary groups, interclub councils, and special committees, (2) standing committees and board, and (3) various areas of special interests in the community to serve as consultants. This committee's function may be outlined as follows:

- (1) To clarify the specific functions of the agency in the light of its general purpose.
- (2) To examine the existing program in the light of the interests and needs of the membership and the purpose of the agency.
- (3) To study the unmet needs of the community in the light of the function of the agency and the services of other agencies in it.
- (4) To formulate the program for the agency in the light of these findings.
- (5) To evaluate the program continuously and make interim adjustments throughout the program year.

Circular administration is slow and cumbersome. The process by which all the groups are engaged in a simultaneous study and evaluation of themselves and the agency-as-a-whole is difficult to achieve; yet it is a pre-requisite for an administration which aims to work *with* and not *for* its membership. Each club in the agency which has developed to the point where it accepts the responsibility of planning program for itself can become a part of this process.

The steps in the process may be outlined as follows:

¹ Muriel W. Jacobsen, "The Significance of Emerging World Youth Movements for Program Building," in *Toward Professional Standards* (American Association of Group Workers; New York: Association Press, 1947), pp. 150-158. "Youth United for a Better Home Town," Youth Division, National Social Welfare Assembly, 134 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y. See also the records of young adult groups in Chapter 13.

- (1) Each group (primary, interclub, and special committee) is asked to examine its program and make suggestions for change. (Autonomous groups report their program and plans but do not seek the approval of the committee unless the plan is contrary to agency policy or demands more service.)
- (2) The groups' programs and suggestions for changes are evaluated, summarized, and classified by unit or department.
- (3) Subcommittees of the program committee study and prepare a report on the unmet needs of the community.¹
- (4) At meetings of the full program committee, composed of a cross-section of the agency, the group reports and the subcommittees' reports on unmet needs are presented and the problems analyzed.
- (5) Each representative presents the report and the analysis to his own group, engages the group in a consideration of the problems involved and formulation of suggestions for solving them.
- (6) At a meeting of the full committee, suggestions from constituent groups are presented, problems are discussed, and decisions made relative to (a) general program emphases for the agency, (b) necessary changes indicated in agency purpose and structure, (c) recommendations as to size and qualifications of staff (volunteer and employed), (d) materials and equipment (expendable and permanent) needed to carry out the program.
- (7) The Program Planning Report is presented to the board — discussed, revised if board disagrees, and referred to Budget and Finance Committee.
- (8) The Budget and Finance Committee makes recommendations to the board.
- (9) The board takes action on the program and the budget.
- (10) The Personnel Committee makes recommendations as to personnel to carry out the program.
- (11) The program is delegated to committees, groups, and volunteer and employed staff, for implementation into action.
- (12) At intervals throughout the year Program Committee meets to evaluate program.

VOLUNTEER AND EMPLOYED PERSONNEL

Any consideration of the personnel of the various agencies in which social group work is practiced focuses our attention upon the volunteer workers who make it possible for agencies to meet the demands of the hundreds of

¹ Such studies are frequently made by the central planning body at the request of an agency. Community studies may be available from research organizations in the city. Program committees should take advantage of all available sources of information before they launch a study of their own. See bibliography, pp. 670-675.

people who participate in their programs. Services of all kinds can be used effectively if the agency organizes itself to help others share in the work.

Clarification of Lay and Professional Roles

We have already indicated that the volunteers were the first workers,¹ and have described briefly the evolution of professional social workers from the ranks of the laymen. In the course of this development it is only natural that the respective functions of the volunteer and the professional worker have not always been clearly distinguished. This confusion has been prolonged because of the lag between the recognition of the need for service, on the one hand, and the acceptance of professional services in meeting them, on the other. Wherever the board, in employing workers, is motivated by a need to relieve the pressure of *time* on the volunteers rather than by a desire to offer professional services to the agency's clientele, there will be great confusion between the role of the volunteer and the employed worker. For when relief of pressure is the motivating factor, the qualifications demanded usually are no different from those of the volunteers who need assistance; hence, in such circumstances no distinction can be drawn between the type of work expected from the volunteer and that expected from the employed worker. When the desire to obtain professional services motivates employment of workers, however, the qualifications demanded include skills different from those of the volunteer; consequently the employed worker is most likely to be assigned to a different type of work. The difference between lay and professional skills is less recognized and accepted by agencies sponsoring the practice of social group work than by those engaged in the practice of social case work. This is a problem of current significance in the field and it must be given attention.²

Volunteers play important roles in serving as members of committees and boards and in sharing with the professional staff the responsibility for supplying direct service to groups and individuals. Consideration of the respective roles of lay and professional workers necessitates a clarification of the types of work for which each is responsible.

Volunteer Workers. The role and consequent position of the volunteer varies according to whether he serves (1) in an administrative assignment, (2) in an advisory capacity, or (3) as a program volunteer. Likewise, the re-

¹ See Chapter I, pp. 11-13.

² There has been a great change in the attitude of sponsoring agencies during the last ten years; many agencies have prepared job specifications which include professionally educated social group workers, but have not been able to secure workers even at salaries beyond the "going rate." However, more agencies are still satisfied with lay standards than have accepted in theory the professional standards. This situation is as true in hospitals and institutions as in recreational and informal educational agencies.

lation of the volunteer to the professional worker is different in each of these roles. The administrative volunteers — members of the board, chairmen of standing committees and some special committees — are the employers of the workers. They are responsible to the community for the quality of work of the agency; the employed and volunteer program staff is responsible to them for the carrying out of their assignments. The administrative volunteer is responsible for representing the agency in organizations in the community. The advisory volunteers are asked for their opinions only; whether their advice is accepted is a matter to be decided by the administrative volunteers and the employed staff to whom they have delegated areas of authority for decision-making. The program volunteer has the responsibility of giving service to the agency under conditions determined by the policies and program which the administrative volunteers have adopted. In most agencies, the program volunteers are supervised by the employed staff; hence the program volunteer is responsible to the employed worker for the quality of his work in the agency.

The Professional Worker. The professional worker likewise carries administrative responsibilities. His functions are delegated to him by administrative volunteers. He carries quasi-ultimate authority in his unit of work; he is asked to advise the board and committees on matters requiring professional knowledge; and he is responsible for supervising the work of program volunteers in line with the policies and program of the agency. He is delegated the authority to represent the agency in organizations in the community. In agencies where members of the board are active participants in the program, the relationship of volunteers and staff changes as the situation changes. Within the course of a short time the same volunteer may be related to the professional worker as employer, consultant, and supervisee; likewise the professional staff member may be related to the volunteer as employee, seeker of advice, and supervisor.

Since most specific assignments to the staff (both volunteer and professional) are determined by the competence of the worker and the needs apparent in the job to be done, rather than by the position or "office" of the worker, it is difficult to distinguish between the volunteer worker and professional worker on the basis of type of job assigned. Some volunteers may actually be professional social workers and therefore available for an assignment which requires this skill. Many volunteers bring skills from other professions (as nursing, education, medicine, psychiatry, home economics, engineering, and law); from business (as knowledge of investments, insurance, and so on); from organized labor; and from other fields. The distinction between professional staff responsibilities and volunteer responsibilities can best be made on the basis of a recognition of the profes-

sional social work skill necessary to carry out certain administrative responsibilities and certain direct services. These include administrative and educative supervision, advisory relationships with agency committees and co-ordinating councils (usually called interclub councils), representation of the agency in some community organizations, and direct service to groups and individuals. On this basis, the functions of the professional worker are seen to be (1) those which are exclusively delegated to him and (2) those which he shares with or delegates to volunteer workers.

Working Conditions

The subject of personnel practices is of very great importance and is closely related to the shortage of personnel. Most national agencies have adopted standards of personnel practices which are recommended to their local affiliates. Organizations of professional workers such as the American Association of Social Workers have adopted standards which are used as guides by some local agencies. The contract of the Social Service Employees Union sets forth the standards of the union. Many agencies have personnel practices committees in the agency structure. The most effective committees of this kind are composed of representatives of the staff and board. The reader is referred to these various sources and to the personnel practices of national agencies for the areas covered by these standards.¹ We wish to highlight here only one aspect — the minimum requirements for working conditions and facilities in the practice of social group work.

Every social group worker deals directly with individuals in areas of (1) club program, (2) personal problems, and (3) supervisory responsibility. If he is to carry on this important part of his work he must have an office in which privacy is assured. Furthermore, a great deal of the effectiveness of social group work is dependent upon the keeping of carefully written group and supervisory records. If the agency wishes to offer social group work service, then it must furnish its staff with clerical service, files, and other materials and equipment which make record keeping possible. We wish also to point out that it is necessary to include in the job analysis of a social group worker the time for personal interviews and for the reading and writing of records. Time for these duties must be calculated as well as the time he spends in actual work with groups and committees, and performing other functions in estimating his job load. Written job descriptions

¹ "Principles of Personnel Practices," American Association of Social Workers, 132 East 22nd Street, New York, N.Y.; "The Model Contract," Social Service Employees Union of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, 1860 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

should be part of the blueprint of every agency. These descriptions should be available for every worker, volunteer as well as paid, in the agency. The emphasis we feel necessary to put on these details gives some indication of the long way we still have to travel to develop the social situation in which truly professional social group work can be practiced.

Recruitment and Qualifications for Personnel

Recruitment of Program Volunteers. The recruitment of volunteers in an agency which involves its whole membership in program planning is not a very serious problem. When a large number of people are vitally interested in any enterprise, they in turn interest other people, and the problem of volunteer workers becomes one of choosing those who are best qualified for the jobs to be done. It is the observation of the authors that the number of volunteers available in any agency, as well as their turnover, is directly related to the quality of the planning and administration.

Even where there is no need to increase the number of volunteers, it is still important to interest new people in becoming volunteers. Agencies have an obligation to serve as many people as possible by providing volunteers with the opportunity to give their services to others. And because the work of most agencies in the recreational and informal educational field increases more rapidly than the volunteer and professional staff, the recruitment of personnel necessarily becomes one of the regular administrative responsibilities.

Let us see how the use of volunteer workers affects the organization of the agency's work. The responsibilities delegated to the volunteer are admittedly those which can be met without the background, knowledge, and skill of the professional worker. The assignment must be specific, and the kind and amount of training needed must be determined before the task is assigned. Hence all the work of the agency must be carefully analyzed and classified in relation to the type of service required, and the qualifications of the personnel to handle each service determined. For every job in the agency, the prerequisites in the way of knowledge, skill, and personality should be clearly set forth. The agency should provide training courses and supervision which will enable the volunteer to acquire knowledge and skill, but the volunteer must have those personal qualifications which will enable him to take advantage of the learning experience offered by the agency. The specifications for the job are a concern of the recruiting process. It is too late to introduce considerations of this type after the volunteer has come to the agency to begin his assignment. The volunteer should be informed that a training period precedes the assumption of responsibility and that following this preliminary training there is regular

supervision from the professional staff, with advanced training to follow as the worker becomes ready to assume more responsible positions within the agency. Training courses for volunteers ought to be available for those who are to help with clerical work or maintenance, as well as for those who work directly with groups and with individuals. Many volunteers bring to the agency certain specialized skills, yet these skills are not in themselves adequate preparation for the work of the particular agency. It is noteworthy that the agencies which attract the largest number of volunteers are the ones which set high standards, provide a sequence of training courses, and offer real supervision.

Effective recruitment of volunteers is dependent upon the development of structure through which volunteers may learn of opportunities for service in the various agencies. We believe that work with volunteers should be centralized as much as possible. Some cities and counties have developed a centralized Volunteer Bureau, usually under the auspices of the local council of social agencies. Where such a bureau exists, we consider it the professional obligation of every agency to share in its work, help to form its policies, and secure volunteers through the central registry, even if interested persons must be sent to the bureau to register before being allowed to undertake work in the agency of their choice. When the community has no centralized bureau, the agency will find it helpful to vest one member of the staff with the responsibility of recruiting and placing volunteers within the agency.

There are at least seven steps in the recruitment and placement of volunteers, whether the program operates on a city-wide or an agency-wide basis. These may be summarized as follows:

- (1) To organize and administer a recruitment program which operates on a year-round basis. There should be regular periods of concentrated publicity and special opportunities for new workers to register. This program of publicity and interpretation should be so planned as to attract volunteers who represent a cross-section of the population.
- (2) To make and carry out specific plans for recruitment, including both personal contacts and such impersonal media as newspapers, radio, and posters for schools, churches, and other public buildings, to develop exhibits interpreting the work of the agency (or agencies) and place them in strategic places; to prepare printed material which will be helpful to those who speak before various community groups on the opportunities for volunteer service in the recreational and informal educational agencies. As noted above it is important to reach groups representative of all races, faiths, economic and social groupings.
- (3) To receive from all units of work in the agency (or in the city) specific

- job descriptions of the work for which the volunteers are needed. These descriptions should include:
- (a) Specific statement of the responsibilities to be carried.
 - (b) Personal and technical qualifications required for this job.
 - (c) Weekly amount of time required to fulfill the responsibilities.
 - (d) Training required prior to starting to work.
 - (e) Dates and time of day of the next training course for this job.
 - (f) Type of supervision to be given by the agency.
 - (g) Name of the person who will supervise the worker in this job.
- (4) To make classification of jobs for which volunteers are needed on the basis of the above specific information.
- (5) To give these classifications broad publicity.
- (6) To recommend volunteers to units of work or agencies on the basis of their interests and background and their fitness to carry the responsibilities described. The actual placement in specific assignments should be the responsibility of the administrator of the unit of work in which the volunteer accepts a job.
- (7) To receive periodic evaluations of the work of the volunteer from the supervisor and a report from the volunteer on the meaning which the experience has for him.

Recruitment of Professional Workers. Continuous and long-range planning is needed in the recruitment of full-time professional workers as well as for volunteer workers.¹ The supply of professionally educated social group workers must be increased if agencies are to make use of the volunteers who are available in every community. Effective programs depend upon an adequate supply of workers in both classifications. Many agencies today are forced to employ workers who have not had the benefit of professional education and to support them in the work by whatever in-service training the agency can manage in the midst of the program of service it has undertaken to give to the community. It is no wonder that there are few volunteer workers in the agencies that labor under these conditions, for workers who themselves are in the process of learning are manifestly unable to carry adequately the responsibility of teaching others. Agencies are attempting to meet this situation through recruitment programs aimed to interest young college graduates in preparing for social work and through the award of fellowships to promising candidates. The greater number of fellowships are given by agencies on the local level, as only a few national agencies have established such combined recruitment and fellowship programs. These programs are having their effect, but there still is a great

¹ "Presenting Your Opportunity in a Youth Serving Organization" (A Recruiting Pamphlet for Professional Workers), Youth Division, National Social Welfare Assembly, 134 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

gap between the number of professional workers available and the demands of the agencies for their services. Institutes, short-time courses, and continuous in-service training through staff study courses are essential to give support to those who are "holding the fort" while the field catches up with itself.

Qualifications for Workers. The basic qualifications for those in the service of groups are the same both for untrained volunteer and paid workers and for professionally educated social group workers: (1) All workers must know and accept the philosophy and purpose of the agency; (2) they must be genuinely interested in people; (3) they must be friendly, considerate, and tactful; (4) they must have an appreciation of differing values and norms of people of differing cultures and backgrounds; (5) they must have a personal philosophy which supports the right of others to be different from themselves; (6) they must have a conviction about the place of autonomous group experience in the personal and social growth of individuals; (7) they must be able to secure their satisfactions in their work through the achievements of the members of the group; (8) they must have a personal philosophy of life which gives them the strength to offer support to others; (9) they must be able to be the bearer of values inherent in their own philosophy and in that of the agency for which they are working; (10) they must be able to accept and use the help of the agency supervisor in giving the highest quality of service of which they are capable.

All the workers in an agency likewise have the same responsibility to accept the obligations inherent in the assignment which is theirs to perform; to follow the schedule of the work to which they are assigned; to prepare records and reports regularly and at the appointed time; to confer with the supervisor and attend staff meetings in accordance with the demands of the agency; and finally, to use their skills to the limit of their abilities in carrying out the purposes of the agency.

It is desirable that the workers in professional positions be professionally educated social group workers, and in the frame of reference of this book the workers in such positions would of necessity meet this qualification.¹ It is desirable that the subexecutive have a number of years of experience as a direct service worker with groups before he moves to supervisory responsibilities. The untrained paid workers and the volunteers, on the other hand, are chosen on the basis of their personal qualifications and their program skills. If they have the personal qualifications, they will be able to profit from the agency training course and the in-service training program. Under these conditions some very fine social group work is now carried on; and with more attention given to supervision and the use of record writing as a

¹ See Chapter 1, pp. 13-16.

teaching device, very much more effective use can be made of the volunteer and the employed untrained worker than is now the case in many agencies.

All workers — the professionally educated, the untrained paid workers, and the volunteers — should be asked to fill out application forms, list their qualifications, and give references as to their personal and technical qualifications for this type of work. All should be personally interviewed and evaluated in terms of their ability to fill the position. This procedure should be carried out whether the worker is to advise one club or serve as a sub-executive. The worker who is to advise but one club works intimately with a group of members in the agency, and it is the agency's responsibility to bring to that club an adviser who is personally mature and who, even though not professionally prepared, is willing to learn how to help the members use the group experience for socially constructive purposes.

The relationship with the worker, volunteer or paid, begins at his first contact with the agency, which in many cases means with the registrar or the person in charge of recruitment. The first interview sounds the keynote for future ones. The new worker should feel through that interview the friendliness and warmth of the agency as well as its purposefulness. The purposes of the agency should be communicated through direct discussion of the business in hand. Unfortunately, some agency representatives interpret the establishment of rapport to mean an aimless discussion of whatever is on the mind of the person being interviewed. Such a conference is confusing to the applicant, and while he may enjoy a friendly conversation, he is prone to infer from it that the agency does not need his services. Time is the most valuable possession which human beings have at their disposal. Any person taking on new responsibilities, whether he is volunteering his services or being paid for them, accepts these responsibilities because he feels needed. From the beginning, the new worker needs to feel the purposefulness of the work he is asked to undertake. The interviewer must direct the conference to a discussion of the worker's motives in volunteering his services or in seeking employment in *this* agency. The interviewer gives the applicant every opportunity to explore the philosophy and purpose of the agency and to test his own against them. The applicant must be helped to understand the responsibilities he is assuming; to recognize the specific skills he needs in order to fulfill his assignment; to have full knowledge of the help available in the training course and supervisory conferences of which he is expected to take advantage. Throughout the conferences the interviewer evaluates the potentialities of the applicant in relation to the available positions in the agency. Most agencies need more volunteer and part-time employed workers than they are able to secure, and some agencies have difficulty in finding full-time workers. However, the interviewer

should not let the agency's need for workers influence his judgment of the applicant nor lower the standards for the positions. The community is better served if the clientele of the agency is limited to the number which a qualified personnel is able to serve than if the agency's positions are filled by those who are emotionally immature or inadequately prepared.

No untrained worker should be permitted to serve as adviser of a club until he has finished the beginning course in the training program designed to prepare for such work. This is a requirement of several national youth program agencies and it should be adopted by all auspices that claim to serve individuals and groups through the medium of self-governing clubs and other organized groups. Some agencies rationalize that they substitute individual conferences with advisers for the more formal training courses. It is our opinion that one of these forms of in-service training cannot be substituted for the other. They serve quite different purposes and both are needed if the agency is to serve its membership adequately. There is a great deal of knowledge which the new adviser must acquire. There is a minimum of knowledge which he must have before he even begins his work with a group, and the training course is a better medium for teaching this content than the individual conference. For the training course provides the future advisers with a group experience of their own and with learning situations which they can translate in terms of the groups which they are preparing to advise. The Girl Scouts' training courses for beginning advisers cover ten sessions with a minimum of two hours a session. While this still does not provide sufficient time for the advisers to learn as much as they need to know, it gives them the opportunity to develop some understanding of both the HOW of group work and the WHAT as interpreted in program content.

In the last analysis, the prerequisites to the successful use of volunteers are resolved down to co-operative planning and adequate supervision. Jobs must be definite. The purpose of the work must be clearly understood. The volunteer needs specific training *before* he starts work. He needs specific help *after* he has his assignment — help given, in terms and words he customarily uses, on the HOW of group advisorship as well as the WHAT of the program. If he is to advise a club, he needs definite help with record writing; he needs to be shown how, and then must have the chance to sit down with the supervisor and *discuss* how he wrote his record and how writing his record helped him to learn the skill of group advising. Nothing takes the place of this personal tutoring in helping him feel sufficiently secure in his new work to wish to continue. Volunteers who have had successful experience, and feel that they have been helped and appreciated, recruit other volunteers. In this sense, careful training and supervision can be classified as a method of recruitment.

Co-operative Administration of Unit Chairman and Subexecutive

In the preceding discussion of administrative processes we have indicated some of the activities of the committee chairman and the subexecutive who are responsible for a unit of work in the agency. Agencies use committees in different roles. Some operate with very few committees, and when this is the case their roles are usually advisory rather than administrative. These are the agencies whose administration is linear rather than circular: the board holds the executive director responsible for the program, and the director delegates the work to the staff and in turn holds them responsible for its execution. In this set-up, the board hears reports and gives advice but is not necessarily engaged in planning and very seldom in carrying out the program. In the circular method of administration, on the other hand, everybody in the agency is engaged in making the plans, and many share the responsibility of executing them. The work is delegated by the board to committees, and staff members are assigned to work with the committees in carrying it out. There are lines of authority in this plan as well as in the linear situation — the committee chairman is responsible to the board, and the staff members are responsible to the committee chairman and to the executive of the agency. The difference in their lines of responsibility lies in the different roles that the committee chairman and the executive director of the agency fulfill. The subexecutive is responsible for working with the chairman to accomplish goals which have been co-operatively set by the unit of work. The subexecutive is responsible to the executive director for his professional competence. From him he receives his evaluation of professional performance. This is an evaluation of his ability to use his professional skill in working with committees, organized groups, and individuals in the agency and in the community. From the committee chairman the subexecutive receives an evaluation of the work done in light of the goals set by the program plan.

The committee chairman, the subexecutive, the members of the committee, and the full-time staff in the unit constitute the executive body of the unit. It is responsible for keeping the channels of planning and evaluation open all during the year. It is closely related to the interclub council, either through having the latter's representative on the committee, or if the council is too young or unready for such an experience, through the reports and occasional visits of interclub representatives. This committee must test the organized procedures as to their efficiency and capacity to meet the needs for which they are intended. It sees that the policies of the unit conform with the policies of the agency and meet the needs within the unit; among such policies are those related to the structure of the groupings, to use

of facilities and equipment, and to the norms of behavior expected of members. In relation to the structure of groups in the unit, the committee considers such questions as these:

- In the light of the interests and needs of individuals and groups in the unit, shall the committee provide social group work service for
- (1) a large or small number of small self-governing, multiple-interest clubs?
 - (2) a wide or less wide variety of interest groups?
 - (3) protected groups for those who are showing the need for special help in social adjustment?
 - (4) lounge or canteen program?
 - (5) weekly mass activities?
 - (6) more or less use of the game room for helping individuals in their problems of social adjustment?
 - (7) more or less co-operation with other units in all-agency activities?
 - (8) more or less contacts with groups in the community?

The answers to all these questions affect both the structure of the groups within the unit and the job load of the staff and the committee. The amount of social group work service given through the different aspects of program content varies greatly. The size of the staff is limited, and while it can be augmented by volunteers, it can be increased only in proportion to the time which the professional staff can give to supervision. Some activities can be carried on by workers who are specialists in certain areas and whose function is to *lead* the activity. The committee then faces the fact that within the program there are some services which can be provided by volunteers under supervision, others which demand the service of the professional social group worker. The structure authorized by the committee should be formulated in terms of the needs of the membership and the staff available to meet them.

The number of individuals effectively served varies with the different structures, and when the committee is making its plan for the year it must face this factor and set its goals accordingly. If the decision is to serve fewer people well, it must be prepared to evaluate the work from carefully written and analyzed records. It must interpret to the rest of the agency and the community the work it is doing and the reasons for doing it in that particular way. If the decision is to serve many people in more casual fashion, then in all honesty the committee must give up such favorite and rather hackneyed interpretations of group work as "character building," "prevention of delinquency," "helping in the personality adjustment of individuals," and "education for democracy." For these objectives are not achieved through casual relationships. If the committee has decided to follow the plan of limiting the numbers to those to whom it can offer

qualitative social group work service, then the staff's time should be carefully allocated, with full allowance given to the amount of time needed for group advising and educative supervision as well as for record writing and reading.

The committee also has the responsibility of appointing subcommittees, such as interpretation and publicity, and advisory committees in the areas of program specializations, such as the arts, vocational guidance, parent education, worker's education, or any other special interest in which the unit committee feels the need for advice and leadership.

The chairman of the unit committee carries the executive role with the committee, and the subexecutive carries it with the staff, volunteer advisers, and special leaders. The subexecutive also helps the chairman in his work with the committee. The division of responsibility will depend a great deal on the experience and background of the chairman. When the chairman is one who has had years of experience in working with committees, who thoroughly understands the agency and its work, and who therefore carries the greater degree of responsibility for the committee, the role of the subexecutive involves conferring with the chairman, keeping him in touch with current developments through monthly written reports and through regular conferences, and seeking the chairman's advice on matters of policy and program. But there are chairmen who have had little organizational experience and who are really unprepared to assume the executive responsibilities that devolve on them. In such situations, the subexecutive helps the chairman to learn and carry out his function. The professional worker has the responsibility of keeping very clear the distinction between his own functions and those of the chairman, and of helping the person learning the role of an administrative chairman to do likewise. The chairman may become too dependent upon the professional worker if the latter does the work for the chairman instead of helping him do it himself; in such a case, although the chairman recognizes that this is a learning period, and even though he may express gratitude, he resents the worker's help. Sometimes, when there is no clear definition of function in this type of dual executive-ship, a chairman will have been given administrative responsibility which belongs to the worker rather than the chairman. This situation may result from a succession of inexperienced and untrained workers who feel insecure in their work and fear working with a chairman. To such workers it appears that the committee is merely making extra work, rather than giving help and support. The worker who feels guilty about his feelings toward the committee, and toward the chairman in particular, is unable to define clearly his own functions and those of the chairman, and is less able to take responsibility when the chairman acts as if he were the professional executive.

of the unit. The chairman may regard the worker as his assistant and the work may fall below the professional level of practice.

There are those in the field who are opposed to the use of committees on an administrative level. It is our opinion that their opposition is based on instances of poor practice rather than upon analysis and the validity of the structure itself. Social work agencies belong to the community, and the people of the community must have a part in administering them if they are to understand the value and need of the services offered. The circular method of administration, which provides for shared responsibility, defined functions, and clearly delineated roles of the lay and professional social worker, is a professionally sound method of securing the community's acceptance of the service of the agency. The success of this method lies in the ability of staff members to work creatively with the volunteers of the board and the committees, with advisers, groups, special leaders, and in fact with the entire personnel of the agency. And it is through the social work skill of helping individuals to take responsibility that the social group worker supports and enables those with whom he works in these various capacities.

The following excerpt from a staff member's record of a Teen-Age Committee in a YWCA reveals in action a group of women who are fulfilling some of the responsibilities discussed in this chapter.

TEEN-AGE COMMITTEE

During the period from October to the end of December, the Teen-Age Committee held three meetings at which it reviewed work plans for the coming year and the job descriptions which outlined the responsibilities of each staff member in carrying them out. The volunteer responsibilities were outlined, assignments made where possible, and a program for recruitment of new volunteers organized. One of the responsibilities of this committee was to conduct a teen-age canteen in the recreation room of a church in the area. The roles of the committee members in this project, as well as those of the staff, were clarified, and the policies governing the canteen were determined. One whole session was devoted to an analysis of the program and the needs in Eastview (a center) in the light of the limited staff and committee services. Since sufficient personnel was not immediately available, the committee recommended that this work be discontinued. Other business was the appointment of Mrs. Townsend to write up a statement of policy that could serve as the framework for the structure of the committee. This was to have been discussed at the December meeting, but was put over until January.

...*January Meeting.* Members Present: Mrs. Wellington, Chairman; Mrs. Milton, Miss Fanster, Mrs. Townsend, Mrs. Gimbel, Miss Burton. Staff Members: Miss Nickson, Miss Cooke.

Mrs. Townsend was the first to arrive and was sitting in the lobby when the worker came in. She said she wished the meetings would start on time so that all the business could be covered. She always has to leave right on time to get a bus to Parkview. She asked anxiously if we were putting her statement of policy at the end of the agenda again this month. I knew it was disappointing for her to have come prepared last month and then have had the bulk of the discussion on it postponed. I assured her that it was the first item on the agenda tonight and that Mrs. Wellington had planned to allow ample time for it. I gave Mrs. Townsend the copies of the statement which had been typed so that everybody could have one, according to our plan. She was glad this had been done and thought it would help everyone to follow along better. Mrs. Wellington came in, and after checking briefly to see that everything was in readiness for the meeting, she talked with Mrs. Townsend in a friendly way and expressed appreciation of her work on the statement of policy.

After Mrs. Gimbel, Miss Burton, Mrs. Milton, and Miss Cooke had arrived, Mrs. Wellington suggested that we begin. After passing out typed copies of the agenda, she called on Miss Burton to read the minutes of the last meeting. These were approved as read, Mrs. Gimbel making the motion.

Mrs. Wellington then introduced the subject of the statement of committee policy. She reviewed the committee's decision that it would be helpful to have such a document and outlined the preliminary work and discussion that had taken place. Mrs. Wellington suggested that Mrs. Townsend read the statement section by section, and then allow time for discussion of each part.

Mrs. Wellington suggested an addition to the statement on function to include the committee's work in reviewing, evaluating, and recommending future plans and extension of program. This was accepted. Mrs. Gimbel wondered at what spots in the community members of our committee should be represented, such as community councils; and at what other committees of the YWCA, such as camp, world fellowship, and public affairs. She suggested Mrs. Townsend try to include this somewhere in the statement. Mrs. Milton thought we needed to know what was going on in the community and in the association, but was afraid we might spread ourselves a little thin if we tried to be officially represented on all these committees. Miss Fanster agreed that we should watch out not to overload some people: she thought we needed to concentrate on the jobs that needed to be done within the department and still not lose sight of the whole. She thought perhaps the committee had too many professional people in its membership and that we should make an effort to include more home women who might find it easier to give time during the day. (Miss Fanster is a school principal.) If

we had more such members, she pointed out, we could have people responsible for integrating the work of our department with other parts of the association and with the community. Mrs. Wellington suggested that she would be glad to have the names of any possible recruits for the committee. Miss Burton (a Home and School Visitor) thought the list of the kind of people that should be included in the membership of the committee left out an important group: people without special skills or experience, who yet might be interested in teen-age youngsters and their problems and might be brought on the committee even though they would not know too much about the program in the beginning. In a discussion of frequency of meetings, Mrs. Gimbel thought it important to have continuity and to get an early start by beginning the meetings in September and closing in June. Mrs. Townsend said she would try to incorporate these ideas into the final draft of the statement. Mrs. Wellington asked me if there was anything in the statement that did not fit in with what the Committee of Management saw as the framework for such a committee. I thought it agreed in substance with statements from the national office, and mentioned that Mrs. Townsend had used such materials as resources in working on this statement. Miss Fanster made a motion that the committee officially thank Mrs. Townsend for the fine work she had done on the statement, and Mrs. Wellington asked Miss Burton to see that this was included in the minutes. Mrs. Townsend seemed pleased and said that she would work out the final draft as soon as possible.

Mrs. Wellington said that there were several progress reports which would be of interest to the committee. First Mrs. Milton reported, very clearly, on the conferences she, Miss Fanster, and I had had with representatives of the Church in helping to clarify policies concerning the use of the building for the Canteen. She asked all members to give her the names of prospective volunteers for the project.

Mrs. Wellington reported that the Committee of Management had not taken action on our committee's recommendation regarding the closing of the Eastview Center, but had instead referred it to the city-wide program planning committee.

Mrs. Wellington next reported on the last meeting of the city-wide departmental committee. This committee had requested that each branch committee give its opinions on whether they would like to participate in (1) meetings with other branches to exchange ideas regarding committee work and city-wide needs on which joint action might be advisable, (2) a city-wide parent education project. Mrs. Gimbel told of meetings held several years ago with the other branch committees and her feeling that they had been helpful. Miss Fanster thought we needed more specific information about the purpose of such meetings, and there seemed to be general agreement on this. Mrs. Milton thought the question of parent education meetings needed a lot of thought. Mrs. Townsend said she thought we really needed to concentrate on that area — that one city-wide event wasn't enough. Mrs. Wellington said she didn't want to impose her ideas, but it was her personal

feeling that we needed to work it out on a branch basis first. Miss Fanster agreed and suggested that we begin soon to think about how we can best accomplish this. Mrs. Wellington suggested time did not permit further discussion now, but promised to put it on the agenda of a meeting in the near future. Miss Cooke was asked to report briefly on the last advisers' meeting and future plans for adviser training. Miss Fanster thought the plan sounded excellent, and there was general agreement.

It was noted that program recommendations for next year would be considered at the February meeting; and it was therefore suggested that the staff prepare a brief summary of program to be mailed to committee members so that they can come prepared with this background information and not have to spend time reviewing the program in the meeting. The staff was also requested to prepare its recommendations for program and leadership for next year, and to have typed copies of these recommendations available for discussion by the committee.

Mrs. Townsend had to rush off, but the others remained for several minutes to talk together informally.

THE FUNCTION OF AN EXECUTIVE OF A UNIT OF WORK

A Job Description

The job analysis of the social group worker who is responsible for directing a unit of work includes both administration and direct service to groups and individuals. This worker participates in the administration of the agency-as-a-whole; he represents it in community organizations related to the work of his unit; he advises co-ordinating councils within his unit and helps them to relate to the agency-as-a-whole; he shares with the chairman and committee of the unit the responsibility for planning program and determining policy as related to the unit; he is responsible for the administration and supervision of the program and its personnel; he advises a limited number of groups; and he gives personal counseling to those who are failing to adjust to the program and people of the agency.

We have focused the foregoing discussion of administrative processes upon the role of the subexecutive in the agency, and in this way have described some aspects of the role of the social group worker within the agency-as-a-whole. The work of the subexecutive is accomplished through organizing, delegating, and holding others responsible for performance of the work delegated.

The delegation of responsibility is a comparatively simple routine if the structure of the agency is based on specific objectives and the personnel has been appointed in the light of prerequisites demanded by carefully defined areas of responsibilities. If, however, the work is not scientifically

organized, the function of delegation is fraught with many difficulties. L. Urwick, in his little book on *The Elements of Administration*¹ quotes Fayol as saying: "If we could eliminate the human factor, it would be easy enough to build up an organisation; anyone could do it if they had some idea of current practice. . . . But we cannot build up an effective organisation simply by dividing men into groups and giving them functions; we must know how . . . to find the necessary men and put each one in the place where he can be of most service." Urwick comments: "Problems of organization should be handled in the *right order*. Personal adjustments must be made, in so far as they are necessary. But fewer of them will be necessary and they will present fewer deviations from what is logical and simple, if the organiser first makes a plan, a design — to which he would work if he had the ideal human material."²

The only limitations to an ideal plan are the limitations imposed by the knowledge and skill of the formulators. The plan, however, frequently has to be adjusted to the available personnel and the material resources of the agency. In such a situation the agency has the benefit of planning; the areas where compromise is necessary are well known, and measures can be taken to change the situation. Thus, planning results in setting long-time goals as well as in drawing up a blueprint for the present.

In scientific planning the available staff members are assigned to clearly defined jobs and are given specific help in carrying them out. It is not enough for the organizational structure to define jobs in terms of duties entailed; the jobs must also be defined in terms of time required for the performance of those duties. For the agencies in which social group work is practiced, this means a more scientific approach to the problem of job load than has yet been made. The need for study and research on this problem is increasingly being recognized, and some councils of social agencies have made a beginning in this area, but there is no authoritative source of information which *defines* the normal work load of a social group worker.³

Delegation of responsibility involves delegation of authority, and that delegated authority carries with it a responsibility to account to the source

¹ New York, Harpers, 1943; p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ The agencies belonging to the Associated Youth Serving Organization made some advance in this direction when they studied the jobs of various workers in each of the seven member agencies and agreed upon common titles for similar positions in each agency. The Detroit Council of Social Agencies made a beginning in job descriptions when it classified positions in member agencies for purposes of developing a common salary scale. Other councils of social agencies have made or are in the process of making similar studies. The purpose of these studies, however, is to establish salary scales, rather than to develop specific descriptions of responsibilities and the necessary time studies upon which the size of staff and the size of clientele must be based if agencies are to lay claim to the use of scientific methods in their work.

from which the authority is derived. When the subexecutive delegates responsibility to others, by virtue of that act he assumes the responsibility of supervising and co-ordinating the work thus delegated, and of helping each member of the unit staff to carry out his duties to the best of his ability.¹ He is an educator and as such he is an enabler. He uses both individual conferences and group situations to teach, support, stimulate, and encourage the members of the unit staff in achieving their best in serving the members of the agency. The supervisor helps all the personnel in the unit to build on whatever background they bring to their responsibilities and in this process to learn the conscious use of themselves in serving individuals and groups in the agency.

Organization to administer any enterprise or service calls for a group of people working together, with their individual functions co-ordinated into a smoothly running whole. Since they are human, they will require help at times in relating themselves to the whole and seeing themselves as important but not isolated, significant only as others are significant too. Skill in administration consists not only in building organizational machinery which is adapted to the work to be done, but also in so dealing with the human parts of the machine that they all work at their individual and collective best.²

The head of a staff is first of all responsible for the quality of the interaction of the members of the staff, for the morale of the group-as-a-whole. It is his function to help each member of the staff to carry out the work of the unit according to his ability to use the principles of social work in his own way. He is not, however, responsible for the personal growth and development of the members of the staff. This is a professional relationship between a group of employees of the agency. The supervisor has the responsibility of helping the professional workers on the staff to improve their professional skills and of helping the untrained workers to use their knowledge and skill to the best of their ability. It is the work of the agency which brings the members of the staff together, and the controls are derived from the work situation alone. The supervisor is not in his position in order to control the members of the staff but to control the *situation* in such a way that the work is done well and that the members of the staff and the supervisor concomitantly benefit from the experience.

¹ From this point on, we shall use the term supervisor instead of subexecutive or executive, since the term more closely describes the function.

² Bertha Reynolds, *Learning and Teaching in the Practice of Social Work* (New York: Rinehart), pp. 35-36.

Structure Through Which Supervision Is Given

The supervisor helps the workers through staff meetings, training courses, institutes, seminars, and individual and group conferences.¹ The staff meeting is primarily a business meeting; it provides the setting wherein the supervisor and the workers discover the need for more knowledge and understanding, and make plans for meeting these needs. In our opinion, it is a mistake to try to combine an educational program with the other functions of the staff meeting. The business of the agency must be taken care of, and it is better to do it with dispatch in a businesslike way than to try to make the staff meeting serve two purposes and fail to accomplish adequately either the business or the educational program.

Staff meetings provide the setting for administrative supervision. Here program is evaluated, schedules are adjusted to meet changing needs, use of facilities is settled, equipment and other resources discussed and replacements and new purchases determined. It is in the staff meeting that all the workers are informed of special needs of groups and individuals, and co-operative plans for better service devised. It is in the staff meeting that community problems affecting the individuals and groups of the agency are discussed. Here unmet needs observed by the staff or reported by members are considered. In fact, all the problems inherent in work with individuals, groups, and the community are germane to the business of staff meetings.

The staff meeting of the agency or of any unit of work reflects the structure, administrative processes, and morale of the agency-as-a-whole. Some staff meetings are live and vital group experiences in which creative thinking is translated into significant program plans and channels are developed for their execution. Other staff meetings are dull and heavy, with participation limited to reports and announcements, administrative routines and planned "educational events." Between these two extremes fall most staff meetings, some more creative than others, each reflective of the degree to which the administration of the agency is made dynamic through the use of the group process in engaging all the individuals and groups in co-operative endeavor.

Staff meetings can be creative experiences when each member of the staff is identified with the purposes of the agency and feels himself to be a part of the various processes by which the purposes are achieved. This psychological identification with the whole is made possible through the sharing of responsibility for the whole. In such a group, every member's opinion is respected and opportunities for expression are freely given. Problems are presented and solutions worked out through the group process. In such an atmosphere, transacting the business of the agency's administration,

¹ See Chapter 15, pp. 544-553.

planning program, and arriving at decisions of policy are stimulating, educative experiences. Staff morale thrives and heavy loads become lighter because of mutual support and confidence.

The effectiveness of the use of the group process in administration depends upon the nature of the relationships between the members of the staff. The most significant relationship in this group is that between each of the members and the supervisor of the unit of work. The role of the supervisor is similar in some respects to that of the adviser of the primary group. Like the primary group worker, the supervisor owes his first responsibility to the group-as-a-whole — in this case, the staff. The movement of the group-as-a-whole must not be impeded by the dominant members, nor should the group be denied the contribution of the shy, less articulate members. It is the supervisor's responsibility to affect the interacting processes within the staff meeting in such a way that the dominant ones are controlled and the shy ones become expressive. The supervisor must maintain with each member of the staff a relationship which is different from that with any other member, since each member is different; but each must feel equally important in his eyes. His position separates the supervisor from the other members of the staff. He must therefore be able to accept the position of an isolate in the group, recognizing that it is the prestige of his office which isolates him from association with the others *as a member of the group*. He must recognize that suggestions, comments, and opinions emanating from him have greater significance than those of any other member of the staff because of the position he holds in relation to them. Consideration of these factors causes him to exercise self-control and professional discipline as he serves the staff by enabling each member to participate according to his capacity. Like any social group worker, he uses program content suitable for staff meetings to integrate the staff members in the achievement of the goals of the agency.

Some staff members need individual help in order to participate in staff meetings. The young, inexperienced worker may find it difficult to accept his role as a responsible staff member; and some staff members who are not without experience are lacking in the necessary self-confidence and security and hence hesitate to participate in staff meetings for fear of being "judged" by the supervisor or by fellow staff members. Moreover, a wide range in ages and educational backgrounds, as well as other factors of difference, may tend to block free participation. The supervisor must be aware of these factors and use his social work skill in affecting the group situation for the purpose of enabling all the members to participate. When necessary, he helps staff members to take part in group meetings through the medium of the individual conference.

Institutes and seminars set up by a unit or an agency have a specific educational purpose; hence the time allotted to them is not dissipated by the pressure of unexpected events. The supervisor may be the teacher in the institute; or some other member of the staff may share his knowledge of some area in which he has special competence; or a teacher from outside the agency may be employed. The institutes and seminars are usually for more advanced workers than the training courses.

Training courses are established for those who are beginners in the use of social work methods, often volunteers or part-time untrained workers. It seems self-evident that the content of these courses depends upon the type of jobs to be done and on the background and understanding of the personnel for whom and by whom they are planned.

THE CREATIVE USE OF THE SOCIAL PROCESS

It has not been the purpose of this chapter to analyze and make explicit all the administrative processes and procedures involved in the operation of a social agency, or even of a unit of work of such an agency, but rather to indicate a philosophy of administration which makes possible the creative use of the social process. Throughout this book we have repeatedly indicated certain basic structural factors which are essential to effective achievement of *any* organized group. These may be summarized as follows: (1) clearly defined purpose; (2) clearly defined area of autonomy; (3) channels for communication and co-operation with other groups; (4) knowledge of purpose and area of autonomy of other groups functioning in the agency and community.

We have further emphasized that it is not enough for the worker to understand the organization of any group or collection of groups (the agency); he must also know *how to use* structure to further the attainment of the objectives of groups and of the agency-as-a-whole. In the use of this structure the worker employs basic social work skills: helping individuals through the interview; consciously affecting group situations; applying knowledge of the groups' affairs, of policies and procedures of the agency, and of the structure, policies, and procedures of other agencies. Whether he does recording and reporting; scheduling; budgeting and keeping accounts; purchasing supplies; delegating, through the development of job descriptions; planning and using physical equipment; registering members; interpreting and publicizing the program of the agency; in short, whatever he may do — he uses his professional skill in working with others toward the attainment of the social goals indicated in the purpose of the group or agency within defined areas of autonomy.

As an administrator, the social group worker is called upon to exercise leadership in his own right and to enable others both to lead and to follow. His success in the creative use of the social process is largely dependent upon his ability to fulfill the leadership role only when appropriate and to enable others to lead in the areas of their delegated authority.

Social group work, then, from the primary group to the administrative process, is a method through which the creative use of the social process is achieved. It is a process and a method through which group life is affected by a worker who consciously directs the interaction toward the accomplishment of desirable goals, which in our country are conceived in a democratic frame of reference. And the goals for which the social group work method is used are both individual and social, in that the process of social group work is directed, first, toward helping individuals participate in a qualitative group relationship which enables them to become more effective social beings, and second, toward helping the group-as-a-whole to achieve ends significant to the growth and development of a more democratic society.

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PART ONE: THE SOCIAL GROUP WORK METHOD

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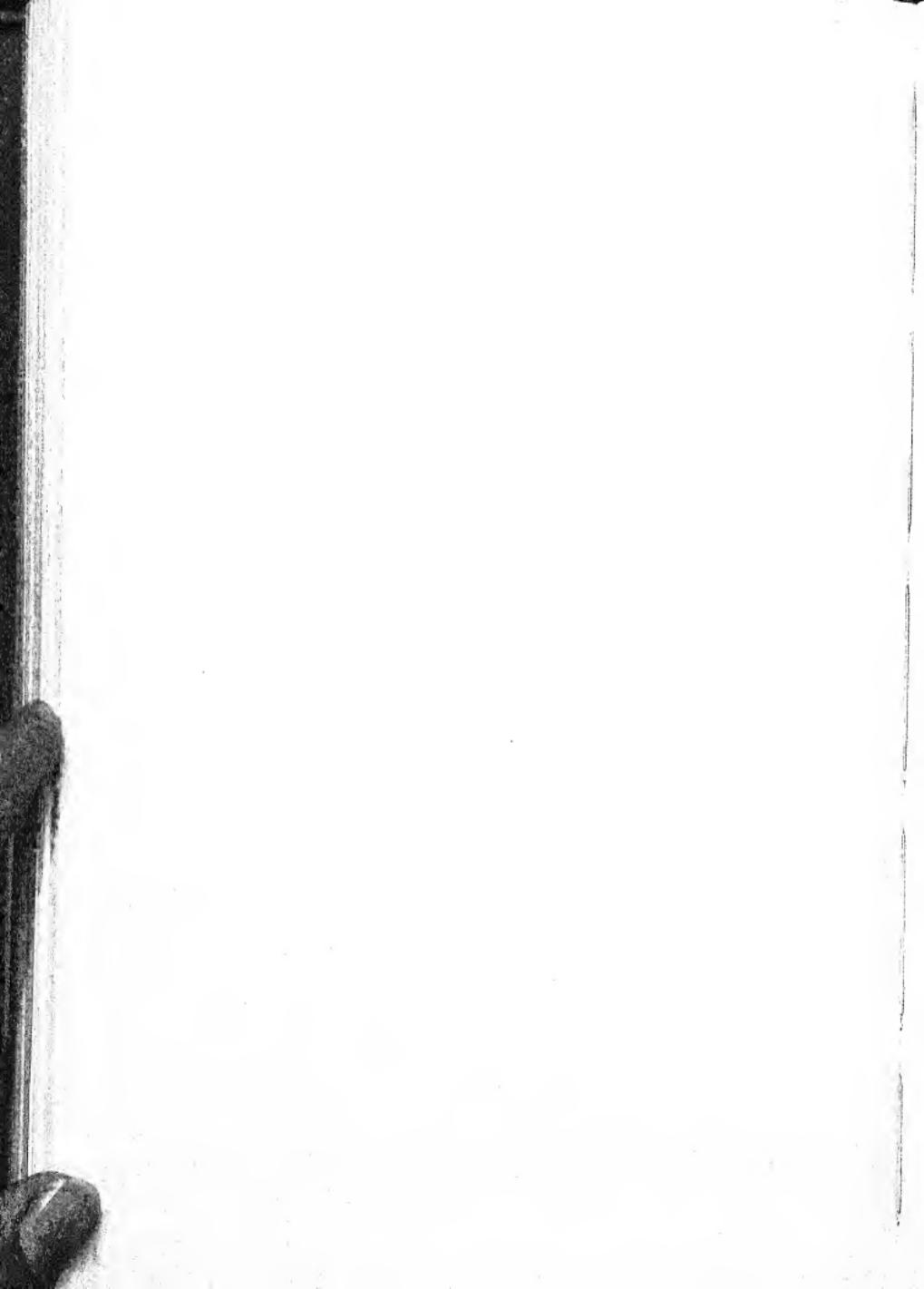
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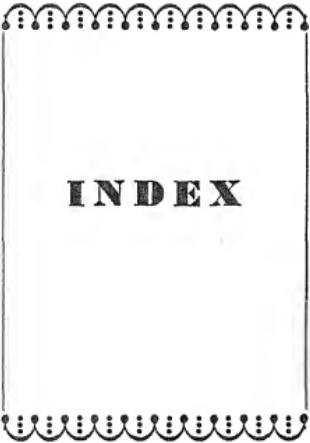
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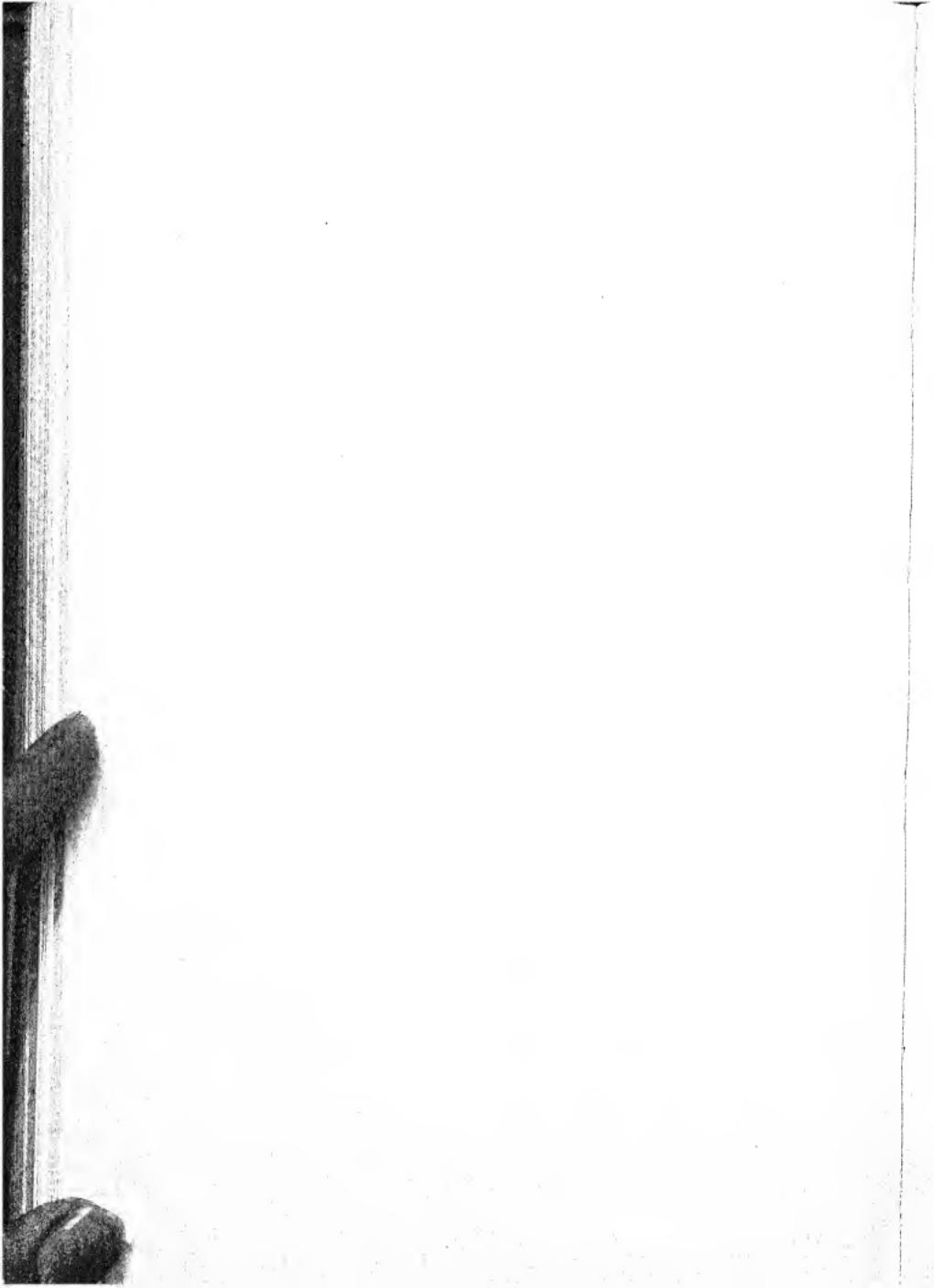
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INDEX



Index

- Acceptance, process of, 44, 45-46, 48-50; of worker by group, 69-70, 118; of group by worker, 70, 85-88, 118; impossibility of buying, 87; on the basis of skill, 131, 154; in games, 233-234
- Accommodation, in secretary action, 52
- Achievement, 97-99, 541; groups as media for, 36
- Action, social, 20-22, 96, 598-599; corporate, 38, 52, 54, 55; collective, 52; societary, 52
- Activities, skillful use of, 129-131; mass, 133, 136; multiple and single, 137-138; values of, 153-156, 211-212; as content of group experience, 153; social content in, 155; for the handicapped, 170-171; reasons for likes and dislikes in, 212-215. *See also* Program; Games; Leisure time activities; Dance; Arts and crafts; Dramatics; etc.
- Activity of worker, degree of, 67, 68, 193
- Activity therapy, 62
- Addams, Jane, 11
- Adjustment, individual growth through, 99, 117
- Administration, processes of, 587-622; content of, 588; linear, 588, 610; circular, 588, 589-599, and the program-planning process, 599-600; channels of participation in, 594-599; and personnel, 600-609; and committees, 610-616; and executive of a unit of work, 616-621
- Adolescence, behavior and problems of, 106-109; values of games in, 236. *See also* Adolescent groups
- Adolescent groups, role of worker with, 160; assumed interests of, 163; records of, 394-456: "Can Do Club," 394-408; "Pyke's Pack," 409-420; "Glamour Girls," 421-434; "Sub-Debs," 434-456
- Adult groups, role of worker with, 160; assumed interests of, 163; records of, 493-514 ("Elite Women's Club"). *See also* Young adult groups; Old age groups
- Adulthood, behavior and problems of, 112-113; unsatisfied play needs of, 208-209. *See also* Adult groups; Young adulthood; Old age
- Age range, as a factor in groups, 138-142
- Aged, the. *See* Old age
- Agencies, evolution of purposes and programs of, 11-13; relation of social worker to, 20-22, 25, 83, 95; as auspices of groups, 61, 66-67, 169; in community work, 80-83, 598-599; administrative structure of, 169, 587-589; circular administration of, 589-599; personnel of, 591, 600-613, 616-621; and program planning, 67, 95-96, 154, 599-600
- Aggression and frustration, 124, 230; establishment of inner control of, 226; games as release for, 226-232, 286. *See also* Hostility
- Alexander, Franz, quoted, 6n., 43n.
- Alienation from parent, 90
- Alliance, as solution of group conflict, 53
- Alschuler, Rose, and Christine Heinig, 200; quoted, 206
- Ambivalence, of feelings, 31, 34n., 57, 58, 270, 541; and process of acceptance, 45-46; as the group worker's opportunity, 70. *See also* Feelings, positive and negative
- American Association of Group Workers, 10
- American Association of Social Workers, 603
- Arts and crafts, as program content, 303-305; values of, 305-310 (design and color), 310-322 (materials), 322-337 (processes)
- Assumed interests, 162-163
- Attitudes, 125; change of, 127; in supervisory relationship, 533

- Ault, Laura, quoted, 112
 Authority, functional, 8-9, 13; of office, 8-9; of competence, 8-9
 Awards, 87-88
 Baden-Powell, Lord, 11, 12
 Ballet, 267-268
 Bands, 277; rhythm, 274-276
 Barnett, Canon, 11, 12
 Baseball, 218
 Basic worker, 28
 Basketball, 218, 219
 Becker, Howard, 9n., 45n., 48-49n., 50
 Behavior, of group members, 33-35; patterns of, 37, 224; norms of, 38, 40; infantile, 57; acceptable and unacceptable, 58; symptomatic aspects of, 62; delinquent, 119-121; self-preservative, 226
 Bender, Lauretta, 263, 295, 331
 Boas, Franziska, 263
 Bond, group, 44
 Boy Scouts, 11, 61
 Brace, Charles Loring, 11, 12
 Braiding, 334
 Brick, Maria, 306
 Bronner, Augusta F., quoted, 119n.
 Brownie group, excerpt from record of, 30-31
 "Busy Bees Club," 126
 Camp Fire Girls, 11
 Campcraft, 339-340
 "Can Do Club," 394-408
 Cantril, Hadley, quoted, 39
 Card games, 227
 Carr-Saunders, A. M., and P. A. Wilson, quoted, 3n., 7n.
 Case worker, 10, 23-24
 Caste, 147
 Chalk, 314
 Charcoal, 314
 Chess, 227-228
 Child guidance, 61. *See also* "Fun Club"
 Children, development of values and norms in, 38-40; in infancy, 102; preschool, 102-104; school-age, 104-106; grouping of, 133, 139-141; convalescent, 170; delinquent, 120; play of, 198-202. *See also* Adolescence; Preschool and School-age groups; Adolescent groups
 Children's Aid Societies, 11
 Choral speech, 296-298
 Choreography, 258
 "Chuck's Boys Club," 370-393
 Circular administration, theory and structure of, 589-594; channels for participa-
 tion in, 594-599; and the program-planning process, 599-600; evaluation of, 613
 Civil rights, 346
 Class, social, 147-150
 Clay, 312, 332, 350
 Clinical group work, 62
 Cloth, as a craft material, 316-317
 Clubs. *See Groups; Group records*
 Color, influence and values of, 308-310; use of, 310
 Committees, helping members to function on, 187-188; as means of developing administrative responsibility, 597-598; for special events, 597-598; standing, 598; special, 598; agencies' use of, in administration, 610-616
 Community, relation of worker and agency to, 20-22, 27, 73, 80-83, 180-181; use of services of, 165, 181-183
 Competitive games, 217
 Compromise, as solution of group conflict, 53
 Conferences, supervisory, 544-553; individual supervisory, 545-551; records of individual supervisory, 555-586; group supervisory, 551-553
 Conflict, in values and norms, 37-42; and agreement, as basis of interaction, 52-56; essential to group life, 55-56
 Conflict situations, 34, 37, 55
 "Constructive Griping," 472-480
 Control, as a value of play, 202; of materials, 203
 Convalescents, 117, 170. *See also* "Constructive Griping"
 "Conversation, A," 462-465
 Conversations, leads provided by, 172, 173
 Cooking, 336
 Cooley, Charles H., quoted, 9n.
 Cord, as a craft material, 317
 Councils, interclub, 594-596
 Coyle, Grace, quoted, 55
 Craft materials, values of, 310-322
 Craft processes, values of, 322-323
 Crafts. *See Arts and Crafts*
 Crayons, 314
 Crisis situations, 32-34
 Crocheting, 334
 Curran, Frank J., quoted, 288, 289
 Cutting, 333
 Dancing, 245-268; folk and square, 246-250; classification of, 248-250; values of, 250-256; criteria for selection of, 256-257; modern, 257-259; values of, 259-263;

- social, 264-267; ballet, 267-268; acrobatic, 268; tap, 268; chorus and line, 268
- Daydreams, 204; songs as, 270
- Decision-making process, 52, 66-67, 72-73, 137
- Defense, mechanisms of, 46; types of, 46-47; and mechanisms of projection, 57
- Delinquency, problems leading to, 119-121; recreation and prevention of, 119n., 120. *See also "Pyke's Pack"*
- Democracy, leadership in, 6; group process and, 53, 161-162; in agency administration, 589, 590
- Dependence-independence, in children, 31, 40, 108, 160, 173
- Design and color, values of, 306-310; use of, 306, 307; formal balance in, 307, 308; rhythmic, 328
- Despert, J. Louise, 283, 323; quoted, 215
- Difference, factors of, individual, 101-132; social, 132-152
- Discrimination, against minority groups, 89. *See also Prejudice*
- Diseases, of childhood, 104n.; of adolescence, 107n.; of adulthood, 109n., 113n.; of old age, 114n. *See also Illness*
- Displacement, 46, 57
- Dodge, Grace, 11, 12
- Dodge ball, 228-231
- Dramatic games, 286-287
- Dramatic play, 285-286
- Dramatics, 284-302; forerunners of, 285-287; pantomime, improvisations, and play-making, 287-293; the formal play, 293; shadowgraphs, hand puppets, and marionettes, 294-296; choral speech, 296-298; festivals and pageants, 298; psychodrama and sociodrama, 298-299; as an element of program content, 299-302
- Drives, instinctual, 42-43
- Dyads, 49
- Dynamics, of groups, 36-58; of human personality, 42-43; of feelings, 93-94
- Education, for social work, 13-14; inter-cultural, 90-91, 123, 125-132; as a factor of difference, 142-143
- Ego, 43; in preschool child, 103; in adolescent, 108
- Elimination, as solution of group conflict, 53
- "Elite Women's Club," 493-514
- Emotional balance, maintenance of, 47, 155-156, 542
- Emotional illness, 115; value of activities in, 210; use of group in treatment of. *See*
- "Fun Club," "Constructive Griping," "Social Dancing Class"
- Emotions. *See Feelings*
- "Enabler," social group worker as, 29-30, 61, 193
- English, O. Spurgeon, and Gerald H. J. Pearson, quoted, 111, 112, 114
- Environment, use of, in program planning, 165-166
- Eubank, Earl E., 51, 52; quoted, 44, 49-50n.
- Evaluation, through record writing, 76-77, 179; development of skill in, 546
- Exhibitionism, 119; and dancing, 267, 268
- Expressed interests, 163-164
- Failure, psychology of, 542
- Fairy tales, 281-282
- Family, child's place in, 12, 37, 41, 103; and pre-delinquency, 121; as a group, 143-144; worker's contacts with, 180
- Family Welfare Organizations, 61
- Fantasies, 204, 206
- Feelings, handling of, in conflict situations, 34, 91, 93; repression of, 35, 93-94; 234, 540; positive and negative, 45-46, 56-59, 63-64, 93, 205; and prejudice, 121-132; release of, through activities, 198, 204, 225, 226, 227, 228, 291, 293, 295, 322-323; toward supervisory responsibilities, 535; professional handling of worker's own, 536-537, 542; and supervisor-worker relation, 537-540
- Felt, as a craft material, 316-317
- Festivals, 298
- Finger painting, 326-328, 329
- Folk dances, 246-257
- Follett, Mary P., quoted, 37n., 53, 97n.
- Followership, 3
- Foods, as a program resource, 318-321; meaning of, to individuals, 318-319
- Football, 219
- Formed groups, 3-4, 51, 56
- Frank, L. K., quoted, 167
- Fraternities, 150
- Freedom, as a value of society, 18; feeling of, in play and leisure-time activities, 204
- Friendliness, 35. *See also Feelings, positive and negative*
- "Friendship Club," 514-529
- Frustration, and hostility, 124, 230
- Fun, as an aspect of play, 204
- "Fun Club," 352-370
- Game rooms, 236-238

- Games, 216-242; classification of, 216-218; values in patterns of, 218-219; values in activity or skill factors of, 219-222; values in rules of, 222; outline for analysis of, 223; as program content, 223-239; as release for feelings, 226-232; revelatory aspects of, 235-236; criteria for selecting and leading, 239-242; "play party," 246
- Gardner, George E., quoted, 156, 226
- Gartland, Ruth, quoted, 14
- Gifts, as symbols of recognition, 86
- Girl Scouts, 11, 61, 148; training courses for advisers, 609
- "Glamour Girls," 421-434
- "Golden Lights" club, excerpt from record of, 148-150
- Greenwood, Edward, quoted, 246
- Group life, understanding the dynamics of, 36-59
- Group psychotherapy, 62
- Group records: "Toombah Club," 347-352; "Fun Club," 352-370; "Chuck's Boys Club," 370-393; "Can Do Club," 394-408; "Pyke's Pack," 409-421; "Glamour Girls," 421-434; "Sub-Debs," 434-456; "Heights Recreation Club," 457-462; "A Conversation," 462-465; "NAACP Youth Group," 465-471; "Constructive Griping," 472-480; "A Social Dancing Class," 480-482; "Suhfiw Club," 482-492; "Elite Women's Club," 493-514; "Friendship Club," 514-529
- Group supervisory conference, 551-553
- Group therapy, 62
- Group worker, distinguished from social group worker, 10. *See also* Social group worker; Untrained employed worker
- Groups, natural, 3-4, 51, 56; formed, 3-4, 51, 56; primary, 4, 50-51, 594; social worker's function in, 25-27; purposes of, 26; conflict in, 32-34, 37, 52-56; dynamics of, 36-59; as media for achievement, change, and stability, 36-42; interacting processes in, 43-56, 52-53; qualifications for membership in, 41; defined, 44; organized, 44-45; and subgroups, 48-50; structure of, 51-52; interpersonal relations in, 56-59; individual development through, 61, 97; service to, 63-65; under agency auspice, 65-67; intercultural, 125-132; with differing purposes, 132-133; of differing size, 133-137; with multiple or single activities, 137-138; age range in, 138-141; intellectual range in, 141-142; educational background range in, 142-143; social experience range in, 143-145; occupational range in, 145-147; social class range in, 147-150; composition of, as to sex, 150-152; preschool, 160, 162-163, 347-352; therapeutic, 160; school-age, 160, 163, 352-393; adolescent, 160, 163, 394-456; young adult, 160, 163, 457-492; mature adult, 160, 163, 493-514; old age, 514-529
- Growing up, common problems of, 101-115; special problems of, 115-132; vital role of play in, 201
- Guilt, sense of, 93, 312, 542
- Gulick, Luther, 11, 12
- Hammering, 334
- Handicapped persons, 115-118. *See also* "Can Do Club"
- Health, 47; as program content, 173-176
- Healy, William, and Augusta F. Bronner, quoted, 119n.
- "Heights Recreation Club," 457-462
- Heinig, Christine, 200, 206
- Helping process, as generic element, 22-23; in supervisory function, 533
- Heterosexual relationships, development of interest in, 108; through groups, 150-152; through games, 237-238; through social dancing, 108, 264-266; of the social group worker, 540
- Hill, Octavia, 11
- Hobbies, 197-198, 207-216
- Holly, Sophie, 296
- Hospital groups, 61, 65, 67, 117, 118. *See also* "Constructive Griping," "Social Dancing Class"
- Hostility, felt by child toward parent, 31; overt forms of, 33-35, 92; the group as outlet for expression of, 56-59, 63-64; and need for limitations, 91-95; dynamics of, 93; and frustration, 124, 230; games as release for, 200, 204, 220, 226-232; dramatics as release for, 290-291, 295; crafts as release for, 322-323, 327
- Human personality, structure of, 42-43
- Humor, as an aspect of play, 204
- Id*, 42, 102, 103
- Identification, as a mechanism of defense, 46; occupational, 145, cultural, 147; social class, 148-150
- Illness, functional, 35, 542; physical and emotional, 47, 115-121. *See also* Diseases
- Implied interests, 164-165
- Improvisations, 288-293

- Impulses, in infant, 102; inhibition of, 220.
See also Id
- Independence, child's drive toward, 31, 40; ambivalent attitude of adolescent toward, 108, 160
- Indigenous leaders, 6, 29
- Individual difference, factors of, 101-132
- Individualization, within the group setting, 177. *See also Individuals*
- Individuals, relation of social worker to, 22-23; relation of social group worker to, 24-25, 29, 63-64, 73-76; uniqueness of, 37; meaning of groups to, 40, 41, 42, 49-50, 97-99; relations of, to one another, 45, 56-59; services to, 63-65, 75-76; who are not helped by groups, 64-65; conferring with, 73-76; right of, to be different, 122
- Infancy, 102
- Infant, 102
- Informal education, 27, 64
- Insight, in the supervisory relationship, 533-553; development of capacity to use, 537
- Institutional groups, 66, 67, 118. *See also "Can Do Club"*
- Integration, as solution of group conflict, 53
- Interaction, 29, 63-65; concepts relative to, 43-56; basis of, 52-53; harmful, 63; as opportunity of social group worker, 70, 92
- Interagency work, 27, 180, 192-193
- Intercultural relations, 88-91, 121-132, 255-256, 303
- Interdependence, sense of, 88
- Interest groups, 137, 303
- Interests, discovering and arousing, 162-165; assumed, 162; at various age-levels, 162-163; expressed, 163-164; implied, 164-165
- Intergroup activities, stimulated by program content, 261-263; and celebration of special events, 298; participation in, through interclub council, 594-597; participation in, through various committees, 597-599
- Intergroup worker, 23, 596
- Interpersonal relations, 56-59; specialized knowledge of, 62; handling of, 86
- Interracial relations, 90-91, 123-132, 255-256, 303; in games, 200-201, 229-230, 289. *See also "Glamour Girls," "NAACP Youth Group"*
- Interviews, 74, 75-76
- Isolates, 48-49
- Jewish Center Movement, 11, 61
- Jewish program content. *See "Toombah Club"*
- Jewish Social Service Association, 514
- Job definition, 609
- Knitting, 334
- Knotting, 334
- Leaders, emergence of, 4-5; sanction of, 5-7; indigenous, 6, 29. *See also Leadership*
- Leadership, as core of professional functions, 4-16; professional, in social work, 3-35; and role of social group worker, 29-30, 60, 67, 134-136, 166, 183-185; helping members fulfill roles of, 186-189
- Learner, social group worker viewed as, 537-544
- Learning, psychology of, 537-540; blocks to, 537, 538; uneven rate of, 537, 538; as a struggle, 542
- Leatherwork, 315-316
- Lee, Joseph, 11, 12; quoted, 244, 245
- Leisure time activities, 197-198, 207-216
- "Liking," as distinguished from "professionally regarding," 15, 85
- Limitations, worker's role in using, 91-96; imposed by materials, rules, and situations, 166-167; imposed by resources and facilities, 167-169; inherent within individuals, 169-171
- Linear administration, 588, 610
- Linoleum, as a craft material, 316
- Liss, Edward, quoted, 309, 324
- Listener, worker as, 171-178
- Lorand, Sandor, quoted, 281-282
- "Loving" the members, 85-91
- Low, Juliette, 11, 12
- Lowenfeld, Margaret, quoted, 209
- "Lucky Eleven Club," excerpt from record of, 53-54
- Lunt, Paul S., quoted, 52
- Lyle, Jeanetta, 296: (Menninger), quoted, 207
- MacIver, R. M., quoted, 51n.
- "Mad Caps," 592-593
- Malinowski, Bronislav, quoted, 97, 247
- Marionettes, 294, 296
- Martin, John, quoted, 258-259, 301
- Mastery or control, as a value of play, 202; of materials, 203
- Membership, status of, 28, 48
- Menninger, Karl, quoted, 207, 227
- Menninger, William, 288, 289
- Menninger Foundation, 210

- Mental health, maintenance of, 47, 155-156
 Mental powers, use of, in games, 221
 "Merry Makers Club," 54-55
 Metal, as a craft material, 316
 Minority groups, 89, 124-125. *See also* Intercultural relations; Interracial relations
 Modeling, 330-333
 Modern dance, 257-258; values of, 259-267
 Monads, 48-49
 Monotonism, 274
 Moreno, J. L., quoted, 298-299
 Mothers' Clubs, 146
 Mower, James W., quoted, 210-211
 Music, 269-279; group singing, 269-272; values of, 272-274; rhythm bands and orchestras, 274-276; creative, 276; listening to, 277; piano, 277; bands, 277; ensembles, 277; orchestras, 277; as therapy, 278-279; values of, 279
 "NAACP Youth Group," 465-471
 Narrative process records. *See* Records
 National Federation of Settlements, 345
 National Jewish Welfare Board, 345
 National Recreation Association, 10
 National Social Welfare Assembly, 82
 Natural groups, 3-4, 51, 56
 Natural materials, in craft work, 317-318
 Nature, as a program resource, 337-339
 Naumberg, Margaret, quoted, 156
 Needs, individual and societal, 17-19; personal versus group, 63; of infant, 102; of preschool child, 103-104; of school-age child, 106; of adolescent, 108; of young adult, 110; of mature adult, 113; of old person, 115
 Negative feelings. *See* Feelings, positive and negative
 Negroes, 126-128, 229-230, 289. *See also* Interracial relations; "Glamour Girls," "NAACP Youth Group," "Elite Women's Club"
 Nesbit, Elizabeth, quoted, 284
 Newstetter, W. I., quoted, 596-597
 Norms, conflicts in, 37-42; development of, 154
 Novick, Abraham, quoted, 210, 472
 Observer, worker as, 171-178
 Occupational range, and grouping, 145-147
 Oedipus situation, 103, 104, 285-286, 325
 Officers, of clubs, work with, 186-188; of agency, 588
 Old age, characteristics of, 113-115; recreational groups for, 114. *See also* "Friendship Club," 514-529
 "One God," 88
 "One World," 88
 Opposition, in societary action, 52
 Orchestras, 277; rhythm, 274-276
 Out-of-doors, values of, 337-340
 Pageants, 298
 Painting and drawing, 324-329
 Paints, water base, 313; finger, 313, 326, 327; oil base, 314
 Pairs, 49, 105
 Pantomime, 287-288
 Paper and cardboard, as craft materials, 315
 Papier-mâché, as a craft material, 313
 Parent, emancipation from, 31, 40, 105; organized group as substitute for, 40; rivalry situation in relation to, 103, 285-286; supervisor identified with, 538
 Paste, as a craft material, 318
 Pastels, 314
 Pearson, Gerald H. J., quoted, 111, 112, 114
 Pencils, 314
 Personality, structure of, 42-43; development of, 61; revealed through activities, 201, 205, 307-310
 Personnel, of agencies, 600-613
 Photography, 137-138, 153
 Planning, co-operative, 592. *See also* Program planning
 Plaster of Paris, as a craft material, 313
 Plasticene, 312-313
 Plastics, 312, 332
 Play, importance of, to child, 104, 202, 206; theories of, 198; definition of, 198; patterns of, 199; values of, 202-206. *See also* Leisure time activities; Games
 Play Party Games, 217, 246-247, 250-254
 Playgrounds, 11, 12, 61
 Playmaking, 298
 Plays. *See* Dramatics
 Pray, Kenneth, quoted, 20, 21
 Pre-delinquency, 120, 121
 Prejudice, 121-132
 Preschool children, behavior and problems of, 102-104. *See also* Preschool groups
 Preschool groups, assumed interests of, 162-163; records of, 347-352 ("Toombah Club")
 Primary group, defined, 4; characteristics of, 50-51; work with, 62-63; and administration, 594
 Printing, 330
 Process records. *See* Record writing
 Professional education, for social work, 13-14
 Professional regard, 15, 85

- Professional worker, evolution of, 7; distinguished from untrained worker, 10, 601-603; qualifications for, 607. *See also* Social group worker
- Program, as means, 73; planning and developing, 153-193; financing, 167-168; helping members to plan, 159-162; media for, 197; effective use of, 211. *See also* Games; Dramatics; Arts and Crafts; etc.
- Program content, defined, 30n.; as total group experience, 73; factors affecting, 134, 156-158; values of play as criteria for choice of, 202; values of activities as elements of, *see under* Games; Dramatics; Arts and Crafts; etc.
- Program planning, and role of agency, 67, 95-96, 154, 599-600; general principles of, 153-156; elements in process of, 156-159; role of social group worker in, 159-171; aid given by worker to members in, 171-193; agency-wide, through circular administration, 599-600
- Projection, 46, 57; in supervisor-worker relationship, 537-538
- Psychiatrist, role of, 62
- Psychodrama, 298-299
- Psychotherapy, 156
- Psychotics, 47
- Puppets, 294-296; therapeutic use of, 296
"Pyke's Pack," 409-421
- Race. *See* Interracial relations
- Rainwater, Clarence E., quoted, 198
- Ramm, Katherine, 274
- Records, writing of, 70, 76-80; suggested order for content of, 79-80; analysis through, 178-180; 546-547; as source of data, 180; supervisory, 551, 555-586.
For examples of process records of groups, see under Group records
- Records (phonograph), use of, 256, 277
- Recreation, importance of, for adults, 207.
See also Play; Leisure time activities
- Recreational therapy, 62
- Recruitment, of volunteer workers, 604-606; of professional workers, 606-607
- Referral, 62, 75
- Rejection, 44. *See also* Hostility
- Religion, and the needs of man, 17; as a factor of difference, 88-89, 121-123
- Reports. *See* Records
- Representative groupings, 4, 150
- Repression, 46; and the problem of sharing, 540
- Reynolds, Bertha, quoted, 618
- Rhythm, 243-245, 265
- Rhythm bands and orchestras, 274-276
- Rhythmic design, 328
- "Roaring Aces," 98
- Rope, as a craft material, 317
- Rottersman, William, 309
- Rubinstein, Victor, and Abraham Novick, quoted, 210, 472
- Ryland, Gladys, quoted, 156-158
- Saint Francis, 11
- Saint Vincent de Paul, 11
- Scapegoat, 230
- School, co-operation with, 180
- School-age children, behavior and problems of, 104-106. *See also* School-age groups
- School-age groups, role of worker with, 160; assumed interests of, 163; records of, 352-393: "Fun Club," 352-370; "Chuck's Boys Club," 370-393
- Self, professional use of, 14, 539, 542, 543
- Sensory powers, use of, in games, 221
- Service professions, evolution of, 7-8
- Settlements, 61
- Sewing, 335-336
- Sex factor, development of interest in, 104-105; at adolescence, 108; in young adulthood, 111; at maturity, 113; in composition of groups, 150-152. *See also* Heterosexual relationships
- Shadowgraphs, 294
- Sharing, difficulty of, for child, 103-104, 539; through group experiences, 168, 303; the problem of, 539-541; as a demand of social group work, 543
- Sheehy, Emma Dickson, quoted, 274, 276
- Sherif, Muzafer, quoted, 39
- Simmel, Georg, quoted, 9n.
- Singing, group, 269-274; values of, 272-274
- Soccer, 231-232
- Social action, 20-22, 96, 598-599. *See also* "NAACP Youth Group"
- Social agencies. *See* Agencies
- Social case worker, 10, 23-24
- Social clubs, 137
- Social content, 155
- Social dancing, 264-267. *See also* "Social Dancing Class"
- "Social Dancing Class," 480-482
- Social experience, as a factor in grouping, 144
- Social group work, and social case work, 23-25; areas of, 27-28; not a technique but a process, 34, 84-85; defined, 60; method of, 60-100; purposes of, 61, 65,

- 67, 622; specializations of, 62; basic skill of, 62-63; program planning in, 153-193; program media of, 197-342; supervision in, 533-586; administration in, 587-622
- Social group worker, as a professional worker, 10, 601; relation of, to agency, 20-22, 25, 83, 95; relation of, to community, 20-22, 27, 73, 80-83, 165, 180-183; and relation to individuals, 24-25, 29, 63-64, 73-76; function of, in groups, 25-27; as basic worker, 28; role of, 28-32, 60, 72-73, 101; professional skill of, 32-34, 62-63, 71; methods of, 34, 60-100; first responsibility of, 63; degree of activity of, 67, 68; and use of interaction, 70, 92; specific functions of, 69; reactions of group toward, 69; and large group, 134; role of, in program planning, 158-193; as specialist, 192-193; and use of program media, 197-342; and supervisory process, 533-555; as learner, 537-545; and administrative processes, 587-622
- Social intergroup work, 23, 594-597
- Social Service Employees Union, 603
- Social welfare, philosophy of, 16-20; leadership in, 20-25
- Social work, evolution of, 8-13; specializations in, 9-11; as a profession, 13, 22; professional education in, 13-16; philosophy of, 16-27; basic principles of, 22-25; areas of, 23; with groups, 25-28
- Social worker, evolution of, 8-13; and professional education, 13-14; development of skill of, 14-16; and social action, 20-22; generic element in, 22-25; function of, in groups, 25-27
- Sociodrama, 298-299
- Songs, 270-272; club, 274
- Sororities, 150
- Specialist, use of, 189-192; worker as, 192-193
- Specializations in social work, development of, 9-10
- Speech, choral, 296-298
- Square dances, 246-257
- Staff meetings, 619-620
- Stenciling, 330
- Story telling, 280-284; and dramatics, 289
- Student worker, psychology of, 537-544; supervision of, 537-544; records of supervisory conferences with, 555-579
- "Sub-Debs," 434-456
- Subjugation, as solution of group conflict, 53
- Sublimation, 46, 58
- "Suhfaw Club," 482-492
- Superego, in preschool child, 103, 104; play and the development of the, 204
- Supervision, insights essential to, 533-544; through conferences, 544-553; differential use of, 553-555; worker's right to, 553; of untrained workers, 554; records of, 555-586
- Supervisor, attitudes and feelings of, 533-535; and relationship with worker, 535-544; and use of supervisory conference, 544-553
- Supervisory conferences, 544-553; individual, 545-551; records of individual, 555-586; group, 551-553
- Supervisory records, 555-586; of conferences with student of social work, 555-579; of conferences with untrained worker, 579-586
- Suppression, 46
- Symbolization, 46
- Teacher, worker as, 68, 183-185, 193
- "Teen-Age Committee," 613-616
- Thomas, William I., and Florian Znaniecki, quoted, 43-44n.
- Time, as a limitation, 168; professional responsibility and the use of, 543; leisure, 207-216
- Timme, Arthur, 226
- "Toombah Club," 347-352
- Towle, Charlotte, quoted, 114
- Trecker, Harleigh B., quoted, 588, 589
- Triads, 49
- Trips, 340-342
- Unit of work, 587; administration of, 610-613; function of executive of, 616-621
- Untrained employed worker, 10; supervision of, 535n., 554-555; records of supervision of, 579-586; recruitment of, 606-607; qualifications for, 607-609
- Urwick, Lyndall, 617
- Values and norms, conflict in, 37-42
- Visits, to members' homes, 74-76, 180-183
- Volunteer worker, supervision of, 535n., 554-555; importance of, 600-601; distinguished from professional worker, 601; role of, 601-602; recruitment of, 604-606; training of, 605; qualifications for, 607-609
- von Wiese, Leopold, quoted, 9n., 45n., 48-49n., 50
- War neuroses, 210. *See also* "Constructive Griping," "Social Dancing Class"

- Warner, W. Lloyd, quoted, 52
"We feeling," 44, 58, 303
Weaving, 334
Webb, Beatrice, 11
Wile, Ira, quoted, 236, 264-265
Williams, George, 11, 12
Wilson, P. A., quoted, 3n., 7n.
Wish-fulfillment, 203, 206
Woltmann, Adolf, 295, 331
Wood, as a craft material, 311-312
Worker. *See* Social group worker; Volunteer worker; Untrained employed worker; Student worker
- Yarn, as a craft material, 317
Yarnell, Helen, quoted, 339
Young adult groups, role of worker with, 160; assumed interests of, 163; records of, 457-492: "Heights Recreation Club," 457-462; "A Conversation," 462-465; "NAACP Youth Group," 465-471; "Constructive Griping," 472-480; "Social Dancing Class," 480-482; "The Suhfiw Club," 482-492
- Young adulthood, problems and needs of, 109-112. *See also* Young adult groups
- Young Men's Christian Association, 11, 61
- Young Men's Hebrew Literary Associations, 11
- Young Women's Christian Association, 11, 61, 345, 434, 462
- Youth serving agencies, 188n.
- Znaniecki, Florian, quoted, 43-44n.

